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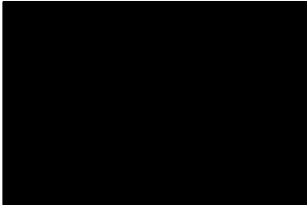
OF

THE GREEK DIALECTS

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**London**

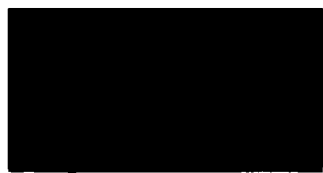
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THE  
SOUNDS AND INFLECTIONS  
OF THE  
GREEK DIALECTS //

\*  
IONIC

BY

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Oxford  
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

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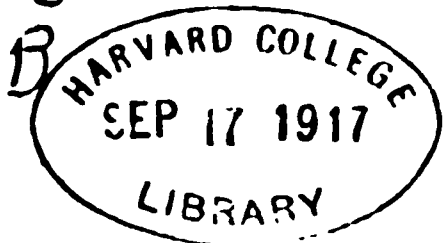




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## PREFACE

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It is now more than half a century since Ahrens laid the foundations of Greek Dialectology in a work which, by reason of its sterling merits, has remained un superseded in part until the present day. Had the original intention of the author of the *De Graecae linguae dialectis* been carried out, an investigation of Ionic would have followed upon that dealing with Aiolic and Doric; and the need of any other treatise on the subject would have been less urgent. The deflection of his literary activity to other departments of philology bequeathed a legacy of opportunity, of which his countrymen have been slow to avail themselves. At the present time there exists no treatise on the dialect which in its interest for the student of Greek language and literature is second only to that wherein the masterpieces of Athenian genius found expression. Maittaire's *Graecae linguae dialecti*, last issued in 1807, is out of date, and the monographs at the disposal of the scholar cover only a limited portion of the extensive territory.

As the author of the first attempt at depicting the Ionic dialect as a whole, I may perhaps be pardoned for alluding to the difficulties involved in such an undertaking, difficulties that are enhanced not only by the absence of minute investigations on many questions of considerable importance, but also by the fact that the sources of information are often accessible only in an

imperfect state. Much of Ionic literature is still inadequately edited. Of Hippokrates, Aretaios, the philosophers (with the exception of Herakleitos) and the logographers, there are no editions which record fully and faithfully the readings of the MSS. In the case of the philosophers only was I able in part to reconstruct my own text, thanks to such books as Diels' *Simplicius* and Wachsmuth's *Stobaeus*. From the ordinary Lexicons one does not, it is true, expect much assistance in dialectological matters. Yet, apart from errors of fact, their failure to register the occurrence of ordinary words in much-read authors is often the cause of serious inconvenience. Thus, for example, that Herodotos (or Hippokrates) made use of ὄλος is not recorded in Stephanus, Liddell and Scott, or even in Portus' *Λεξικὸν Ἰωνικόν* or Schweighäuser's special Lexicon to Herodotos.

The present work attempts to combine the two methods by which dialectal phenomena may be studied—the philological and the linguistic. Primary importance has been attached to the point of view of Philology, which seeks, among other things, to determine on the basis of tradition the forms proper to the dialect of each author, the place occupied by him in the history of the development of the dialect, the interrelation of the various connected styles of literary composition, and the connection between the language of artistic construction and the language of the public and private documents preserved in the inscriptions. So far as Ionic is concerned, these matters have been discussed briefly in the Introduction, but the conclusions there presented can be fully understood only by comparison with the detailed investigation that follows. I have deferred to another occasion a sketch of ancient dialectology, a discussion of the interrelation of the chief cantonal idioms, and an examination of the principles that govern their appearance in a literature permeated to a remarkable degree by artistic consciousness.

The method that has been pursued in treating the forms as purely linguistic phenomena calls for a few words of explanation. As it has not been my purpose to write a Comparative Grammar from the point of view of Ionic, I have rarely endeavoured to trace the forms back to the pre-Hellenic stage. Ionic has been compared throughout with other dialects, especially Attic. Because of its *μερπλότης* and *κοινότης*, Attic is, and will continue to be, the standard by which philologists measure the manifold 'aberrations' of dialects less highly developed, or less adapted than itself to serve as vehicles for the expression of Hellenic thought. To the mention of difficult forms I have added brief explanations in the belief that these would prove of service to English and American students of Greek grammar. Many of these explanations refer to articles scattered up and down in the various journals or in monographs not always easy of access. The student may find here and there in the following pages a contribution to the solution of some of these difficulties, the existence of which has constantly been emphasized; but in crossing the frontier of disputed questions I have attempted only to bring the book to the level of the comparative grammar of to-day, and, while confessing my inability to arrive at a decision when the evidence seemed insufficient, to set forth briefly and criticize existing theories.

As regards the collection of material, completeness was well-nigh out of the question in the case of a dialect which has left abundant traces of its existence for over a thousand years. The evidence offered by the inscriptions and post-Homeric Ionic lyric will, however, I think, be found to be reasonably complete. I have made considerable use of the Ionic portion of Homer, but it was alien from my intention to treat in detail this 'dialect,' since its artificiality often renders hazardous the delimitation of Ionic from Aiolic. The fact that scholars already have at their command such books as Monro's *Homeric Grammar* and

van Leeuwen's *Enchiridium dictionis epicae* warranted me in devoting greater attention to the post-Homeric literature. In dealing with the literary documents, I have compared the readings of the MSS. whenever it was possible. I venture to believe that, without deserting the MS. tradition to any great extent, I have disproved the theory that Herodotos made constant use of Homeric forms as such. The depravation of the dialect of Herodotos has been so great that it is often impossible to adopt a form on the consensus of *A B* and *Res*, which is the warrant of the archetypal reading; while it often happens that the correct form is preserved in *R* alone. Convinced as I am that Herodotos contracted  $\epsilon + \epsilon$ ,  $\epsilon + \eta$  and  $\epsilon + \epsilon\iota$  in  $\epsilon\chi\omega$  verbs, I do not hesitate to rank *R* very high when it preserves the contracted forms. The Atticisms of *R* are in fact often Ionisms. *C* and *P* represent the hyper-Ionic tradition more than other MSS. As I have referred to *C* (the Florentinus of the eleventh century), I take this opportunity to correct the statement on p. 93 where *A* (the Florentinus of the tenth century) has taken the place of *C*. In the case of Hippokrates the readings of  $\theta$  and  $\Delta$  have often been cited when they conflict with the vulgate or with Littré's text.

ἕτερος ἐξ ἑτέρου σοφὸς τό τε πάλαι τό τε νῦν. Among the books that were of greatest assistance, the place of honour belongs to the collections of inscriptions and the comments thereon by my former teacher, Prof. Bechtel of Göttingen. The monographs of Renner, Merzdorf, and Lindemann, the *Greek Verbs* of Veitch, and the grammars of Meyer and Brugmann have proved especially serviceable. Bredow's book on Herodotos rests upon incomplete and defective collations of the MSS., but is invaluable so long as Stein's promised Lexicon remains unpublished. Since the book went to press (in January, 1892), I have added some matters of interest from Prof. Blass' edition of Kuhner's *Ausführliche Grammatik*, and incorporated the important

forms occurring in Herodas. Through the courtesy of its author, Meister's elaborate discussion of the dialect of Herodas reached me shortly before the concluding pages passed out of my hands. It has contributed largely to the additions in the first appendix, and thus rendered the treatment of the sounds and inflections of Herodas tolerably exhaustive. Schulze's *Quaestiones epicae*, a book of great learning, but often over-subtle and devoid of a proper regard for tradition, was of assistance at the same stage of the progress of the sheets through the press.

My thanks are due to the Executive Committee of the American Philological Association for permission to use the paper on the Vowel System published in its *Transactions*. The apparently egotistical reference on p. 5 to my own contribution has its excuse in the fact that it chanced to be the only treatise covering any part of the dialect as a whole. In the continuation of this work it will be seen that the other dialects have received ampler treatment at the hands of scholars, whose contributions are mentioned in the forefront of my own discussion. To Prof. Gildersleeve, the editor of the *American Journal of Philology*, I am indebted for permission to avail myself of a paper on Digamma published in vol. xii, and for other evidences of his friendship. Prof. Meister of Leipzig had transcribed for me the observations on Ionic by Johannes Grammaticus in Aldus' *Thesaurus Cornucopiae et Horti Adonidis* of 1496, a book that has since come into my possession after a long search. Prof. Kirchhoff generously allows me to cite his opinion on various points, concerning which my information has been derived from his 'Lectures on the Ionic Dialect,' placed at my disposal by the kindness of a former pupil of the Berlin professor. The references to the views of Prof. Kirchhoff are indicated by the mention of his name unaccompanied by the title of any of his published works. It was a matter of no little satisfaction to discover, upon the completion of my work, that the opinion of



the German scholar was in accordance with my own in respect of many essential features of the dialect.

Finally, I desire to acknowledge my special indebtedness to my colleagues and students at Bryn Mawr, who have helped me in word and deed; to Mr. Monro, the Provost of Oriel, and to E. S. Roberts, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Caius College, Cambridge, for invaluable assistance in reading the proof-sheets; to the Delegates of the Clarendon Press for undertaking the publication of the present work, which has outgrown the limits originally set by the author; and to the printers for their care in carrying it through the press.

BRYN MAWR, PENNSYLVANIA :

*March 9, 1894.*



## LIST OF THE CHIEF WORKS CITED AND OF ABBREVIATIONS

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THE titles of treatises dealing with special departments of the subject will be found on pp. 45, 66, 74, 78, 91, 101, 110, and in the Appendix to pp. 45, 91.

Ahrens = De Graecae linguae dialectis, I De dialectis Aeolicis et pseudaeolicis 1839, II De dialecto Dorica 1843, Gottingae.  
This work is now rewritten and continued by Meister.

A. J. A. = American Journal of Archaeology, Princeton 1885 ff.

A. J. P. = American Journal of Philology, Baltimore 1880 ff.

Allen Versification = Greek Versification in Inscriptions, Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, vol. IV.

American School = Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens (Archaeological Institute of America), Boston 1882 ff.

Amph. = Amphipolis.

An. Bachm. = Anecdota Graeca e codd. MSS. bibl. reg. Parisin. descripsit Lud. Bachmannus, I-II, Lipsiae 1828.

An. Ox. = Anecdota Graeca e codd. MSS. bibliothecarum Oxoniensium, descripsit J. A. Cramer, I-IV, Oxonii 1835-37.

An. Par. = Anecdota Graeca e codd. MSS. bibliothecae regiae Parisiensis, edidit J. A. Cramer, I-IV, Oxonii 1839-41.

A. P. A. = Transactions of the American Philological Association, Boston 1869 ff.

Apoll. Dysk. = Apollonius Dyscolus edidit Richardus Schneider in the Grammatici Graeci, vol. I, Lipsiae 1878.

Arch. } = Archilochos.  
Archil. }

Arch. Zeit. = Archaeologische Zeitung, Berlin 1843-48, 1868 ff.

Aret. = Aretaios.

Arkadios = Ἀρκαδίου περὶ τόνων, ed. Barker, Lipsiae 1820.

Arrian = Arrian's Ἰνδική.

Ascoli Krit. Stud. = Kritische Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft von G. I. Ascoli. Autorisierte Uebersetzung von Reinhold Merzdorf, Weimar 1878.

Astr. = Lukian περὶ τῆς Ἀστρολογίης.

Athen. = Athenaeus edidit Kaibel, Lipsiae 1887-90.

Ἀθην. = Ἀθήναιον, σύγγραμμα περιοδικὸν κατὰ διμηνίαν ἐκδιδόμενον, Athens 1872 ff.

Aug. = Grammaticus Augustanus in Schaefer's edition of Gregory of Korinth.

Baunack Stud. = Studien auf dem Gebiete des Griechischen und der arischen Sprachen von Johannes Baunack und Theodor Baunack, vol. I, Leipzig 1886.

B. B. = Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen, herausgegeben von Dr. Adalbert Bezenberger, Göttingen 1877 ff.

B. C. H. = Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique (École Française d'Athènes), Paris and Athens 1877 ff.

Bechtel = Die Inschriften des ionischen Dialekts von Fritz Bechtel, aus dem 34<sup>sten</sup> Bande der Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, 1887.

Bechtel Lautlehre = Die Hauptprobleme der indogermanischen Lautlehre seit Schleicher, Göttingen 1892.

Bekk. Anecd. = Anecdota Graeca edidit I. Bekkerus, I-III, Berolini 1814-21.

Bennett = On the sounds and inflections of the Cyprian dialect, in the Studies of the University of Nebraska, vol. I, Lincoln, Nebr. 1888.

Bergk = Poetae Lyrici Graeci recensuit Theodorus Bergk, ed. 4, Lipsiae 1878-82.

Birnb. = Grammaticus Birnbaumius in Sturz' Etymologicum Gudianum, Lipsiae 1818.

Blass = Ueber die Aussprache des Griechischen, 3te Auflage, Berlin 1888.

**M. E.** = *Miscellanea epigraphica* scripsit Fridericus Blass, in the *Satura philologa* Hermannno Sauppio oblata, Berolini 1879.

**P. W.** = *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift* 1881 ff.

**edow** = *De dialecto Herodotea*, Lipsiae 1846.

**British Museum Inscriptions** = *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, Oxford, I 1874, II 1883, III 1886.

**ugmann Gram.** = *Griechische Grammatik* in vol. II of Iwan von Müller's *Handbücher der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, 2te Aufl., München 1890.

**ugmann Grundr.** = *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen*, Strassburg 1886 ff.

**uer** = *Delectus inscriptionum Graecarum propter dialectum memorabilium*, iterum composuit Paulus Cauer, Lipsiae 1883.

**D. I.** = *Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften* herausgegeben von Collitz [und Bechtel], Göttingen 1884 ff.

**.** = *chorus*.

**andler** = *Greek Accentuation*, 2nd edition, Oxford 1881.

**oir.**  
**oirob.** } = *Choerobosci Dictata in Theodosii Canones*, edited by Gaisford, Oxford 1842.

**oirob. Orth.** = *Choerobosci Orthographia* in *An. Ox.* II, 167–281.

**I. A.** = *Corpus inscriptionum Atticarum*, Berolini 1873 ff.

**I. G.** = *Corpus inscriptionum Graecarum*, Berolini 1828–1877.

**ass. Rev.** = *The Classical Review*, London 1887 ff.

**rtius Et.** = *Grundzüge der griechischen Etymologie*, 5te Aufl. von Windisch, Leipzig 1879.

**S.**  
**rt. Stud.** } = *Studien zur griechischen und lateinischen Grammatik*, herausgegeben von Georg Curtius [und K. Brugmann], Leipzig 1868–78.

**rtius Verbum** = *Das Verbum der griechischen Sprache*, 2te Aufl., Leipzig 1877–80.

**= Dindorf** in *Poetae Scenici Graeci*, Lipsiae 1869.

**anielsson Epigraphica** = *Epigraphica* scripsit O. A. Danielsson, in the *Upsala Universitets Årsskrift* 1890.

**d. I.** = *Greg. Kor. de dialecto Ionica* (περὶ τῆς Ἰάδος διαλέκτου).



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## PREFACE

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It is now more than half a century since Ahrens laid the foundations of Greek Dialectology in a work which, by reason of its sterling merits, has remained un superseded in part until the present day. Had the original intention of the author of the *De Graecae linguae dialectis* been carried out, an investigation of Ionic would have followed upon that dealing with Aiolio and Doric; and the need of any other treatise on the subject would have been less urgent. The deflection of his literary activity to other departments of philology bequeathed a legacy of opportunity, of which his countrymen have been slow to avail themselves. At the present time there exists no treatise on the dialect which in its interest for the student of Greek language and literature is second only to that wherein the masterpieces of Athenian genius found expression. Maittaire's *Graecae linguae dialecti*, last issued in 1807, is out of date, and the monographs at the disposal of the scholar cover only a limited portion of the extensive territory.

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- J. G. } = Johannes Grammaticus in Aldus Manutius'  
 Joh. Gram. } Thesaurus, Cornucopiae, et Horti Adonidis, 1496.
- J. H. S. = Journal of Hellenic Studies, London 1883 ff.
- Joh. Alex. = Ἰωάννου Ἀλεξανδρέως τονικὰ παραγγέλματα ed.  
 Dindorf, Lipsiae 1825.
- Johansson Sprachkunde = Beiträge zur griechischen Sprachkunde,  
 Upsala Universitets Årsskrift, 1890.
- Johansson De derivatis verbis, see D. V. C.
- Jordan Kritische Beiträge = Kritische Beiträge zur Geschichte  
 der lateinischen Sprache, Berlin 1879.
- Kaibel = Epigrammata Graeca ex lapidibus conlecta, Berolini  
 1878 (also cited as K. E.)
- Karsten = De titulorum Ionicorum dialecto commentatio scripsit  
 Gualtherus Karsten, Halis Saxonum 1882.
- K-B. = Grammatik der griechischen Sprache von R. Kühner in  
 neuer Bearbeitung von F. Blass, Hannover 1890 ff.
- K. C. = The Principles of Sound and Inflexion in Greek and  
 Latin by King and Cookson, Oxford 1888.
- Kirchhoff Alphabet = Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen  
 Alphabets, 4te Auflage, Gütersloh 1887.
- Kirchhoff = Lectures on the Ionic dialect by A. Kirchhoff (see  
 Preface).
- Klein Vasen = Die griechischen Vasen mit Meistersignaturen  
 von Wilhelm Klein, 2te Auflage, Wien 1887.
- Kum. = Ἀττικῆς ἐπιγραφαὶ ἐπιτύμβιοι by Stephanos Kumanudēs,  
 Athens 1871.
- K. Z. = Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem  
 Gebiete der indogermanischen Sprachen, begründet von  
 A. Kuhn, herausgegeben von E. Kuhn und J. Schmidt,  
 Berlin, now Gütersloh, 1852 ff.
- Lat. } = Inscriptiones antiquae orae septentrionalis Ponti  
 Latyschev } Euxini Graecae et Latinae edidit Basilius Latyschev, vol. I  
 Tyrae, Olbiae, Chersonesi Tauricae &c., Petropoli 1885;  
 vol. II Regni Bosporani 1890.
- Le-Bas—Foucart = Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie  
 Mineure with commentary continued by Waddington and  
 Foucart; vols. III (text) and 3 (commentary) deal with Asia  
 Minor, Paris 1847 ff.

- Lex. Messan.** = *Lexicon Messanense de iota ascripto* in R. M. XLVII 404 (1892).
- Lindemann** = *De dialecto Ionica recentiore scripsit* Hugo Lindemann, Kiel 1889.
- Loewy** = *Inschriften griechischer Bildhauer*, Leipzig 1885.
- L. S.** = *Liddell and Scott's Lexicon*, 7th ed., Oxford 1883.
- Mahlow** = *Die langen Vokale A E O in den europæischen Sprachen*, Berlin 1879.
- Maxim.** = *Maximus*.
- Meerm.** = *Grammaticus Meermannianus* in Schaefer's edition of *Gregory of Korinth*.
- Meist.**  
**Meisterhans** } = *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*, 2te Auflage, Berlin 1888.
- Meister**  
**G. D.** } = *Die griechischen Dialekte* von Richard Meister: vol. I *Asiatisch-äolisch, Böotisch, Thessalisch*, Göttingen 1882, vol. II *Eleisch, Arkadisch, Kyprisch* 1889.
- Meister Herodas** = *Die Mimiamben des Herodas*, extract from the 13th vol. of the *Abhandlungen der philologisch-historischen Classe der Königl. Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, Leipzig 1893.
- Mél. gr.-rom.** = *Mélanges gréco-romains tirés du Bulletin historico-philologique de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Pétersbourg*, 1855 ff.
- Menrad** = *De contractionis et synizeseos usu Homeric* scripsit Jos. Menrad, Monachii 1886.
- Meyer Gram.** = *Griechische Grammatik* von Gustav Meyer, 2te Auflage, Leipzig 1886.
- Mitth.** = *Mittheilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts in Athen*, Athens 1876 ff.
- Mitth. aus Oesterreich** = *Archaeologisch-epigraphische Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich*, Wien 1877 ff.
- Mnem.** = *Mnemosyne*, Leyden 1852-62, 1873 ff.
- Moiris** = *Moeridis Atticistae lexicon Atticum*, em. ill. J. Piersonus, denuo edidit Koch, Lipsiae 1830.
- Mon. ant.** = *Monumenti antichi pubblicati per cura della Reale Accademia dei Lincei*, Milano 1890 ff.
- Monro Hom. Gram.** = *A Grammar of the Homeric Dialect*, by D. B. Monro, 2nd edition, Oxford 1891.



- Μουσ. καὶ βιβλ. = Μουσεῖον καὶ Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Εὐαγγελικῆς Σχολῆς, Smyrna 1873 ff.
- M. U. = Morphologische Untersuchungen von Osthoff and Brugmann, Leipzig 1875-90.
- Mus. It. = Museo Italiano di antichità classica diretto da Domenico Comparetti, Firenze 1885 ff.
- Myl. = Mylasa.
- Naukr. = Inscriptions from Naukratis, cited partly from Bechtel, partly from E. A. Gardner's collection in 'Naukratis,' edited by Flinders-Petrie, London 1886 ff.
- Num. Chron. = Numismatic Chronicle and Journal of the Numismatic Society, 1839-54, 1861 ff.
- Orop. = Oropos.
- Osthoff Forsch. = Forschungen im Gebiete der indogermanischen nominalen Stammbildung, Jena 1875.
- Osthoff Perfect = Zur Geschichte des Perfects im Indogermanischen, Strassburg 1884.
- Pape = Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen von Pape und Benseler, 3te Auflage, 3ter Abdruck, Braunschweig 1884.
- Par. = Grammaticus Parisinus in Schaefer's edition of Gregory of Korinth.
- Paspates = Χιακὸν γλωσσάριον by A. G. Paspatēs, Athens 1888.
- Paton and Hicks = The Inscriptions of Cos by W. R. Paton and E. L. Hicks, Oxford 1891.
- Pezzi = La lingua greca antica, breve trattazione comparativa e storica, Torino 1888.
- Philol. = Philologus: Zeitschrift für das klassische Alterthum, Stolberg and Göttingen, 1846 ff.
- Philologischer Anzeiger, als Ergänzung des Philologus, Göttingen 1869 ff.
- Phrynichos = Phrynichi eclogae nominum et verborum Atticorum ed. Lobeck, Lipsiae 1820, Rutherford (The New Phrynichus) London 1881.
- Prokon. = Prokonnesos.
- Reinach = Traité d'épigraphie grecque, Paris 1885.
- Renner = De dialecto antiquioris Graecorum poesis elegiacae et iambicae in Curtius' Studien, vol. I.
- Revue archéologique, Paris 1844 ff.
- R. M. - Rheinisches Museum für Philologie, Bonn and Frankfurt am Main, 1833 ff.

Rob. } = Introduction to Greek Epigraphy, part I, Cambridge 1887.  
Roberts }

Roehl = I. G. A.

Ross = Inscriptiones ineditae, Nauplia, Athens and Berlin, 1834-35.

Rutherford = The New Phrynichus, London, 1881.

Saussure Mém. = Mémoire sur le système primitif des voyelles dans les langues indo-européennes par Ferdinand de Saussure, Leipsick 1879.

Schmidt Neutra = Die Pluralbildungen der indogermanischen Neutra von Johannes Schmidt, Weimar 1889.

Schmidt Vokalismus = Zur Geschichte des indogermanischen Vokalismus, Weimar 1871-75.

Schulze Q. E. = Quaestiones epicae scripsit Guilelmus Schulze, Gueterslohæ 1892. This incorporates the Quaestionum Homericarum specimen, Gryphiswaldia 1887.

S. A. } = Simonides of Amorgos.  
Sim. Am. }

Simpl. = Simplicii in Aristotelis Physicorum libros quattuor priores commentaria edidit Hermannus Diels, Berolini 1882.

Smyth Diphthong EI = Der Diphthong EI im Griechischen, Göttingen 1885.

Spitzer = Lautlehre des arkadischen Dialektes, Kiel 1883.

Sprachwissenschaftliche Abhandlungen hervorgegangen aus G. Curtius' Grammatischer Gesellschaft, Leipzig 1874.

Stephan = De Herodiani technici dialectologia, Argentorati 1889.

Sterrett = An Epigraphical Journey in Asia Minor, vol. II, and The Wolfe Expedition to Asia Minor, vol. III, of the Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Boston 1888.

Stes. = Stesichoros.

Stob. = Stobæus edidit Gaisford I-IV, Lipsiae 1823-24, edidit Wachsmuth I-II, Berolini 1884.

Stud. = Curt. Stud.

Struve Quaest. = Quaestionum de dialecto Herodoti specimina III, Regimontii 1828-30.

Syria dea }  
d. S. } = Lukian περί τῆς Συρίας θεοῦ.  
d. d. S. }

- Th. (L.) } = Thasische Inschriften ionischen Dialekts im  
 Thas. (L.) } Louvre von Fritz Bechtel, aus dem 32<sup>ten</sup> Bande der  
 Abhandlungen der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften,  
 Göttingen 1884.
- Theodos. = Theodosii Alexandrini Canones edidit Hilgard, in the  
 first volume of the fourth part of the *Grammatici Graeci*,  
 Lipsiae 1889.
- Theog. = Theognis.
- Theogn. = Theognosti Canones in An. Ox. II, 1-165.
- tetr. = tetrameter.
- tr. = trimeter.
- Tryphon = Tryphonis Alexandrini fragmenta collegit A. von  
 Velsen, Berolini 1853.
- Tzetz. = Tzetzae Exegesis in Homeri Iliadem edidit Hermann,  
 Lipsiae 1812.
- unc. loc. = uncertain locality.
- V. A. } = Lukian's *Vitarum auctio* (Βίων πρᾶσις).  
 Vit. Auct. }
- Vat. = Grammaticus Vaticanus in Schaefer's edition of Gregory  
 of Korinth.
- Veitch = Greek Verbs irregular and defective, new (4th) edition,  
 Oxford 1879.
- Vita Hom. = Vita Homeri in Westermann's *Vitarum scriptores*  
*Graeci minores*, Brunsvigae 1845.
- Wagner = Quaestiones de epigrammatis Graecis ex lapidibus  
 collectis grammaticae scripsit R. Wagner, Lipsiae 1883.
- W. F. } = Inscriptions recueillies à Delphes, Paris  
 Wescher-Foucart } 1863.
- Wheeler = Der griechische Nominalaccent, Strassburg 1885.
- Wilamowitz Herakles = Euripides Herakles erklärt von Wila-  
 mowitz-Moellendorff, Berlin 1889.
- W. K. P. = Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie, Berlin  
 1884 ff.
- z = Aldus' edition of Herodotos, 1502.
- Zeitschrift für das Gymnasialwesen, Berlin 1867 ff.
- Zeitschrift für Numismatik, Berlin 1874 ff.



## EDITIONS OF THE CHIEF AUTHORS CITED

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### 1. *Poets.*

Homer: La Roche and Ludwich.

Homeric Hymns: Gemoll, who combines the two hymns to Apollo.

Hesiod: Flach, but the citations from the scholia follow Gaisford's numbering (*Poetae Minores Graeci*, vol. II).

Lyric Poets (including Pindar): Bergk<sup>4</sup>.

Scenic Poets: Dindorf, Meineke, Koch.

Theokritos: Fritzsche.

Herodas: Arabic numerals follow Kenyon, Roman follow Bergk (for the fragments not on the papyrus).

Phoinix of Kolophon	}	Schneidewin's Delectus.
Aischrion of Samos		
Parmenon of Byzantion		

### 2. *Prose Writers.*

Herodotos: Stein.

Hippokrates: Littré and Ermerins. The references are to the pages of Littré (Kühn a few times), except in the case of the letters where Hercher-Boissonade's text has often been followed (denoted by *ep.* and an Arabic numeral).

Herakleitos: Bywater.

Protagoras: in Plutarch, *Consol. ad Apoll.* 33.

Demokritos and other Philosophers: Mullach's numbering is adopted, but the MSS., not his text, have been followed.

Historians: Müller.

Menekrates: Jacoby's edition of Dionysios of Halikarnassos.

Pseudo-Ionic letters: Hercher-Boissonade, except in the case of Hippokrates (see above).

Lukian : Jacobitz, and Sommerbrodt (for the *Βίων πρᾶσις*).

Arrian : Eberhard.

Aretaios : Kühn, and a few times Ermerins.

3. *Grammarians.*

Apollonios Dyskolos' Syntax from the pages of Bekker (1817).

The Pronoun and Adverb are sometimes cited by the old numbering, sometimes by the pages of Schneider (Schn.).

Choiroboskos' Dictata in Theodosii Canones follows Gaisford's pages throughout, as Hilgard's edition has not yet been concluded.

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## LIST OF THE CHIEF MSS. REFERRED TO

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### 1. HERODOTOS (cf. § 88).

- A* = Florentinus (Mediceus), Laurentian Library, Florence (X Century).  
*B* = Romanus (Passioneus), Angelican Library, Rome (XI Cent.).  
*C* = Florentinus, Laurentian Library, Florence (XI Cent.).  
*P* = Parisinus, National Library (XIII Cent.).  
*R* = Romanus, Vatican Library (XIV Cent.).  
*d* = Florentinus, Laurentian Library (XIV Cent.).  
*ῑ* = Venetus (Bessarion.), Library of St. Mark's (XV Cent.).  
*q* = Parisinus, National Library (XV Cent.).  
*r* = Urbinas, Vatican Library (XIV Cent.).  
*s* = Sancroftianus, Emmanuel College, Cambridge (XIV Cent.).  
*r* = Vindobonensis, Vienna (XIV Cent.).  
*z* = Aldus' edition, 1502.  
*L* in Stein's edition refers to the consensus of all the MSS.

### 2. HIPPOKRATES.

- θ* = Vindobonensis (X Cent.).  
*ξ* = Vaticanus 276 (end XII Cent.).  
*Laur.* 74, 7 (XI or XII Cent.).  
*Marc.* 269 (XI Cent.).  
*A* = 2253 (XI Cent.).

The above are the chief MSS.

- D* = 2254 (XIV Cent.).  
*E* = 2255 (XIV Cent.).  
*F* = 2144 (XIV Cent.).  
*G* = 2141 (XIV Cent.).

*H* = 2142 (XIV Cent.).

*J* = 2143 (XIV Cent.).

*K* = 2145 (XIV Cent.).

*M* = 2247 (old). This is Littré's *M*, not the Marcianus (XI Cent.).

*N* = 2248 (old).

*Q* = 1297 (XIV Cent.).

*A—Q* are in the National Library at Paris.

To facilitate reference to the tractates under the name of Hippocrates is subjoined a table of the place occupied by each in Littré's edition. The works starred are genuine beyond doubt.

*I* 570-637 *περὶ ἀρχαῖης ἰητρικῆς*.

*II* 12-93 *περὶ ἀέρων, ὑδάτων, τόπων* \*; 110-191 *προγνωστικόν* \*; 224-377 *περὶ διαίτης ὀξέων* \*; 394-529 *περὶ διαίτης ὀξέων* (νόθα); 598-717 *ἐπιδημιῶν I* \*.

*III* 24-149 *ἐπιδημιῶν III* \*; 182-261 *περὶ τῶν ἐν κεφαλῇ τραυμάτων* \*; 272-337 *κατ' ἰητροῖον*; 412-563 *περὶ ἀγμῶν*.

*IV* 78-327 *περὶ ἁρθρῶν*; 340-395 *μοχλικόν*; 458-609 *ἀφορισμοί*; 628-633 *ὄρεος*; 638-643 *νόμον*.

*V* 72-139 *ἐπιδημιῶν II*; 144-197 *id. IV*; 204-259 *id. V*; 266-357 *id. VI*; 364-469 *id. VII*; 476-503 *περὶ χυμῶν*; 510-573 *προρρητικόν I*; 588-733 *Κωακαὶ προγνώσεις*.

*VI* 2-27 *περὶ τέχνης*; 32-69 *περὶ φύσιος ἀνθρώπου*; 72-87 *περὶ διαίτης ὑγιεινῆς*; 90-115 *περὶ φουσῶν*; 118-137 *περὶ ἰγρῶν χρήσιος*; 140-205 *περὶ νούσων I*; 208-271 *περὶ παθῶν*; 276-349 *περὶ τόπων τῶν κατὰ ἄνθρωπον*; 352-397 *περὶ ἱερῆς νόσου*; 400-433 *περὶ ἱλαῶν*; 436-445 *περὶ αἱμορροῖδων*; 448-461 *περὶ συρίγγων*; 466-525 *περὶ διαίτης I*; 528-589 *id. II*; 592-637 *id. III*; 640-663 *id. IV* = *περὶ ἐκυννίων*.

*VII* 8-115 *περὶ νούσων II*; 118-161 *id. III*; 166-303 *περὶ τῶν ἐντὸς παθῶν*; 312-431 *περὶ γυναικείης φύσιος*; 436-453 *περὶ ἐπταμήνου*; 452-461 *περὶ ὀκταμήνου*; 470-485 *περὶ γυνῆς*; 486-542 *περὶ φύσιος παιδίου*; 542-615 *περὶ νούσων IV*.

*VIII* 10-233 *γυναικείων I*; 234-407 *id. II*; 408-463 *περὶ ἀφόρων*; 466-471 *περὶ παρθενίων*; 476-509 *περὶ ἐπιπνῆσιος*; 512-519 *περὶ ἐγκατατομῆς ἐμβρύου*; 538-541 *περὶ ἀνατομῆς*; 544-549 *περὶ ὀδοντοφυΐης*; 556-575 *περὶ ἀδένων*; 584-615 *περὶ σαρκῶν*; 634-673 *περὶ ἐβδομάδων*.

*IX* 6-75 *προρρητικόν II*; 80-93 *περὶ καρδίας*; 98-121 *περὶ τροφῆς*; 152-161 *περὶ ὕψιος*; 168-197 *περὶ ὀστέων φύσιος*; 204-221 *περὶ ἰητροῦ*; 226-245 *περὶ εὐσχημοσύνης*; 250-273 *παραγγελίαι*; 276-295 *περὶ κρισίων*; 298-307 *περὶ κρισίων*; 312-429 *ἐπιστολαί*.

The chief tractates are sometimes abbreviated thus :

*E I* = *ἐπιδημιῶν πρῶτον*.

*E III* = *ἐπιδημιῶν τρίτον*.

*ΠΑ* = *περὶ ἀέρων, ὑδάτων, τόπων*.

*ΠΔΟ* = *περὶ διαίτης ὀξέων*.

*ΠΤΚ* = *περὶ τῶν ἐν κεφαλῇ τραυμάτων*.

*Π* = *προγνωστικόν*.

*ΠΚ* = *προγνώσεις Κωακαί*.



### 3. THEOGNIS.

- A* = Mutinensis (X Cent.) National Library in Paris.  
*K* = Vaticanus (XVI Cent.).  
*O* = Vaticanus (XII Cent.).

### 4. LUKIAN.

- A* = Gorlicensis (XIV Cent.).  
*Æ* = Vaticanus 87 (XII or XIII Cent.).  
*B* = Vindobonensis 123 (X Cent.).  
*C* = Parisinus 3011 (XIII or XIV Cent.).  
*E* = Wittianus (Marcianus) perhaps a source of  $\Omega$ .  
*Γ* = Vaticanus 90 (XI Cent.).  
*Φ* = Florentinus (Laurentianus) 77 (of different dates).  
*Ψ* = Marcianus 436 (XIV Cent.).  
*Ω* = Marcianus 434 (XIII Cent.).  
*a* = editio princeps (Florence 1496).  
*v* = Reitz' edition (Amsterdam 1743).  
 Sommerbrodt's critical edition (vol. I, Berolini 1886-89) does not yet include the *Syria dea* or the *Astrologia*.

### INSCRIPTIONS.

All Ionic inscriptions, unless specially referred to other collections, are cited by the numbering of Bechtel's *Die Inschriften des ionischen Dialekts*. Thasian inscriptions not included in this work are denoted by *Th. (L.)*, and refer to the numbering of Bechtel's *Thasische Inschriften ionischen Dialekts im Louvre*. The inscriptions from Naukratis are usually cited from E. A. Gardner's collection in the two volumes of W. M. Flinders-Petrie, but Bechtel's numbering of three (139 A-139 C) has been followed. All other dialect inscriptions, except when the contrary is stated, are cited from C. D. I. C. I. A. IV refers to the first, C. I. A. IV B to the second, C. I. A. IV C to the third part of the fourth volume of the *Corpus inscriptionum Atticarum*. The date of an inscription is sometimes indicated by a Roman numeral followed by the letter C, *e.g.* VC = fifth century B. c.

References have sometimes been made to notes in the text as if these notes were numbered. These references are to be understood as if made to paragraphs in smaller type.



## ERRATA

Page 22<sub>3</sub>, for 167 read 219. 59<sub>9</sub>, read *εἰμένα* for *εἰμένα*. 75<sub>16</sub>, add *κάρηνα*  
 Eurip. frag. 541, *τρικάρηνον* (MSS.) H. F. 611. 142<sub>12</sub>, read In Naukratis also.  
 154 (§ 150), see now app. to p. 265. 158<sub>8</sub>, read 209. 163, read *ἄνς*. 165  
 end and 166 top, read *-γενής*. 170<sub>10</sub> from bottom, read *ἐλεύθαρος*. 184<sub>2</sub>,  
 read 420. 213<sub>10</sub>, cf. § 534. 236<sub>14</sub>, *Δεκελῆθεν*, though found in PRC, is scarcely  
 correct; see § 219, 9. 277<sub>4</sub>, read *πάντ'*. 281, the reference to foot-note 3  
 belongs at the end of l. 2 f. b. [In two Eretrian inscriptions ('Εφ. ἀρχ.  
 1890, 196, 200) we find *σίτηριν, παρίν, ἐπιδημέων, συνελευθερώραντι*]. 254<sub>11</sub>,  
 read 246 for 245. 307<sub>13</sub> f. b., after and insert *σσ*. 385<sub>16</sub> f. b., dele Compounds  
 . . . . 93. 388<sub>12</sub> f. b., dele 1. 475<sub>18</sub> f. b., read *ἡρήρεισθαι*. 487, f. n. 3, read  
*Abhandlungen* for *Untersuchungen*. 552<sub>8</sub>, read *ἐθεόρεον*.

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\* \* The numbers refer to sections.

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# THE IONIC DIALECT

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## INTRODUCTION.

### *Sources of the Present Investigation.*

SMITH : *The Vowel System of the Ionic Dialect* in the *Transactions Amer. Philol. Assoc.* XX 5-138 (1889).

1.] **Chief Literary Monuments.** Of the lyric poets especial attention has been devoted to those of Ionic blood, in the first instance to the iambographers Archilochos of Thasos, Simonides of Amorgos, Hipponax of Ephesos and Ananios (or Ananias), secondly to the elegists Kallinos of Ephesos, Mimnermos and Xenophanes of Kolophon, Phokylides of Miletos. The dialect of Tyrtaios, Solon, and Theognis has been treated in some detail : Tyrtaios, a Lakonian by adoption, but a representative of the early Elegy as cultivated by a poet not of genuine Ionic stock ; Solon, in order to raise the question whether his Muse is Ionic or Old-Attic or a combination of the two ; the Megarian Theognis, that we may obtain a survey of the language of the elegy to the end of the sixth century.

The newly discovered fragments of Herodas, though containing some Dorisms, evince the persistence of the dialect of the Ionic iambographers.

Anakreon is the chief native source of information concerning the dialect in melic poetry. Simonides of Keos and the melic poets not of Ionic stock, especially Pindar, have been drawn upon in the discussion of the nature of the epigram, choral ode, &c.

Homeric forms, when of specifically Ionic texture, have been utilized for the purpose of comparing the older with the later dialect.

The didactic epic of Parmenides and Empedokles has but rarely been cited.

All the logographers have been studied, Hekataios of Miletos yielding more fruit than Charon of Lampsakos, Pherekydes of Leros, Xanthos the Lydian, or Hellanikos of Mitylene.

Herodotos has been examined with special reference to the interrelation of the MSS. Without a knowledge of the character of their fluctuations no theory as to the complexion of early Ionic prose deserves a hearing.

For the language of the philosophers the fragments of Anaxagoras of Klazomenai, Diogenes of Apollonia, Melissos of Samos, the *Moralia* of Demokritos of Abdera, and Herakleitos of Ephesos have been investigated.

The following treatises of Hippokrates, as least open to the suspicion of spuriousness, have contributed chiefly to the study of the older medical dialect:—

περὶ ἐπιδημιῶν τὸ πρῶτον.

περὶ ἐπιδημιῶν τὸ τρίτον.

Προγνωστικά.

περὶ ἀέρων, ὑδάτων, τόπων.

περὶ διαίτης ὀξέων.

περὶ τῶν ἐν κεφαλῇ τραυμάτων.

Κωακαὶ προγνώσεις (perhaps pre-Hippocratic).

The Ἀφορισμοί have been passed by as too full of interpolations. Only occasionally is reference made to treatises of the younger Hippokrateians (περὶ τέχνης, περὶ φύσιος ἀνθρώπου of Polybos, περὶ φυσῶν, περὶ ἱερῆς νόσου, &c.).

Of the pseudo-Ionists, Aretaios, Arrian, and Lukian are our principal sources. A subordinate place is occupied by the supposititious letters of Hippokrates and of the Ionic philosophers. To discover whether the περὶ τῆς Συρίας θεοῦ and the περὶ ἀστρολογίης are the production of the author of the βίων πρᾶσις, was foreign to the immediate purpose of this treatise. On any view they deserve a prominent place in the study of the Ionic Renaissance. Though convinced that the study of the pseudo-Ionists is barren of great results for the restoration of Ionic forms in the texts of the early Ionic prosaists, the importance of the revival of Ionic literature seemed to me sufficient to justify a portrayal of the form assumed by pseudo-Ionism in Aretaios, Arrian and Lukian. I have also placed under contribution the fragments of Abydenos' *Assyrian History*, Uranios, Eusebios (perhaps an imitator of Demokritos), and Eusebios Myndios, that we may realize the more vividly how persistent has been the influence exerted upon later prose by the diction of its creators.

## 2.] The Inscriptions.

The treatises by Bechtel: *Die Inschriften des ionischen Dialekts* 1887, and *Thasische Inschriften ionischen Dialekts im Louvre* 1884, have rendered antiquated, so far as material is concerned, Erman *De titulorum Ionicorum dialecto* (Curt. Stud. V 249-310, 1872), and Karsten *De titulorum Ionicorum dialecto* 1882. Besides the inscriptions in Bechtel's collections, I have made use of those in Imhoof-Blumer's *Griechische Münzen*, Head's *Historia Numorum*, and others which have appeared since the publication of Bechtel's first-named work.

So far as seemed advisable, every inscriptional form pertinent to a knowledge of Ionic phonology and inflection has been utilized. Wherever it was necessary to compare the date of any phonetic or inflectional change in Ionic with the date of a similar change in Attic, the latter dialect, in its stone records, has been drawn within the range of view.

Of the epigraphical monuments of the dialect incorporated in Bechtel's collection, there are in all at least fifty antedating the introduction of the Ionic alphabet into Athens at the close of the fifth century. These are equally divided between the sixth and the following century. For the study of the earliest Ionic prose it is unfortunate that no less than eighteen (of the twenty) metrical inscriptions contained in Bechtel's collection fall before the year 400 B.C.; thus materially reducing the number of documents by which the prose of the historians and philosophers may be illustrated.

From the fourth century there are about a dozen inscriptions older than 350 B.C. when the integrity of the dialect is perceptibly weakened by the inroads of Attic. Dialectal forms continue to appear as late as the third century after Christ, though in the latest period almost entirely in proper names.

## 3.] The Grammarians. We possess tractates on Ionic by :

The author of *περὶ διαλέκτων ἐκ τῶν Ἰωάννου γραμματικοῦ τεχνικῶν*, in Aldus Manutius' *Thesaurus, Cornucopiae, et Horti Adonidis*.

Gregorios of Corinth.

Grammaticus Leidensis,

Grammaticus Meermannianus,

Grammaticus Augustanus,

} In Schaefer's edition  
of Gregorios.

Furthermore, excerpts from a Paris and from a Vatican MS. (in Schaefer's edition of Gregorios), and the Birnbaum excerpt in Sturz' *Etymologicum Gudianum*.

On the relation of Gregorios' treatise to the lost work of Johannes Grammaticus or Philoponos, on their sources, and on the interdependence of all the above mentioned briefer sketches, see the introduction to *AIOLIC* § 8.



Completely lost, or preserved only in part by a process of silent transmission, are the treatises dealing immediately with the Ionic dialect and of a period far anterior to the work of Johannes Philoponos, which falls in the sixth century of our era. Besides the many works on glosses and on dialects which we cannot prove to have discussed either exclusively or mainly the Ionic dialect, there are the following whose titles have come down to us:

Philoxenos of Alexandria *περὶ τῆς Ἰάδος διαλέκτου καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν, περὶ τῶν παρ' Ὀμήρῳ γλωσσῶν*, Trypho *περὶ τῶν παρ' Ὀμήρῳ διαλέκτων καὶ Σιμωνίδῃ καὶ Πινδάρῳ καὶ Ἀλκμᾶρι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις λυρικοῖς*, and Apollonios Dyskolos *περὶ Ἰάδος*. That the dialect of Eretria received attention is certain not only from Plato, but also from a passage in Athenaios (VII 284 B), where mention is made of the *περὶ διαλέκτων* of Dionysios Iambos, the teacher of Aristophanes of Byzantium. Aristophanes in his lexicon to Homer carried on the work which had been begun by Demokritos (*περὶ Ὀμήρου ὀρθοεπειῆς καὶ περὶ γλωσσῶν*) and continued by the popular work of Philetas. Though these Homeric lexica dealt rather with studies of the vocabulary of the poet than with the inflectional and morphological aspect of his diction, they may have contained much that was instrumental in defining the position of Old Ionic. Kallimachos compiled a *πίναξ τῶν Δημοκρίτου γλωσσῶν*. In later times there were collections of *λέξεις*, and treatises on Herodoteian vocabulary, e.g. Apollonios' *ἐξηγήσεις τῶν Ἡροδότου γλωσσῶν*.

In like manner side lights must have been cast upon the structure of Hippokratic Ionic by the *τῶν παρ' Ἱπποκράτει λέξεων συγγραφή* of Erotianos, the *τῶν τοι' Ἱπποκράτους γλωσσῶν ἐξηγήσεις* of Galen, and by the glossary of Herodotos Lykios. But little seems to have drifted from the numerous commentaries upon Hippokrates into the later grammatical literature. Herodian mentions Hippokrates twice only.

The Homeric glossary of Apio and the similar work of Herodoros (or Heliodoros), both of which were based upon the labours of Aristarchos, proved important sources of information to Hesychios and Eustathios; and show it to be possible that similar, but more strictly phonological, treatises of the best period of grammatical studies may have been placed under contribution by Eustathios, the *Ὀμήρου ἐπιμερισμοί*, &c. The works of later grammarians, for example Johannes Philoponos, Theodosios, Charax, Timotheos and Choiroboskos (who wrote a treatise *περὶ διαλέκτων*), are based chiefly upon Herodian, whose observations upon Ionic deal almost exclusively with Homer. It is to be lamented that so much of Trypho's dialectological researches has been engulfed by time. In having an eye for local

colour, Trypho had the preeminent virtue of a dialectologist. Apollonios Dyskolos, so far as we can judge from the treatise on the Pronoun, embraced in his researches the dialect of the Ionic logographers and philosophers, though Homeric forms are the chief point of attraction.

The well-nigh universal failure of ancient grammar to notice the shading of sub-dialectal speech, and its neglect of the existence in the living language<sup>1</sup> of survivals from its dialect life weigh heavily against a dialect covering so great an extent of territory as Ionic. The narrower range of Aiolic forbids the expectation that its minuter variations had attracted the attention of a race of scholars whose dialectological studies were pursued chiefly in connection with literature. In the case of Doric however, apart from the investigations of Trypho into the speech of Rhegion and Syrakuse (which followed in the wake of the study of Ibykos and Theokritos), the dialects of Krete, Lakonia, &c., were deemed of sufficient interest in themselves to invite research.

To the splendour of the Homeric poems; to the general belief of the ancients that Homer was a distinct personality, by birth and residence an Ionian; and to the wealth of grammatical learning brought to the elucidation of his diction by the leaders of the Alexandrian school, is due in great part the fact that the Iliad and the Odyssey overshadow all other monuments of Ionic genius as the repositories of information concerning the Ionic dialect. Though to the rhetoricians of the empire Herodotos was the ἀριστος κανών of Ionic, yet both he and the other Ionic prosaists awakened attention too late to be saved from suffering comparative neglect at the hands of the earlier scholars, whose authority was absolute in the view of the later grammarians whose works have been directly transmitted to us.

The result of this supremacy of the Homeric poems in the schools is clear. In almost every case in which we find in the grammarians the unqualified statement that this or that form is Ionic, it does not mean more to the modern dialectologist than that the form in question is Homeric. To such puerilities does this one-sidedness of view lead, that even tmesis, apocope, hyperbaton, &c., are called Ionic. Tzetzes is the chief sinner in this regard.

The value of grammatical literature is not vitiated only by its subserviency, as regards Ionic, to the composite and artificial dialect of Homer and even of Hesiod. Words that are the property of all the dialects, or words that are not Ionic at all

<sup>1</sup> Very rare are such observations as ἕως νῦν παρ' Ἰωσιν οἱ κολοβοκέρατο. ἐπεὶ εἰς αἰὲς λέγονται, Schol. Ven. A on Π 117.

are stamped as Ionic solely because they happen to occur in a writer whose diction contains Ionisms. Gregory (p. 522) says that *Osiris* was Ionic for *Dionysos*. In utilizing the testimonia adduced in this treatise, the considerations here stated should guard us against attributing undue importance to the evidence of even such authorities as Herodian.

In the view of Herodian no word was worthy of discussion unless it was Hellenic, i.e. unless it occurred in literature or was used by the cultured classes of his day. All other words were vulgar (*βάρβαρα*). A word was Hellenic, if it occurred in but a single dialect author; a view that was disputed by some of Herodian's contemporaries and predecessors. On the other hand, a word was non-Hellenic if it was the exclusive property of the popular speech, or if it occurred in inscriptions. In all Herodian there are but three references to inscriptions, and these are derived, not from the stones themselves, but from literature. *Ionic, Doric, Attic, &c.*, scarcely ever include non-literary words. Herodian could not escape meeting with vulgar words in the works on the manners and customs of different parts of Greece, or in the geographers and glosseographers, though these sources were rarely employed. But vulgar words need not conform to rule, and even if they do, they are rarely employed in illustration of the principle under discussion. Some grammarians possessed a more catholic spirit than Herodian, who failed to develop the germ of truth in Sokrates' remark (*Krat.* 409) that Hellenic words could be of barbarian origin. Herodian refused to derive a Hellenic word from one of vulgar source. In studying Herodian's theory of dialectology it must not be overlooked that he thought the language of the epos was not that of an actual dialect. Choeroboskos and Gregory never doubt that Homer is an Ionic author. But Herodian does not refer exclusively to Homer when it is his intention to set forth the Ionic character of a form. See Stephan, *De Herodiani Technici dialectologia*, first part. Cf. note to § 25.

Though the ancient learning increases our knowledge of Ionic by scarcely a single fact that we do not already know from a study of the literary monuments of the dialect, it is fortunately accessible in a form sufficiently early, and thus sufficiently pure, to control the aberrations of pseudo-Ionism.

In the preparation of this volume the testimony of the following ancient grammarians, besides those mentioned in the beginning of § 3, is adduced:—

Trypho, Apollonios Dyskolos, Herodian, Hesychios, *Etymologicum Magnum*, *Etymologicum Gudianum*, the *Etymologicum* of Orion, Theodosios, Choeroboskos, Eustathios, Priscian's *Syntax* in Maximus Planudes' Greek translation (Bachmann, *An.* II 105-166), the *Ὅμηρον ἐπιμετρίσμοι* (Cramer's *Anecd. Ox.* vol. I), Tzetzes' *Exegesis* of the *Iliad*, the minor tractates in the *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, *Parisiensia*, in Bekker's and Bachmann's *Anecdota*, the scholia on Hesiod (quoted according to Gaisford's lines), and the scholia of Venetus A on the *Iliad* (Dindorf, vol. I and II).

Phavorinus I have passed over, but the pseudo-Drakonian treatise *περὶ μέτρων ποιητικῶν*, dating from 1545–55 and the work of a Greek named Diassorinos, has been quoted here and there for the purpose of showing what views on Ionic were possible under the Renaissance. The Aldine edition was successful in foisting upon Herodotos many non-Ionic forms which tend to reappear in modern editions; and it can be shown that the copyists of the Renaissance have perverted the original reading because of their theories as to the love of Ionic for open vowels. The grammarians are quoted when they say outright that a form is Ionic, not when their statements point merely by implication to such an opinion.

*Geographical Divisions of Ionic.*

4.] It is upon the evidence of the stone records alone that we are justified in assuming a threefold division of the Ionic dialect.

(1) **The Western Ionic of Euboea.**

- A. Chalkis and colonies: Kyme and Neapolis, Rhegion, Terone, Olynthos, Amphipolis, Ainea.
- B. Eretria with its colonies, Mende, Oropos.
- C. Styra.
- D. Kyme.

(2) **Ionic of the Kyklades.**

- A. Naxos with its colony Amorgos (Arkesine or -es, Aigiale)<sup>1</sup>.  
Keos.
- B. Delos.  
Paros with its colonies Thasos, Neapolis in Makedonia, and Pharos.  
Siphnos.
- C. The remaining Kyklades: Andros, Ios, Mykonos.

(3) **Ionic of Asia Minor.** The Ionians of Asia Minor were the only division which in historic times bore the ethnic name 'Ionians.'

A. **The Twelve Cities.**

- (a) Miletos, and colonies: Prokonessos, Iasos, Leros, Kyzikos, Zeleia, Parion (colonized from Miletos, Erythrai and Paros), Sinope, Pantikapaion, Theodosia, Olbia, Istros, Tomoi, Apollonia, Naukratis<sup>2</sup>.  
Myus (or Myes, cf. Steph. Byz.).  
Priene.

<sup>1</sup> Amorgos was colonized by Naxians, Samians, and Milesians. Inscriptions from Minoa are placed under Samos.

<sup>2</sup> The temple to Apollo was built by Milesians, the Hellenion by settlers from Chios, Teos, Phokaia, Klazomenai, Rhodes, &c. The temple of Hera was the work of Samians.



## (b) Ephesos :

Kolophon and Smyrna (cf. Mimnermos 9).

Teos and colonies: Abdera, Phanagoreia.

Klazomenai.

Phokaia with colonies: Lampsakos, Hyale, Segesta<sup>1</sup>, Massalia.

Inscriptions from Lebedos are wanting.

## (c) Chios and Maroneia :

Erythrai (participated in the founding of Parion).

## (d) Samos and colonies: Minoa in Amorgos, Perinthos, Samothrake, Naukratis, where the Samians erected a temple to Hera.

## B. Ionic cities in Karia :

Halikarnassos. Mylasa. Olymos. Bargylia. Keramos.

Aphrodisias. Tralles.

5.] **Western Ionic** has not abandoned the rough breathing. Proper names derived from κλέος agree with the Attic inscriptions of the fifth century in ending in -κλέης, not in -κλής. -κλής is the older form upon the stone records of Attika. The genitive of proper names, whose second component part is an *iota* stem, ends in -ίδος, not in -ιός. Herein too Western Ionic is in agreement with Attic. Whether this group had ττ for σσ of Island Ionic and Asiatic Ionic, is doubtful (§ 371).

Until we come into possession of documents of an antiquity sufficient to free their phonetical and inflectional system from the suspicion of Atticism, we are not in a position to hold that there are sharply marked differences in speech between the Chalkidians, Eretrians and Styrians. In the present state of our knowledge Eretrian Ionic seems to possess a more distinct individuality than that of Chalkis or Styra. It alone<sup>2</sup> shows examples of rhotacism, a phenomenon scarcely indigenous in Eretria, though its ultimate provenance is still a matter of dispute.

In Eretria it was more usual than in the Chalkidian colonies to substitute -οι and -ει for final -ωι and -ηι. Neither the Ionic of the Kyklades nor that of Asia Minor shows any tendency to permit this substitution, which comes to light in Western Ionic about 400 B.C. Attic influence, at least so far as -ει is concerned, accelerated the change in Ionic, for in Attic we find well-attested cases about 380 B.C. To the same cause are due the instances of ττ for σσ in Eretria and Styra.

When Western Ionic differs from that of the other divisions,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Kirch, *Zeit. f. Num.*, XVI 187; Meister, *B. P. W.* 1890, p. 672, *Philol.* 1891, p. 607.

<sup>2</sup> On Κτηρίνας an Eretrian, Styra 19<sup>am</sup>, see § 331.

its preferences are, with the exception of rhotacism, in the direction of forms of Attic complexion<sup>1</sup>.

Western Ionic alone in the period of its dialect life under the Ionic aristocracies was barren of literary offspring. The princely houses of Chalkis fostered the cultivation of the epos. It was Hesiod's glory to have gained a prize at a contest instituted at the funeral games of a Chalkidian. But whatever store of artistic capacity the Euboians may have received with their Ionic blood, so long as they remained in their Western home, they devoted it in great part to the manufacture of vases or of arms (Alkaios 15). It was only in the colonies sent out from Chalkis<sup>2</sup>, in Leontini, Himera and Rhegion, the homes of Gorgias, Stesichoros, and Ibykos that Ionic genius, engrafting itself upon Doric, gave birth to a literature which it was not allotted to Euboian Ionic unaided to produce. There are indeed not wanting indications that Attic tragedy stood in closer relations to Stesichoros and Ibykos than to Pindar, Simonides, and Bacchylides.

Two additional points have been emphasized in some quarters as characteristic of Euboian Ionic: the retention of the original  $\bar{a}$  and the preservation of  $f$ . In § 157 the cases of  $\bar{a}$  in the Ionic of Styra are submitted to an examination. There is no proof that any quarter of Ionic in a period of dialect autonomy has adopted the Attic  $\bar{a}$ . The Chalkidian vases with their inconsequent treatment of the dialects ( $\chi\acute{o}\rho\alpha$  C. I. G. 7459,  $\nu\alpha\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma$  7460,  $\rho\alpha\upsilon\phi\acute{o}\rho\eta\varsigma$  7582, &c.) are on a plane herein with some of Campanian origin. The digamma in  $\phi\acute{\iota}\omega$ ,  $\nu\phi\alpha\tau\acute{\iota}\eta\varsigma$ , and  $\rho\alpha\upsilon\phi\acute{o}\rho\eta\varsigma$  is due to the possible mixture of nationalities in Chalkis, as has been shown by Kretschmer in K. Z. XXIX 390.  $\phi\alpha\iota\kappa\acute{\iota}\omega\varsigma$  and  $\phi\alpha\iota$  in the inscription from Rhegion (Bechtel 5 = Rob. I 180) may be ascribed to Doric influence (cf. Thuk. VI 5), since two idioms have contributed their quota to the document in question.

**6.] Ionic of the Kyklades.** In the group consisting of Naxos and Keos we observe that the palaeographic distinction, which seems to denote an original difference in the pronunciation of  $\eta = \text{IE } \bar{e}$  (written E) and  $\eta = \text{IE } \bar{a}$  (written  $\Theta$  or H, see § 166), was retained a century longer than was the case in the group formed by Delos, Paros, and Siphnos. But since this variation is merely chronological, and since there are no linguistic data known to us justifying a separation of the Kyklades into two sub-dialects, we may regard the dialect of these islands as one.

<sup>1</sup> The encroachment of isolated Attic forms such as  $\xi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\varsigma$  Oropos 18, is to be distinguished from the constant displacement of Ionic.  $\xi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\varsigma$  occurs in Miletos 100, perhaps of the fifth century. I have not ventured to constitute the use of  $\delta\varsigma$ ,  $\epsilon\delta\varsigma$  a criterion of sub-dialectal differentiation. Asiatic Ionic and the Ionic of the Kyklades have  $\delta\varsigma$ , while Western Ionic has both  $\epsilon\delta\varsigma$  and  $\delta\varsigma$ , a juxtaposition that is found in Homer and in Attic. Cf. § 715.

<sup>2</sup> It may not be inappropriate to notice that Chalkia, preeminently the literary centre of Euboea, was the birthplace of Isaïos and of Lykophron.

Retaining the rough breathing, which is well attested in the case of the Parian Archilochos<sup>1</sup>, the Ionic of the Kyklades thus forms the bridge which leads from Western to Eastern Ionic. It has furthermore -κλῆς not -κλέης, -ιος not -ιδος (§ 5).

7.] **Eastern Ionic** is characterized chiefly by the early displacement of the rough breathing. The evidence of literature confirms to a considerable extent the testimony of the inscriptions, which speak with no uncertain voice against the existence of the *asper* save in compounds. Asiatic Ionic, like that of the Kyklades, has -κλῆς and -ιος (§ 5). Of less importance is the fact, that of the few Ionic examples of -η for -ηι in the dative all are found on the Asiatic mainland.

8.] **Geographical Divisions of the Ancients.** Among the ancients the traces of a geographical and of a chronological division of Ionic refer almost exclusively to the dialect of the mainland of Asia Minor and of the adjacent islands. Euboian Ionic and the Ionic of the Kyklades, which play an important part in the modern classification of the sub-dialects, are, with the exception of a few isolated and unsupported statements of Lesbos and some scattered notices as to Eretrian rhotacism, &c., excluded from the ancient geographical and the chronological division. From the point of view of literature they failed to excite the attention of the grammarians, whose field of observation rarely extended to an examination of local characteristics, and, if so extended, did not enable the critic to shake off his fearfulness in the face of authority<sup>2</sup>. Even if a strongly marked Nesiotic or Euboian Ionic had existed in his time, the mention of either by Herodotos, in the passage where he discusses the speech of Ionia, would not have been imperative. When Euboea comes within the horizon of Herodotos, it is to show that the Abantes took part in the colonization of Ionia by the Ionians<sup>3</sup> (I 146), or to describe the colonies of the Chalkidians and Eretrians (e.g. VIII 46). The Kyklades too are mentioned by Herodotos chiefly with a view to showing that their Ionic colonists came by way of Athens<sup>4</sup>; a theory that was confronted by the imperial power of Athens in the fifth century, with its tendency to dislodge the older legends and to affix to them an Attic

<sup>1</sup> Of the logographer Eudemos of Paros nothing has been preserved.

<sup>2</sup> See § 9, end. *Κάπησος*.

<sup>3</sup> Pausanias tells us that a Chian family traced its descent back to the Abantes, under which name the Euboians appear in the *Catalogue of Ships*. The Abantes were Phokians who made Euboea a halting place on the way to Chios. Amphiklos, who led the Hestianians from Boeotia, found Abantes in Chios. Strabo has nothing to say of the speech of Euboea except in X 448 (rhotacism).

<sup>4</sup> Siphnos Hdt. VIII 43, Keos VIII 46, Naxos *ibid*.

colouring (Hdt. VII 95, IX 106, Thuk. I 12, 4, Isokr. *Pan.* 43, 44, Marm. Par. 27, &c.).

9.] Mention is made of local divisions of Ionic in the following passages :

(1) *Western Ionic*. Thuk. VI 5, of the dialect of Himera : καὶ φωνὴ μὲν μεταξὺ τῆς τε Χαλκιδέων καὶ Δωρίδος ἐκράθη. Lesbos (An. Ox. IV 270 ff.) : οἱ Εὐβοεῖς τοῖς θηλυκοῖς ὀνόμασιν ἀρσενικὰ συνάπτουσιν ἐπίθετα· οἷον 'ἀλὸς πολιοῖο.' ὁμοίως καὶ τοῖς σὺνδετέροις ὀνόμασιν ἀρσενικὰ καὶ θηλυκὰ ἐπίθετα, καὶ μετοχὰς ἀρσενικάς τε καὶ θηλυκάς· οἷον, κόριον καλ(λ)ίστη, μειράκιον λέγων.

Χαλκιδεῖς οἱ ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ, τοῖς ῥήμασι τοῖς συντασσομένοις δοτικαῖς αἰτιατικὰς πρότερον ἐπιφέρουντες τὰς δοτικὰς συνάπτουσιν· οἷον, Διονύσιος ὁ Χαλκιδεύς· 'Μυρίνην τὴν Ἀμαζονίδα περιβλεψάμενος, ἔδωκεν αὐτῇ τὰς ἄλλας Ἀμαζονίδας μετακαλέσασθαι.'

Χαλκιδεῖς· τὰ ὀριστικὰ τῶν ῥημάτων εἰς μετοχὴν ἀναλύουσι καὶ ὑπαρκτικὸν ῥῆμα, λέγων εἰμί.

Whether the statement: Κυμαίων, τὸ τοῖς ἐνικοῖς ὀνόμασι πληθυντικὰς ἐπάγειν ἐπιφοράς· οἷον, ἡ πύλη ἐκλ(ε)ίσθησαν· συστηματικὰ γὰρ ὄντα πρὸς τὸ νοούμενον ἔχει τὴν ἀναφοράν, ὥς καὶ τό, ὥς ἔφασαν ἡ πληθὺς, refers to the Ionic Kymaians is doubtful.

On the ancient witnesses to *rhotacism* in Eretrian, see §§ 331, 332.

An. Bachm. II 200<sub>31</sub> (on Lykophr. *Alex.* 21) : οἱ ναῦται ἀπεχώριζον, ἔλυνον—καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἀπέτρεχον—εὐβοϊκὴ ἡ διάλεκτος· (in the margin βοιωτικὸν ἐστὶ τὸ ἐσχάζουσιν)<sup>1</sup>.

(2) *Island Ionic*. Whether Lesbos' remark (An. Ox. IV 270), that the islanders used the genitive instead of the dative (πλούσιος ἢ χρουσοῦ), has any special reference to the Ionians of the Kyklades is entirely uncertain.

(3) *Eastern Ionic*. The locus classicus is Hdt. I 142 : γλῶσσαν δὲ οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν οὔτοι [οἱ Ἴωνες] νενομίσκασιν, ἀλλὰ τρόπους τέσσερας παραγωγέων.

1. Μίλητος μὲν αὐτέων πρώτη κέεται πόλις πρὸς μεσαμβρίην, μετὰ δὲ Μυοῖς τε καὶ Πριήνη· αὗται μὲν ἐν τῇ Καρίῃ κατοικηνται κατὰ ταῦτα διαλεγόμενοι σφίσι,

2. αἶδε δὲ ἐν τῇ Λυδίῃ, Ἐφεσος, Κυλοφών, Λέβεδος, Τέως, Κλαζομεναί, Φώκαια· αὗται δὲ αἱ πόλεις τῇσι πρότερον λεχθείησι ὁμολογέουσιν κατὰ γλῶσσαν οὐδέν, σφίσι δὲ ὁμοφωνέουσιν.

ἔτι δὲ τρεῖς ὑπόλοιποι Ἰάδες πόλεις, τῶν αἱ δύο μὲν νήσους οἰκέσται, Σάμον τε καὶ Χίον, ἡ δὲ μία ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ ἱδρύται, Ἐρυθραί.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Tzet. on Lykophr. 252, Aristophanes in Eust. 1761<sub>30</sub>. For Χαλκιδαικῆς in An. Bachm. II 40<sub>10</sub>, read Χαλκιδικῆς. In Bekk. An. III 1294, these forms are called Chalkedonian cf. An. Ox. IV 182<sub>19</sub>), doubtless through confusion with Chalkidian, because, on one view, Chalkedon was settled by Chalkidians. These -σαν forms may have been borrowed from Boiotia.



3. Χῖοι μὲν νυν καὶ Ἐρυθραῖοι κατὰ τὸντὸ διαλέγονται.

4. Σάμιοι δὲ ἐπ' ἑωυτῶν μῶνοι. οὗτοι χαρακτῆρες γλώσσης τέσπερες γίνονται.

Constantin. Porphy. *de Them.* p. 42 makes the colourless statement: καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς Μιλήτου μέχρι τῆς Ἐφεσίων πόλεως, καὶ αὐτῆς Σμύρνης, καὶ Κολοφῶνος, Ἰώνων ἐστὶ κατοικία, οἷτινες τῇ τῶν Ἰώνων διαλέκτῳ χρῶνται. Then he says that from Kolophon to Klazomenai and on the opposite island of Chios we have Aiolic. Our inscriptions have no trace of Aiolism save in Chios. The dialect of the Ephesians is referred to An. Ox. I 19<sub>19</sub> on ἄφαρ: καὶ Ἰῶνες καὶ οἱ Ἐφέσιοι ἄφαρ εἰ λέγουσιν, τὸ εὐθέως καὶ ἀσκόπως ποιεῖν τι, ἢ φθέγγεσθαι: I 447<sub>18</sub> τὸ σκύβαλον σκύβαλον τῆς Ἐφεσίου (-ων?) διαλέκτου. Schol. on Tzet. *Chiliad.* 642 in An. Ox. III 375<sub>25</sub>: Βύκκων δὲ ὁ βρύχων, ἦτοι ὁ ὄνος, παρὰ τε Λυδοῖς καὶ τοῖς κατ' Ἐφεσον Ἰῶσι λέγεται. βίλλος Hdn. I 158<sub>1</sub>; on ἐσσήν, see § 25, note. The remark of the Gramm. Leidensis § 8: γεγόνασι δὲ αὐτῆς μεταπτώσεις δ' is the only trace of acquaintance with the quadrilateral division of Herodotos preserved in any Greek dialectologist.

Lesbonax (An. Ox. IV 270, ff.) Κλαζομενεῖς τὸ πορεύομαι εἰς ἀγῶνα, πορεύομαι σὺν ἀγῶνι φασί.

Κολοφώνιον ἐστὶ τὸ ἔχον τὴν δοτικὴν ἀντὶ γενικῆς<sup>1</sup>. οἶον, τὴν κεφαλὴν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ.

Πειρινθικόν ἐστὶν τὸ τῇ αἰτιατικῇ ἐπιφέρειν εἰθεῖαν. . . .

Ἰώνων τῶν ἐπὶ Καρίας, τὸ τὰ χαράς καὶ λύπης δηλωτικὰ ῥήματα γενικῇ συντάττειν ἀντὶ δοτικῆς. οἶον, χαίρω τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀνδρός. καὶ τὸ τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ τῷ προσηγορικῷ ὀνόματι ἄρθρα τιθέναι. οἶον, τὸν Πλάτωνα τὸν φιλόσοφον. τὸ τιθέναι τοῖς ῥήμασι περιτ(τιεύουσαν τὴν ἔχων μετοχὴν. οἶον, σπεύδεις ἔχων.

The Schol. Ven. A on M 20 says Τυρραννίων ὀξύνει τὸ Κάρησος ὡς Παρνασσός. οὕτως γὰρ ὑπὸ Κυζικητῶν ὀνομάζεσθαι τὸν ποταμόν. ὁ δὲ Ἀρίσταρχος βαρύνει ὡς Κίνωβος. εἶπυμεν δὲ ἐν ἑτέροις ὅτι οὐ πάντως ἐπικρατεῖ ἡ ἀπὸ τῶν ἔθνων χρήσις καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Ὀμηρικὴν ἀνάγνωσιν, ὅποτε περὶ τοῦ Γλισάντα (B 504) διελάβομεν. εἶγε Διωνύσιος ἱστορεῖ τοὺς ἐγχωρίους συστέλλειν τὸ ἰ καὶ μὴ περισπᾶν. τό τε Λύκαστος ὁ αὐτὸς ἱστορεῖ ὀξύνεσθαι, ἡμῶν ἀναγνωσκόντων βαρυτόνως (B 647). The δημόται at Miletos bore the name γέργηθες, according to Eust. 1433<sub>4</sub>; ζητρεῖον was a Chian and Achaian word, Et. M. 411<sub>33</sub>. On Chian υ for ε, see § 155.

#### *Sub-Dialects of Eastern Ionic.*

10.] If we apply the criteria of phonology and inflection to the Ionic of the Twelve Cities in the endeavour to test the accuracy

<sup>1</sup> Such observations of the dialectal use of cases occur elsewhere, e.g. Schol. Apoll. Rhod. A 794, cf. Schol. Ven. A on Ω 58.

of Herodotos' quadrilateral division, we find that the following inscriptional forms have been held to constitute possible mint-marks of the four sub-dialects.

11.] **The Ionic of Miletos.** 1. *ιέρω* Olbia C. I. G. 2058 A<sub>23</sub>, 23.50 = Bechtel 128 (third or second century), Tomoi in Arch.-epigr. Mitth. VI 8, no. 14, has been taken as a gen. of *ιερής*, also the Arkado-Kyprian form of *ιερεύς*. *ιέρω* is, on this view, from \**ιερῆο*. To the gen. *ιέρω* in the dialect of a colony of Miletos we have the nominative *ιέρως* in Miletos itself (Bechtel 100<sub>4</sub>). Another explanation of the form *ιέρως* (*sic*) has been put forward by Dittenberger (*Syll.* no. 376), who maintains that in the same manner as *ἡμιέκτεων* is derived from *έκτεύς*, so is *ἀρχιέρως* derived from *ιερεύς*; and that from *ἀρχιέρως* the nom. *ιέρως* could be abstracted. Cf. § 477.

2. *λάψεται* Miletos 100<sub>4</sub>, and *κατελάφθη* 113<sub>7</sub> in Zeleia which in all probability was settled by Milesians. Cf. § 130.

3. *ῶρη* (not *ῶρή*) Miletos 100<sub>2</sub>, 5, 6 has been held to stand for *οὔρη*. Cf. Merry and Schol. H. Q. on *ἄωροι* μ 89: 'Αρίσταρχος ἀκώλους' τοὺς γὰρ Ἴωνας λέγειν φασὶ τὴν κωλὴν ῶρην καὶ ὠραίαν<sup>1</sup>. It is noteworthy that in no. 100 we have *κωλὴν* l. 4. The comparison of *ῶρη* with *οὔρη*, upon which this peculiarity of the Milesian has been based, is defective. *οὔρη* is derived from *ὄρσ-* (O. H. G. *ars*), while *ῶρη* = *ῶρη* is probably to be connected with Lat. *sūra* (so Bechtel). A Milesian *ω* for *ου* of the other sub-dialects is at least not proven.

4. *ἀτε[λ]είην* Kyzikos 108 B<sub>3</sub>, an exceedingly corrupt archaistic inscription, scarcely older than the first century B.C., represents an unsuccessful attempt at reviving the older document 108 A; and is hence worthless as a source of information concerning sub-dialectal differentiations. Though we have elsewhere no trace of *ἀτελείη* save in Hdt., all the inscriptions, even Eryth. 199<sub>6</sub> (after 394 B.C.), having the Attic *ἀτέλεια*, there is no reason for assuming that the idiom of Miletos or any other quarter of Ionic territory had originally rejected the Ionic ending in this word.

5. *βησιλέως*, quoted by Karsten (*De titulorum Ionic. dialecto* p. 18) from a Milesian inscription edited by Rayet in the *Revue Arch.* XXVIII 109, and proclaimed as a peculiarity of Karian Ionic, is nullified by *βασιλεύς* Mil. 100<sub>5</sub>. *βησιλέως* is indefensible, and nothing more than an orthographical slip, the stone having BHBI.ΛEΩΣ.

12.] **Lydian Ionic** (Ephesos, &c.). The absence of inscriptional testimony of the fifth century from other portions of the territory

<sup>1</sup> See also Eustath. 1715<sub>11</sub>.

of the Twelve Cities renders valueless the claim that in *δυνάμει*, Teos 156 B 31, we have an instance of an inflectional peculiarity of 'Lydian' Ionic. See § 488. The dialect of Teos alone supports a form *δέχομαι* (156 B 20, also in Amphipolis, where it may be Attic). The unaspirated form is known to us solely from the literary monuments. On *ἑσσήν*, an Ephesian title, see § 25, note.

13.] **The Ionic of Chios-Erythrai.** 1. On the basis of *Δεοῦς*, Maroneia 196, 1, and *Δεοῦδος*, Eryth. 198, the claim has been set up that this sub-dialect has *ε* for *ι* in this name. We have however *Δεύυσος* in Anakt. 2<sub>11</sub> 11 and ΔEO, probably for *Δεοῦσῶδος*, in Abdera 163, 1, a colony of Teos. This argument is as baseless as would be the contention that, on account of *Διεύσωι*, Amorgos 31, Island Ionic had *ε* for *ο*.

2. Gen. in *-εν* in the *Ā* declension, *Ἀρχηγέεν* Eryth. 201, narrow side l. 6, dating from the fourth century. Other examples, Eryth. 206 A 33, B 9, C 35, are to be placed in the first quarter of the following century. This form is however not confined to Chios-Erythrai, since we have *Πυθεῦ* Smyrna 153<sub>25</sub>.

3. Gen. in *-ω* in the *Ā* decl. (*Ἀρρικῶ* 174 C 13, *Ἀσιῶ* C 27, *Πυθῶ* D 4, *Λυσῶ* D 17). But in Chios we have also *-εω*, and the *-ω* forms recur in Halik. *c.g.* 240 A 38, B 3, and, when *iota* precedes, also in Abdera 163, 16.

4. *πόλεως* Chios 174 A 13, B 12, a form found also in Xenophanes 2<sub>0, 22</sub>. Cf. § 485.

5. *πρήγμα* Chios 174 B 17-18. But the variant *μυριχμένας* Archil. 30 (in *B*) cannot belong to a Chian sub-dialect. Cf. also *ἑσμυριγμέναι* *μεμυρισμέναι* in Hesychios.

6. *ἀνγρίθεντοι* Chios 174 B 25 26, whereas *ἀνερθέντος* is the usual form (cf. C. I. G. 2671<sub>45</sub>, 2693 D 5). The absence of the word from any other quarter of the Ionic of the mainland forbids any argument on the question.

7. *ἑσλής* Chios 175<sub>1</sub> (epigr.) may well be a form known to other quarters of the mainland. The absence of the *θ* is attested in Arkesine 35, and in Aiolic and Doric. There is no reason for holding it to be one of the Aiolisms of Chian Ionic.

8. Subjunctives in *-ει* instead of *-ηι*: *ποιήσει* Chios 174 A 12. The same proto-Hellenic termination comes to light in Teos and Ephesos.

9. Subjunctives in *-ωισι* (*λάβωισιν* Chios 174 B 16-17) and in *-οισι* (*πρήξοισιν* 174 A 16 17, 20) are found in Chios alone. Since, however, they are alien to the character of Ionic they must be regarded as adventitious Aiolisms.

10. The genitives of the numerals; *δέκων* Chios 174 D 14, *τεσσ[ερα]κ[ο]ντα* 174 C 16, *πεντηκόντων* 174 D 8, *ἑνενηκόντων* C 26. These genitives are, like the subjunctives in *-ωισι* and

, Aiolic loan-forms and not merely local variations of normal  
 e also below § 17, for points of contact between Chios and  
 thrai.

.] **The Ionic of Samos.** *δημιουργός* for *δημιουργός* 220<sub>29</sub>. Cf.  
*γῆ* 220<sub>16</sub>, and other forms § 297 III A, where it is shown that  
 and the same dialect may possess both *δημιουργός* and  
*ργός*. Other divisions of the Ionic of the mainland may  
 have had the *-οργός* forms.

*αηλῆι* or *Πριηνῆι*, Samos 212, is the only example of *-ηι* from  
 stem upon Ionic soil.

.] **Testimony of literature as to the existence of sub-dia-**  
**lects in Ionia.** If we question the Ionic literature of the Asiatic  
 land, the fragments of Kallinos and Hipponax of Ephesos,  
 Xenophanes and Mimnernos of Kolophon, and the remains  
 of prose writers whose birthplace was Miletos, we discover  
 trace whatsoever pointing to a differentiation in phonology  
 in inflection between the sub-divisions of Ionic territory.  
 The literature, at least in its extant condition, refuses to own  
 influence, save in the scantiest measure, of local form and  
 pure. Hipponax must have reckoned upon an ephemeral  
 fame. In him we might think to find indications of Lydian  
 phonology and inflection as well as words picked from the slums  
 of Ephesos or Klazomenai<sup>1</sup>. Yet his Billingsgate is inflected  
 in the most orthodox Ionic fashion.

The dominance of Ionic in the literary world of Hellas must  
 at an early date have proved an insuperable bar to the admission  
 of literature of word-forms not in accordance with the canons  
 of catholic taste. Had the epos pressed with less weight upon  
 the development of Ionic lyric genius; had Ionia been the home  
 of spontaneous and individual melic poetry unaffected by the  
 weight of Attic tragedy; and had Ionia been spared the fall of  
 Ilios with the ultimate stagnation of its political and literary  
 conditions attendant upon that disaster, then and then only  
 might we with reason have indulged the hope of discovering  
 the monuments of Ionic literature some of those mint-marks  
 of sub-dialectal differentiation which can scarcely have failed  
 to exist in that long stretch of territory, extending from the  
 Hellespont to the Karpathian Sea, which had fallen under Ionic sway.

.] It is then to the inscriptions as a court of last appeal  
 that we must turn in the endeavour to test the accuracy of the

the diction of Hipponax excited the attention of the grammarians only  
 not so much as that of Herodotos. Cf. Herodian II 282, — Et. M.  
 βόλιτον βόλβιτον δὲ Ἴωνες, οἳ τε ἄλλοι καὶ Ἰωνῶναξ, and see Stephan De  
 Technici dialectologia, p. 23. On Lydian vocabularies in Hipponax see § 44.



Herodoteian, or of any other, system of sub-division. Owing to the paucity of material at command, the evidence of the very few phenomena, which seem to point in the direction of sub-dialectal differences, is vitiated by the fact that it largely rests upon the argument from silence. By far the larger portion of the stone records represent, not the easy flow of the dialect of the people in its unconstrained simplicity, but an official Ionic, which, though perhaps not as formal as the decrees of some non-Ionic states, is nevertheless impatient of the *lingua rustica*. The fate of Ionia in ancient and mediaeval times, its exposure to the political influence of Persia on the one hand, and, on the other, to the sway in the domain of language exercised by Athens, have alike contributed to the uprooting of the idiom of the soil. Of all the phonetic and inflectional phenomena presented above there are but few which are sufficiently characteristic to deserve the dignity of being accounted criteria of sub-dialectal difference.

These are the forms of Aiolic texture in Chios, and certain peculiarities of the dialect of Miletos. Is this scanty evidence corroborated by other testimony?

17.] **Dialect of Chios-Erythrai.** The only possible ground for admitting the existence of a sub-dialect of Chios-Erythrai is the presence of Aiolism. In § 13 we have seen that the subjunctive terminations *-ωισι(ν)* and *-οισι(ν)*, and the genitives of the numerals 10, 40, 50, 90 have been enfranchised in Chian Ionic. Other traces of Aiolism are as follows. The name of the highest mountain in Chios is *Πελωνναῖον*, though Meineke in Strabo XIV 645 edits *Πελωναῖον*. That the form with the geminated nasal is correct is evident from *Πέλιοννα*, name of a city in Hestiaiotes (*Catalogue Brit. Mus. Coins, Thessaly*, 38). *Βόλισσος*, name of a city on the west coast of Chios mentioned by Thuk. VIII 24, 3, was by some regarded as Aiolic. See Steph. Byz.

All these Aiolisms are Chian. In Erythrai we have the epic and Aiolic *ἀργενρόν* in *Ἀργενρον* mentioned by Strabo XIV 645 (*ἄκρα τῆς Ἐρυθραίας*). The geographical extension of this name of a promontory is seen by its occurrence in the Troad, Lesbos, and Sicily. *Ἀργεννοῦσσαι* is supported by a good MS. Thuk. VIII 101, 2. An *ἀργεινός* appears never to have come into vogue.

From the point of view of phonology the links between Chian and Erythraian Ionic are exceedingly weak. Names of places, unless bearing the distinct impress of a dialect and agreement in vocabulary or in cult, prove but little in the case of contiguous localities. With *Καύκασα*, name of a harbour of Chios, *Καυκάσι[α]*s upon a recently discovered Chian inscription

(*Berl. Phil. Wochenschr.* 1889, p. 1195), we may compare Apollo *Καυκασεύς* and Artemis *Καυκασίς*, Eryth. 206 A 19. *Κοῖλα* appears to have been a locality in both Chios and Erythrai (*Ἀπόλλωνος ἐγ Κοίλοις* 206 B 29). Dittenberger has suggested (*Jenaer Litt.-Zeit.* 1877, p. 569) that the *χέλληστος* ἀ' *Ἐρυθραίων* C. I. G. 2168 B = C. D. I. 278 may point to a closer connection between Aiolic and Chio-Erythraian. Both the dialect of Chios (183 A 46) and that of Erythrai (201<sub>π</sub>) have retained the old word *οἶη* *village*<sup>1</sup>, one of those hidden treasures which are continually forcing their way upwards in the bosom of the earth in order to reach the light, and whose possession by any one sub-dialect can never be proven. To the joint possession of this word by the dialects of Chios and Erythrai a fictitious importance may easily be attached. *ἄδος* was known solely through a passage in Hipponax and an Hesychian gloss, until it appeared in an inscription from Halikarnassos.

Until there are discovered prose monuments of the Ionic of Erythrai equalling in antiquity the Chian document no. 174, which dates back to the fifth century, we must remain in ignorance as to whether the bond which united Chian and Erythraian according to Herodotos was or was not the presence of an Aiolic element. *πεντήκοντα* and *τριάκοντα*, each in combination with a genitive, in Eryth. 202<sub>16, 17</sub> dating from about 350 B.C., do not disprove the existence of an Aiolic ingredient in Erythraian.

Roehl L. G. A. no. 381, noticed that *λάβωσις* and *πρήξις* were not Ionic; Schulze, *Hermes* XX 393, regarded as a matter of chance the agreement between *λάβωσις* and Aiolic forms in *-ωσις*. Bechtel, *Ion. Inschr.* p. 110, remarked that Chios, so far from being originally Ionic, was Ionized only at a tolerably late period. He might have noticed the observation of Pausanias VII 4. 10: οὐ μέντοι ἐκεῖνό γε εἶρηκε (Ion of Chios) καθ' ἥντινα αἰτίαν Χῖοι τελευτῶσι ἐς Ἴωνας. Though a colony of the Abantes of Euboeia (see above § 8), Chios must have contained both Aioliens and Ionians, and have become definitively Ionic under the pressure exercised by Miletos and the Panionion. It is incorrect to imagine that Chios was first Aiolic, then Ionic. The dialect must have been mixed at a very early period.

**18.] Dialect of Miletos.** Upon such a weak foundation as the possession of *λέρεως*, gen. *λέρεω* and *λάψεται*, *κατελάφθη* it is futile to erect a Milesian dialect. And yet this is the sole evidence to be extracted from the inscriptions. *λέρεως* was Attic as we learn from the scholiast on Dionys. Thrax in Bekk. An. p. 1197, and if Attic, why not Samian as well as Milesian?

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *οἰαντῶν* *κομητῶν*. *οἶαι* γὰρ αἱ *κῶμαι* Hesych., Hdn. I 302<sub>γ</sub>. Cf. Attic *ῶα*, *ῶα*, an Attic deme of the tribe of Pandionis; *ῶη* *Οἰῆθεν*, a deme of Oineia. See KYPRIAN § 38.

The mere fact that Herodotos has traces of the theme λαβ where we should expect λαμβ (but cf. § 130), possibly of *λέρεως* for *λερεύς* or *λερεύς* (§ 477), or that *δασέα* is Milesian (§ 167), cannot lead to the belief that the diction of a native of Halikarnassos was Milesian. That the language of Herodotos should have been the Ionic of his native city, which early in the fifth century abandoned Doric for Ionic, at least in its state-documents, or that it should have been Samian Ionic, was impossible in view of the overshadowing influence of Miletos. If any sub-dialect was elevated by the early prose writers to a position of supremacy in literature, a Tuscan amid less polished idioms, there can be no question that it was that of Miletos.

The influence of Miletos upon the pan-Ionic *παρήγορις* established the orthodox creed that none should be regarded as genuine Ionians save those who accepted Kodrids as their oikists. Phokaiæ had to purchase admission to the Ionic league at the price of Kodrid rule. At Miletos were born Thales, Anaximander, Anaximenes, Kadmos, Dionysios and Hekataios. Pherekydes came from the neighbouring Leros. Prokonnessos, the home of Bion and Deiochos, and Lampsakos, whence came Charon, were both colonies of Miletos. Phokylides has the Milesians in mind when he says:—

πολλοί τοι δοκέουσι σαόφρονες ἔμμεναι ἄνδρες,  
σὺν κόσμῳ στείχοντες, ἐλαφρόροοί περ ἐοίτες.

Demodokos levels his blow at them:—

Μιλήσιοι ἀξύνετοι μὲν  
οὐκ εἰσὶ, δρῶσιν δ' οἷά περ ἀξύνετοι.

Anakreon wrote before the Ionic Revolt:—

πάλαι κοτ' ἦσαν ἄλκιμοι Μιλήσιοι.

In the struggle of the two <sup>1</sup> Ionic alphabets for mastery that of Miletos gained the day as early as the sixth century, and spread in course of time over all Ionia. The so-called 'Ionic' alphabet is in reality the alphabet of the chief city of Ionia. In the field of numismatics we find that the electrum staters of the Milesian standard were in vogue in the sixth century among Ionians not connected with Miletos by colonial ties <sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See Hirschfeld *Rhein. Mus.* XLIV p. 467, who supposes the two groups to have been developed by the eighth century and that Ω was added by the Milesians by the seventh century at the latest.

<sup>2</sup> To the later Greeks Miletos was naturally the centre of Ionic civilization. Herakleides Pontikos calls the Milesians the representatives of the Ionic race. In discussing the question of colonization and the transference of the mother dialect to the colony, Miletos is the example chosen by the grammarians to represent Ionic. See An. Ox. IV 423, = Choiseb. 751<sup>15</sup>, and also Schol. Apoll. Rhod. A 1075.

origin of an artistic vehicle of expression in Ionia must be sought in a territory, whose political supremacy and whose position as the rallying point of intellectual activity rendered it fit to become the dictator in the development of a literary language.

The idiom of this locality, freeing itself, as the representative of the national culture, from the bondage of the unrefined local usages, might well in time become the organ of a new prose literature. No city of Ionia can advance so bold a claim to be regarded as the starting-point and home of a new literature as Miletos. The dialect of its cultured citizens was as essential a foundation for the literary dialect as was that of the cultured Athenians for the literary language of Attika.

It is tolerably certain therefore that the language of the Ionian geographers, more local in tone than that of Herodotos, and more in the idiom of their native city, it may not be a baseless tradition to hold that the story of the downfall of Ionia was first told in the dialect of a city which was as the eye of Ionia as Athens was of Greece. If we find in the development of Greek literature the operation of a law of literary evolution, whereby the language of the original home left its impress upon any species of artistic composition, we shall be able to deny that Herodotos may have followed in the main the tradition established by his predecessors.

Whatever probability may be attached on literary grounds to the *a priori* assumption that of the four sub-dialects mentioned by Herodotos, one at least—that of Miletos—actually existed, it is not possible to disguise the fact that it is impossible to prove that Herodotos or his predecessors to have made use of that variety, or to demonstrate its existence on the lines of difference in phonology and inflection. With the materials at present under our disposal we are unable to cherish the hope of showing that there are any clearly stamped sub-dialectal differences in the quarters of Ionic. In the case of Chios only we have evidence that there is a stratum of Aiolic forms of sufficient authority to warrant our setting apart Chian Ionic as provided with the elements of sub-dialectal differentiation. Erythraian Ionic, so far as we know its structure at the present day, presents too little Aiolic colouring to admit of being classed in the same category as Chian.

Now if Herodotos' quadrilateral division is based upon the same assumption that the only satisfactory tests of dialectal differences are yielded by phonology and by schemes of inflection, Herodotos would seem to err when he says that the language of the islands of Kos, Kolophon, Lebedos, Teos, Klazomenai, and Phokaia



is 'totally different' from that of Miletos, Myns and Priene. If we grant that the evidence might be increased by later discoveries, we are nevertheless at present in possession of data sufficient to warrant the conclusion that there was no radical difference, at least in the inflections, between the Ionic of Lydia and that of Karia. The inflections in the monuments discovered outside of the territory embraced by the Ionic Dodekapolis cannot be said to vary in any essential feature from those current among the original Ionic cities. Literary and inscriptional monuments unite in proclaiming the fact that Ionic does not offer such marks of dialect differentiation as meet us in the investigation of other dialects, both those of wider and those of narrower geographical extension.

21.] But does the delimitation of Herodotos rest upon the modern conception that phonology and inflection determine dialect character? His system of division would assume a totally different complexion, and at the same time lose much of its apparent value, if he held that differences in vocabulary constituted criteria of sub-dialectal differentiation, and that the presence of sporadic loan-words from contiguous speech-centres gave to a dialect its peculiar colour. On this view, which is held to have been that of the historian by such eminent dialectologists as Kirchhoff and Bechtel, Herodotos' second *τρόπος* would be an Ionic interfused with Lydian, such as Hipponax' *βεβρός* and *κορίσκη*<sup>1</sup>. The Ionic of Miletos, Priene, &c., would then contain an admixture of Karian words<sup>2</sup>, and the Ionic of Chios-Erythrai be interpenetrated with Aiolisms; while the dialect of Samos alone would represent uncontaminated Ionism<sup>3</sup>.

Apart from the intrinsic probability or improbability of the view that Herodotos' theory of the nature of dialect differences was different from that now in vogue, we know of no Karian word (not a proper name) adopted either by the Milesian folk-dialect or by literature. If, as seems probable, Karian belongs to the Indo-European family, there is no trace in any Ionic word of the adoption of a Karian deaspiration of I. E. *gh*, *dh*, and *bh*, a deaspiration which Karian seems to possess in common with

<sup>1</sup> The ancient grammarians rarely cite Lydian words or Lydian usage of Hellenic words. Cf. Eust. 1082<sub>xx</sub>, ἀγνέων = πορνείων and § 39, 44.

<sup>2</sup> Karian was not an ill-sounding language according to Strabo XIV 662, who cites Philip, author of *Καρίαί*, to the effect that it adopted many Hellenic words.

<sup>3</sup> No coincidences between the language of Hdt. and that of Samos e.g. *ἱππογλαί* Hdt. V 83, Sam. ἀλοργά 220, suffice to rehabilitate Giese's view, exploded half a century ago, that the New Ionic of the last-mentioned island was that of Samos. It is noteworthy, however, that Giese defended the proposition that the Ionic of Samos was 'less mixed' than that of Lydia. (*Der attische Dialekt* pp. 152, 153)

Balto-Slavonic; nor do any of the phenomena which indicate that Lydian followed a different path from that followed by Hellenic in its treatment of I. E. sounds occur in Ionic.

22.] The rhetoricians and dialectologists of antiquity did not, it is true, draw with sufficient precision the line between vocabulary and style on the one hand, and phonetics and inflection on the other, as dialectal standards. The rhetoricians, especially Hermogenes, believed that the ἐκλογὴ ὀνομάτων was the chief standard to be applied in the criticism of the dialect of the Ionic prose writers. The ancient conception of ποικιλία, of the difference between 'pure' and 'mixed' Ionic, and in part the confusion between ἰωνικῶς and ποιητικῶς, have their root in the belief that vocabulary and style are the mint-marks of a dialect<sup>1</sup>.

Under the influence of sources in which the theories of the rhetoricians are visible, Gregory of Corinth is not infrequently led into quoting a word as Ionic, not because of its Ionic complexion, but because of its occurrence in an Ionic author (cf. § 79 ff. and above § 3). But if the grammarians of greater calibre, and in the main even such *magistelli* as Gregory, do not lose sight of the fact that phonetic and inflectional changes are the essential points to be held in view, it must give us pause before we assume that Herodotos, whose brain was not befogged by the canons of the rhetoricians, should have been completely in the dark. The merest boor, who says of a visitor from another dialect district that he does not speak 'correctly,' refers, not to the choice of words, but to the variations in sound and inflection which stamp the stranger as less cultivated in his estimation. Herodotos' elder contemporary Aischylos saw clearly enough what constituted dialect speech. In the Choeph. v. 563 Orestes says:—

ἀμφω δὲ φωνὴν ἥσομεν Παρνησιίδα  
γλώσσης αὐτὴν Φωκίδος μιμουμένω.

And yet in the face, not only of the evidence of literature and inscriptions, but also of the distinct statement of Herodotos as to the complete difference in character between the speech of Miletos and that of Ephesos, it is difficult to arrive at any other conclusion than that the presence of Karian and of Lydian words affixed to two of the *τρόποι* their distinctive character. It may not, however, be over-bold to maintain that, inasmuch as the exact

<sup>1</sup> The preeminent position occupied by vocabulary in the rhetorical studies of the Hadrianic age is evident from the attitude of Lukian in his critical remarks on Thukydides. See below, § 25, note, for examples of the study of Ionic vocabulary.

scale of pronunciation<sup>1</sup> current in different quarters of Ionia is involved in obscurity; inasmuch as the laws of contraction and crasis are treated with a freedom sufficient to yield varying results; inasmuch as our inscriptional material presents not a single instance of the occurrence of *ἰωνῶν* and congeners, of *κ* for *π* in *κῶς*, *κότε*, &c.—distinctive features separating Ionic from all other dialects—and since we are confronted, even in the few epigraphical documents at present known, with isolated phenomena whose wider extension cannot be disproved; it may not, I say, be over-bold to assume that some of these matters played a part in the system of sub-dialect division which has been handed down to us by an Ionian. The student of the Greek dialects has always to bear in mind the fact, too often neglected, that contemporaneous evidence is of a peculiar value. Its conclusions may be based upon shadings of vowel and consonantal sound too elusive to warrant graphical representation. Nor can it be emphasized too strongly that the different sections of Greece assumed very different attitudes towards the graphical representation of the sounds of their dialects. In those dialects which had developed a literature at a very early period we find a thorough-going objection to phonetic spelling; while in others, subject to the control of scarcely any literary monuments (as Boiotian), or none at all (as Eleian or Arkadian), we find, even in the official documents, the widest divergence from the form adopted by the language elsewhere. If the dialectologist of future generations, endeavouring to establish dialectal divisions of the speech of England or America, or seeking to mark the differences between English and American, or German and Austrian, or Swiss pronunciation, had a material as limited as the Ionic material in our possession, could he by any possibility succeed in his attempt? The Herodoteian quadrilateral division, if it deserves any recognition at the hands of modern dialectologists, must be regarded as a division based upon observation of the distribution of phonetical and inflectional phenomena. If it is false, we are for the present at least unable to demonstrate the existence of any other.

Bechtel has suggested<sup>2</sup> that augmented inscriptional material may ultimately enable us to dispose the sub-dialects of Ionia as follows —(1) *South Ionic* Miletos, Ephesos<sup>3</sup>, Samos, free from the admixture of any Hellenic dialect. (2) *North Ionic* Chios, with Aiolic ingredients. (3) *Halikarnassian*

<sup>1</sup> That the pronunciation of *σσ*, for example, was not uniform, may be inferred from the *T* = *σσ* in Halikarnassos 238, Mesembria Rob. I. § 75, Teos ? Bechtel 156 B 13, and the interrelation between *σσ* and *ττ* in the allied Attic dialect.

<sup>2</sup> *Die Inschriften d. ion. Dial.* p. vii.

<sup>3</sup> The Aiolic *τπίστ* in Hipponax 51 is a puzzle if the speech of Ephesos is pure Ionic.

*Ionic, with Doric ingredients.* Without further evidence, so tentative a scheme, though plausible in itself, can scarcely be adopted. As yet we have no inscription that might represent the third division<sup>1</sup>.

*Chronological Divisions of Ionic.*

23.] The actual life of the Ionic dialect begins in its earliest ascertainable form with the Homeric epos and ends languidly in the second<sup>2</sup> or third century after Christ, though its artificial life was prolonged by the canons of literary tradition to a period considerably later. The retention of that  $\eta$  which is specifically Ionic, the genitive in  $-\iota\omicron\varsigma$  from stems in *iota*, and the non-contraction, at least in writing, of some forms of the adjectives of material in  $-\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ , were the most carefully guarded heirlooms of the dialect. Their preservation in inscriptions in the latest period of its existence is due solely to the conservatism of the lapidary style.

From about the middle of the fourth century before Christ the history of Ionic is a history of the gradual displacement of the dialect due to the vigour of its rival Attic. (In the fourth century Aiolic could scarcely hold its own against the intruder which was sapping the strength of Ionic, and in the preceding century the name Aiolian is merged in that of Ionian in the public documents of Athens.) Though in the detailed examination of the dialect care will be taken to delineate its history as a living idiom, from the time it first encountered the strong hand of Attic till its final extinction, our interest in the life of the dialect is necessarily centered in the period when it was a controlling force in the development of Greek literature. Ionic was the dialect of the literary world<sup>3</sup> from at least the eighth century until it was dislodged from its commanding position by the dialect of Athens. Ionic was in all probability the official medium of communication adopted by the semi-Hellenic world of Makedonia and by the barbarian courts of Persia and Egypt<sup>4</sup>. By the end of the fourth century

<sup>1</sup> 'Αλικαρνεύς (see Becht. Halik. 238, = Rob. 145, is the only possible trace, and that in a proper name, of Doric  $\alpha$ . The same inscription has 'Αλικαρνεύς l. 41. In a Vienna papyrus (Philologus XLI 746 ff.) of the fourth century B.C. we find (l. 3) ταβροσαυτοῦ, which suggests the possibility of the writer being a Dorian from Halikarnassos (cf. 'Αρτεμισίη in l. 1). Kretschmer K. Z. XXX 572 suggests that Herodotos' ἑμπερίης is a loan form from Doric. Cf. § 715.

<sup>2</sup> Lukian, however (XXXIX 15), says of the language of a woman from Smyrna that it was καθαρὴς ἰωνικόν. Cf. XIV 13-15, XXI 1, XXV 16 (Tauch.), and Lobeck Aglaoph. II 997 ff., Tatian adr. Graec. p. 161.

<sup>3</sup> The Ionisms of the supposititious letters of Pittakos indicate the belief of the ancients that Ionic was the literary language before Attic.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the spurious letters of Artaxerxes and Amasia.



Attic had become the language of Philip, Alexander, and Antipater in their state letters (Cauer no. 430). Until the rise of Attic, every creative effort of Greek thought, save the Doric choral ode and the Aiolic love and drinking song, found expression in a dialect that was largely, if not wholly, Ionic. The earlier Aiolic epos lost its outlines as it merged into the Ionic poem under the hands of the bards, whose evanescent personalities unite under the name of Homer; the elegy, conscious of its source, did not disclaim its Ionic origin under the hands of Theognis or other non-Ionians; the lampoon was impatient of the admixture of a non-Ionic element. Ionic was the language of science, philosophy, and history till almost the end of the fifth century. All who would appeal through the medium of prose to be heard in the world of Hellenic culture were compelled to write in Ionic, no matter whether their native city was Kos, Mitylene, Pergamon, Syrakuse or Rhegion. Just so in the early period of Teutonic literature, Hartmann, Wolfram and other poets used the tempered Bavarian dialect though they came from different quarters of Germany. At the period when the power of Ionic was most autocratic Doric prose was still in swaddling-clothes which it was destined never to effectually cast off, and Attic prose did not exist. But by the time that her alphabet was becoming universally enfranchised throughout Greece, Ionia was effete. When the Renaissance of the language of Herodotos and Hippokrates came with the Hellene-loving Hadrian, Ionic fell into the hands of Kappadokians, Bithynians or Syrians, who adopted it because of the fine archaic flavour it imparted or because it had become the technical vehicle of expression for the medical guild. Native Ionians, caring nothing for the rehabilitation of their mother tongue, wrote in the *κοινή*.

The creation of an idea, even in the narrower sphere of dialect life, is attended by subsequent exhaustion or paralysis. When Ionic developed a prose literature, it had reached the last effort of an energy which for three centuries had been continuously creative. But, as if in compensation for the loss of its dominant position in literature, we find that now the dialect is widening the area of its influence. When the genius of the Ionic people, together with its liberties, was extinguished, and when in its home the dialect was succumbing more and more to the intrusion of Attic, we discover that other dialects are more and more displaying a tendency to adopt forms of Ionic colouring. Notably is this the case in respect of *eu* for *eo* in Doric idioms. In the third century other Ionisms are found in Kos. But the ripple which then scattered memorials of Ionic upon Doric and Aiolic shores, only followed in the wake of that more vigorous wave which carried Attic forms into a position from which they could

not be dislodged by the expiring efforts of dialect life. Ionic contributed a not inconsiderable contingent of forms and also of vocabulary to the *κοινή*. But it is as imprudent to claim that the *κοινή* is nothing more than a vulgar Ionic, carried throughout the world by the Ionians, the greatest of Greek colonists, and afterwards elevated to the rank of an organ of literature<sup>1</sup>, as it is ill-advised to give undivided attention to Photios<sup>2</sup> when he tells us that Ionic was Attic which had lost its ancestral flavour (*τῆς διαλέκτου τὸ πάτριον*) from contact with barbarians.

24.] The ancient grammarians divided Ionic<sup>3</sup>, from the point of view of its appearance in literature, into *ἡ ἀρχαία Ἰάς* and *ἡ νεωτέρα* or *μεταγενεστέρα Ἰάς*. A two-fold division of this nature was generally adopted in antiquity in the case of the other dialects.

*ἀρχαία Ἰάς* connoted in the opinion of the ancients either (1) the dialect of the time of Homer, or (2) that of the period of the Ionian migration eastwards while the colonies were founding under Kodrid rule (Joh. Gram. 242 *Ἡ μὲν οὖν ἀρχαία Ἰὰς μετέπεσε παρὰ τὴν τῶν κατοικούντων παρατροπήν, διέμεινε δὲ ἕως ἐκείνων τῶν χρόνων, ὅτε ἐποίησαντο Ἴωνες τὰς ἀποικίας καὶ διεσπάρησαν εἰς πλείονας τόπους*, and so with slight verbal changes Greg. Korinth. p. 490). On this second view Old Ionic does not differ from Old Attic; which was the opinion of Strabo VII 333: *τούτων (διαλ.) δ' αὐτῶν τεττάρων οὐσῶν τὴν μὲν Ἰάδα τῇ παλαιᾷ Ἀθίδι τὴν αὐτὴν φαμέν (καὶ γὰρ Ἴωνες ἐκαλοῦντο οἱ τότε Ἀττικοί, καὶ ἐκεῖθεν εἰσιν οἱ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐποικήσαντες Ἴωνες καὶ χρησάμενοι τῇ νῦν λεγομένη γλώττῃ Ἰάδι)*<sup>4</sup>. See below § 71,

<sup>1</sup> Thus Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Verhandl. deutsch. Phil.* 1878, p. 40. The *κοινή* adopted not only words whose use had been confined to Ionic writers, but forms which bear marks of Ionic phonetics, *e.g.* shifting of aspiration, as *κυθριδίαις* in Clem. Alex., *κυθρογαύλους* in Josephos. Cf. *Ἰαστί* *Ἑλληνιστί*, Hesych. The expression *Ἰὰς κοινή*, in which, according to a view of some scholiasts, Theokritos XII and XXII are composed, is unique. It is unknown as a division of Ionic, and has no apparent connection with the relations of Ionic to the *κοινή*. See § 118.

<sup>2</sup> Photios 640, on *φάρμακος* in contradistinction to Attic *φαρμακός*; *δλίον ἢ βάρβαρον ἢ Ἰακόν*, Ail. Dionys. in Eust. 1160<sub>16</sub>. This theory of Ionic in some form or other reappears from time to time. Salmasius (*De Hellen.* Chap. 7, p. 427) held that Ionians from Attika, corrupted by contact with the *βαρβαροφώνοις*, Karians and Leleges, perverted their ancient speech until it adopted *ἑνωτός*, *λόγοισι*, *Πηληϊάδεω*, *δεσπότεα*, &c. Latterly Hesselmeier has found in Ionic a Pelasgian dialect!

<sup>3</sup> Some thought that Ionic was the most ancient of the dialects (Bekk. Anecd. II 786<sub>14</sub>).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Eust. on Il. p. 8, 39. Many of the so-called Atticisms in Homer, according to the grammarians, are to be explained from their point of view of the identity of Old Attic and Old Ionic. Homer was even called a poet *τῆς παλαιᾶς Ἀθίδος*. Ephoros appears to have been the first to set up the identity of the *ἀρχαία Ἀθίς* with the *Ἰάς* which is affirmed by Strabo. Ephoros was led to this view, not by linguistic evidence, but by historical conceptions.

where other evidence from antiquity to the same effect is adduced, and the interrelation of Ionic and Old Attic discussed.

As the normal usage of the term *Old Attic* referred to the dialect of a definite period in Athenian literature (cf. for example Dionys. Halik. p. 454<sub>8</sub>), so *Old Ionic* was generally applied to the dialect of the Homeric poems in contradistinction to the *νέα Ἰάς*, of which Herodotos was regarded as the foremost representative. So in the case of Doric, ἡ *νέα Δωρίς* was the dialect of Theokritos, ἡ *παλαιὰ Δωρίς* that of Epicharmos and Sophron.

Ionic was never divided by the grammarians into more than two divisions. The three-fold division of Attic, as usually adopted, covers merely the literature of the fifth and fourth centuries (Mouris s.v. *πλυνεῖς, χαλαδαί, Αἴλιος* Dionys. *apud* Eust. Od. 1761<sub>31</sub>). *οἱ παλαιοὶ Ἴωνες* Hdn. II 603<sub>1</sub>, 642<sub>11</sub> = An. Ox. III 237<sub>13</sub>, 674<sub>8</sub> = Choir. 209<sub>30</sub>; *οἱ ἀρχαῖοι Ἴωνες* Joh. Gr. 242, An. Ox. I 28<sub>23</sub>, Hdn. II 673<sub>30</sub> = Choir. 209<sub>31</sub>; *οἱ νεώτεροι Ἴωνες* Hdn. II 265<sub>11</sub> = An. Ox. I 366<sub>21</sub> = Et. M. 667<sub>26</sub> without direct reference to Ionic, Hdn. II 603<sub>1</sub>, 674<sub>17</sub> = Choir. 209<sub>21</sub>, 20, An. Ox. I 247<sub>10</sub>, 366<sub>20</sub> Schol. Viet. on Il. XV 421, Eust. 1643<sub>2</sub>; *οἱ μεταγενέστεροι Ἴωνες* Hdn. I 344<sub>21</sub>, 465<sub>7</sub>, II 107<sub>11</sub>, 642<sub>12</sub> = An. Ox. III 237<sub>17</sub>; ἡ *μεταγενεστέρα Ἰάς* An. Ox. I 265<sub>8</sub>; ἡ *δευτέρα Ἰάς* Hdn. II 344<sub>2</sub> = Schol. Apoll. I 108<sub>2</sub> = Et. M. 821<sub>10</sub> not used by Homer; ἡ *νέα τῶν Ἰόνων διὰ λεκτοῦ* Gram. Aug. 5 25; ἡ *ὑστερον Ἰωνικὴ γλῶσσα* Eust. Od. 1714<sub>10</sub>; ἡ *νεωτέρα Ἰάς* Schol. Apoll. Rhod. A 998, 1081; *οἱ νέοι Ἴωνες* Et. Gud. 99<sub>11</sub>.

25.] It often happens that forms adduced as the property of the *νέα Ἰάς*, belong neither to it nor to the *ἀρχαία Ἰάς*, so far as the monuments under control permit a conclusion. For example Herodian II 674<sub>4</sub> (= Choir. 209<sub>24</sub>, cf. Et. Gud. 99<sub>11</sub>) states that *Ἀχιλλεῖος* and *βασιλεῖος* are the property of the *νεώτεροι Ἴωνες*, as they are, with different accent, the property of Aiolic also. Though the *αι* of *Ἀχιλλεῖος* may be explained (§ 220) after a fashion different from that adopted by the ancients, the form itself is unattested in any period of Ionic, and perhaps never existed. When Herakleides *apud* Eust. Od. 1643<sub>2</sub> (but cf. Il. 1160<sub>17</sub>) says that *ὀλίζω* for *ὀλίγω* was used by the 'younger Ionians,' we should be tempted to indulge the hope that an unusual form not adopted by literature<sup>1</sup> had been preserved, were it not for the fact that the belief was wide-spread that the Ionians substituted ζ for γ, a belief that was supported by such examples as *πέφυζα*, *πέφυζός*, and *φύζω*. The Attic *ὀλέϊζω*, the Homeric *φύζα* and *πέφυζότες* may have been the source of the confusion.

The preeminent position occupied by the Homeric poems in the study of Ionic by the ancients, overshadowing the approach to a minuter study of the diction of Herodotos, to say nothing of the logographers and Hippokrates, resulted in the belief that the distinction between 'Ionic' and 'poetic' was

<sup>1</sup> See note below.

evanescent<sup>1</sup>. To the later generation of grammarians and commentators, 'Ionic' is equated with 'poetic,' while 'poetic' and 'Ionic' become commensurate terms. Not merely is any phonetic or inflectional phenomenon, but also any word, which comes to light in Homer, set down as Ionic, without regard to the possibility of its occurrence, or its actual occurrence, elsewhere. Even in the professed treatises on dialects we find the same perverse attitude. Had Gregory or his chief source Johannes Philoponos rigidly applied his two-fold method of division, by ascribing to Old Ionic that which is Homeric, and attributing to the New Ionic the forms he met with in Herodotos, his procedure had at least merited praise for possessing some method. But 'Ionic' with him covers the entire period from Homer to Herodotos. We are never sure of our bearings unless either the name Homer or Herodotos is actually employed, or the provenance of the form under discussion is known to us. Had Johannes Philoponos been able to place under contribution an investigation into the complexion of Ionic in the iambographers and elegists, we might expect to find that his excerptor had used greater discretion on the side of chronology. In but one instance is the dialect of Homer compared with that of a later Ionic

<sup>1</sup> According to Herodian, Homer used Old Attic, Ionic, and probably Aiolic, Thessalian, Boiotian and Doric, though the last two dialects are not expressly stated to have contributed to the poet's diction. The recent epic poets were, in his view, untrammelled as to the use of the various dialects. Herodian differentiated *Ionians* and *poets*. The later grammarians did not keep them apart except when they echoed the opinion of Herodian. In the terminology of the later grammarians the *poets* are the epic poets. Herodian applied the word either to all poets, or (more frequently) to the epic and elegiac poets. It is very unusual for Herodian to call a word *poetic* for any other reason than that it has undergone a poetic *πάθος*. Poetic words are not necessarily the same as words *κατὰ διάλεκτον*, though the *πάθη* of each may not be dissimilar. The character of the *πάθος* has usually to determine the question whether a word is *poetic* or *dialectal*. Occasionally, however, it is use which must decide whether forms, whose *πάθη* are due to metre or hiatus, are to be called poetic or dialectal. Often Herodian makes grievous mistakes, e.g. *κεινός* is poetical, not Ionic, because the diphthong is due to the metre, an explanation which was correctly applied in the case of *ὀβλυμπος*. Whenever Herodian calls a form poetic or dialectal, his hesitation may be due to a contamination of the views of his predecessors, or because he may actually have been in doubt. See Stephan on Herodian for the working out of these views. Rarely do we meet with an attempt in the later grammarians to differentiate 'Ionic' from 'poetic': *ἴωνες καὶ οἱ ποιηταί* An. Ox. I 347<sup>17</sup>, II 412<sup>24</sup>, Choir. 513<sup>14</sup>, 517<sup>31</sup>, cf. 519<sup>9</sup>; *ἰωνικῶς ἢ ποιητικῶς* An. Ox. I 395<sup>4</sup>; Choir. 513<sup>22</sup>, 591<sup>29</sup>; 593<sup>8</sup>; 609<sup>32</sup>, 637<sup>1</sup>; *ἰωνικῶς καὶ ποιητικῶς* An. Par. III 116<sup>19</sup>, cf. 120<sup>5</sup>, Choir. 593<sup>8</sup>; *ποιητικοὶ ἰωνικοί* Philoponos, Choir. 593<sup>8</sup>; *ποιητικὰ οὐκ ἰακά* An. Ox. I 159<sup>30</sup>, *οὐκ ἰωνικά ἀλλὰ ποιητικά* An. Ox. I 385<sup>1</sup>; *ἰακῶς ἔατο καὶ ποιητικῶς εἶατο* An. Ox. I 174<sup>13</sup>; *ἰωνική, κεινή, ποιητική* An. Bachm. II 365<sup>27</sup>. Some forms called Ionic are also classed as archaisms, Tzetz. Ex. II. 90<sup>15</sup>. Extremely rare is such a conjunction as *Ὀμηρος καὶ ἴωνες*, Max. Plan. in An. Bachm. II 61<sup>27</sup>, cf. *ἴωνες, οἱ τε ἄλλοι καὶ ἰωνῶναί* Hdn. II 281<sup>7</sup>, (cf. II 384<sup>12</sup>). Of Anakreon, Pollux III 98 says that he used *ἥε, ἴων καὶ ποιητῆς ἀνήρ*. The first and second persons of iteratives were used by the poets *κατὰ μέμνησιν τῶν ἰόνων*, Choir. 633<sup>24</sup>, following Herodian's view.



poet from the point of view of Ionic form. On Ψ 88 ἀμφ' ἀστραγάλοισι χολωθείς, the Schol. Ven. A remarks: αἱ πλείονες τῶν κατ' ἄνδρα ἀμφ' ἀστραγάλησιν ἐρύσας· καὶ ἔστιν Ἰωνικώτερον. "ἀστραγάλοι δ' Ἐρωτός εἰσιν μανίαι τε καὶ κυδοίμοι." Ἀνακρέων.

*Note on Ionic Vocabulary.*

Subjoined is a list of some words called Ionic in the ancient lexica. For others see the Ἡροδ. λέξεις, Joh. Gr. 242, Greg. Kor. § 80 to § 191, Hekataian words, § 87 note, the fragments of the iambographers, especially Hipponax, and above § 9.

ἀγαί = αἰγιαλοί Et. Gud. 421, cf. Hesych. s.v.; ἀνάγειν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀπλῶς ἄγειν Eust. 1839<sub>10</sub>, cf. 708<sub>58</sub>, 1507<sub>63</sub>; ἄρπειζον = αἵμασία Eust. 1851<sub>25</sub>; ἀφαρεί = ταχέως Et. Mag. and Gud.; βόλβιτον = βόλιτον Et. Mag. 204<sub>28</sub> (Hipp. 70 A); βρόταχος, see § 147; βροῦκος· ἀκρίδων εἶδος, Ἴωνες Hesychios. βροῦκαν is Kyprian; γάλλος = μητραγύρτης Phot. 183<sub>1</sub>; γέργηθες = the δημόται at Miletos, Eust. 1433<sub>42</sub>; γέρινος tadpole Eust. 1864<sub>c</sub>; Plato has γυρίνος, Nikander γέρυκος; δαυλός = (δαλός) Schol. Viet. on Il. XV 421, Et. Mag. 246<sub>7</sub> = Attic δαελός, a form called Syrakusan by the same authority. Cf. μηρίων δεδανμένων quoted from Simonides Amorg. in Et. Mag. 250<sub>18</sub>; δειδίλλων = περιβλέπων An. Par. III 56<sub>18</sub>; ἐραται· ἐπιθυμεῖ ἡ λέξις Ἰωνικὴ Schol. Ven. A on I 64; ἐργύλον· στάτην. Ἴωνες Hesych.; ἐσσήν = ὁ βασιλεὺς κατὰ Ἐφεσίους Et. Mag. 383<sub>30</sub>; ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπὸ μεταφορᾶς τοῦ τῶν μελισσῶν βασιλέως ὡς εἴρηται ἔσσην (sic) . . . Ἰωνικὴ δὲ ἡ λέξις Et. Gud. Ἐσσήν was the title of a priest of Artemis at Ephesos, Paus. VIII 13, 1; εἰδοθέα = εἰδοθέα Eust. 1501<sub>52</sub>; ἱήτρειον σημαίνει τὸ τῶν δούλων δεσμοτήριον, ἦγουν τὸν μύλωνα, παρὰ Χίοις καὶ Ἀχαιοῖς Et. Mag. 411<sub>33</sub>, cf. Eust. 837<sub>41</sub>; ἡγάνα· πέμματα τὰ ἀπὸ τηγάνου Hesych. See Anakr. 26; ἡγός = ὁ εὐδαίμων Et. Mag. 390<sub>37</sub>; ἰβυκινήσαντες . . . ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ ἰβῆ παρήκται ἡ λέξις, καὶ ἔστιν Ἰωνικὸν ἐπίρρημα . . . ἔστι δὲ καὶ ὄρκος Ἰωνικός Hesychios; κηγχός Apoll. de Adv. 184<sub>9</sub> (Schu.); κητᾶλης = κλέπτῃς Joh. Gr. 242 B, cf. Teos 156 B 19; κηστός, ποιός, τις, ἄρτος παρὰ Ἴωσι Eust. 872<sub>9</sub>, Hesych. s.v.; κοκκύας (sic) = πρόγονος Et. Mag. 524<sub>62</sub>, κοκύας An. Par. IV 74<sub>4</sub>; κριοὶ κόλοι, ἕως τῶν παρ' Ἴωσι οἱ κολοβολέρατοι . . . λέγονται Schol. Ven. A on Π 117; λόγχος τὰς μερίδας Ἴωνες λέγουσιν Et. Mag. 569<sub>34</sub>, Orion 94<sub>25</sub>; μῆνις·

ὄργη Bek. An. II 739<sub>6</sub>; μήτρως Eust. 971<sub>26</sub> ff; μικρόν = μικρόν Eust. 217<sub>29</sub>, 610<sub>25</sub>; μύττακες· μυκαί. Σικελοί, Ἴωνες, Hesych.; ὀμφαλητόμος = Attic μαῖα Eust. 971<sub>37</sub> (Hippokr.); πάτρως Eust. 316<sub>8</sub>, 16, 971<sub>26</sub>, π; πέργαμον· τὴν πόλιν Ἴωνες λέγουσιν· οἱ δὲ πάντες τὰ ὑψηλά An. Bachm. I 337<sub>3</sub>; πηλός· οἶνος, Ἴωνες Hesych., Orion 86<sub>29</sub>, cf. 178<sub>2</sub>; σῆτες τὸ ἐπετονος Et. Mag. 711<sub>43</sub>; σκύβωλον = σκίβαλον Ephesian Ionic, An. Ox I 447<sub>18</sub>; σμῶξαι = πατάξαι Et. Mag. 721<sub>21</sub>, Orion 141<sub>6</sub>; στέρφος· ἔρφος

ὃ δέριμα, ὅπερ Ἴωνες στέρφος λέγουσιν Schol. Nik. Alex. 248; ῥύειν = βλάπτειν Eust. 1304<sub>45</sub>, 1532<sub>10</sub>, 1803<sub>2</sub>; τρώμη = τρώσις Eust. 1653<sub>52</sub>, 1803<sub>2</sub>, cf. 1023<sub>2</sub>, 991<sub>60</sub>; ὑπέρτερος = νεώτερος Eust. 184<sub>23</sub>; ὑποκρίνεσθαι = ἀποκρίνεσθαι Eust. 687<sub>15</sub>, 1437<sub>31</sub>, cf. 515<sub>15</sub>, 100<sub>42</sub>, 1876<sub>47</sub>, 1877<sub>2</sub>; φάρμακοι = Attic φαρμακοί Eust. 1935<sub>15</sub>; ῥήμις = φήμη Eust. 1956<sub>12</sub>, cf. 799<sub>10</sub>, 1563<sub>3</sub>; φωλεός (*schoolhouse* Hesychios) called Ionic by L. S. may belong to some other dialect; ἰλοσσός ἰχθύς ὑπὸ Ἴώνων Hesych.; χρεῖω = χρεῖα Eust. 698<sub>11</sub>; ὕδραξ οἱ Ἴωνες ψύδρακας λέγουσι τὰς ποικίλας Et. Mag. 819<sub>10</sub>; ῶ is called by Greg. Kor. 549 an ἀγροικικὸν προσφώνημα, the only instance of a distinct reference to the vulgar speech; κωλή = κωλή Eust. 1715<sub>25</sub> (see § 11).

Some of these words are doubtless provincialisms, which have not received the consecration of literary usage; and among them there may be words older than those that have won for themselves a place in literature. In the course of the development of Ionic life in its home on the Asiatic mainland and on the adjacent islands, one community may have clung with peculiar enacity to the old-time words, while another may have offered a less stubborn resistance to the encroachment of neoterisms. At the *παρήγυρις* of the Ionic cities there may have been heard words that sounded as strange to the ears of a Milesian as the provincialisms of an Eastern County man sound strange to the ear of a Londoner.

In examining the vocabulary of Ionic literature, especially in its prose monuments, modern students of style have not been deterred, despite the scantiness of materials, from setting apart this or that word in Herodotos or Hippokrates as 'poetical' because it is Homeric. Who can say how much of the epic vocabulary which reappears in Ionic prose is not the idiom of the day? Outside of Ionic prose literature ἀτρεκέως occurs only in poetry. It might be set down as an instance of the dependence of Herodotos and Hippokrates upon Homer, did we not know that the word was in use in Doric (cf. Et. Gud., Et. Orion, and L. D. I. 3219). ἀτρεκής is found also in Demokr., *Phys.* fr. 1. The list of words (*A. J. P.* VIII 467), which before the discovery of the Kyprian inscriptions were not known to exist outside of Homer, should warn us against holding too fast to the poetical character of the Herodoteian diction<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> To Prof. Strachan Herodotos VI, p. xxix I owe the following list:—*πυλῶσαι* Demokr. 71, *δεδῶσθαι* Diog. 6, *δίζημα* Demokr. 10, 20, Herakl. 8, 80, *ισομα* Herakl. 7, 122, *εἰρθεῖν* Demokr. 101, 106, 118, 135, 203, *κελος* Demokr. 1. Cf. Kleemann, *Vocabula HomERICA in Graecorum dialectis et in cotidiano sermone* *etc.*, 1876.

*The Ionic Element in Homer and the Relation  
of 'Old' to 'New' Ionic.*

26.] If we eliminate from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* the few forms whose Doric complexion is the result of a mistaken transcription of the original text, the occasional instances of forms specifically Attic, whose admission is due either to the Attic diasceuzasts, to the authority of Aristarchos (who held that Homer was an Athenian), or to the copyists, and finally such non-Hellenic monstrosities as the so-called distracted verbs, whose explanation transcends the phonetic laws obtaining in every Greek dialect, the remainder of the 'Homeric dialect' falls under the two divisions Aiolic and Ionic. By far the greater part of the sounds and inflections in the language of the Homeric epos is pan-Hellenic, and hence the joint property of both dialects, and in actual use at the time of the final construction of *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

Such archaisms as the instrumental in  $-\phi\iota$ ,  $-\phi\iota\iota$ , which do not bear either the Aiolic or the Ionic stamp, are likewise pan-Hellenic<sup>1</sup> and hence do not fall within the immediate purpose of the present work. But even within the domain of the phenomena which are manifestly dialectal, a successful delimitation of Aiolic and Ionic in the traditional text of Homer is attended by well-nigh insurmountable difficulties. It must be based upon a knowledge of the structure of both these dialects at the date of the composition of the various constituent parts of *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and in fact upon a consistent view of the origin and development of the epopee itself. As long as so fundamental a matter as the complexion of the dialectal  $\bar{a}$  is under dispute, as long as Philodemos' view is being resuscitated that the epic dialect was a farrago of all manner of dialects, and as long as it is undeniable that the diction of Homer is, partly at least, a highly artificial product, so long may a prudent scepticism affirm the futility of attempting any definitive demarcation between the dialect affinities of the Homeric dialect.

In the discussion of Aiolic an effort will, however, be made to bring together some examples of those sounds and inflections which may fairly be held to be the property of that dialect; and the view will be advanced, that the appearance of the Aiolic ingredient can with propriety be reconciled with the general Ionic colouring of the whole only when it is seen that

<sup>1</sup> By the ancients regarded as either Aiolic or Boiotian  $\tau\epsilon\iota\zeta$ ,  $\tau\epsilon\iota\eta$  and other forms ascribed by the ancients to this or that dialect, but whose complexion is probably pan-Hellenic, are excluded from the present discussion.

the dialect of the Homeric poems is, in greater or less degree, an Ionicized Aiolic. So far as the Ionic residue is concerned, the question at issue turns upon the character of the Homeric Ionisms in their relation to those of the age of Herodotos, and in fact upon the correctness of the ancient division into 'Old' and 'New' or 'Later' Ionic.

27.] In the view of the moderns, New Ionic is restricted to the dialect of the fifth century, as it appears in Herodotos and Hippokrates. It is probable that the ancient dialectologists included under the appellation New Ionic all that is post-Homeric, *i.e.* the dialect of the lyric poets as well as that of the philosophers, historians, and scientists. To the ancients Homer was farther removed from the lyric age than he is in the view of the moderns. The New Ionic included at least Hipponax<sup>1</sup>, who is mentioned by the Marmor Parium under Ol. 59. 3 (= 542 B.C.), and placed by Pliny in Ol. 60.

In reality the application of the term New Ionic to the form displayed by the dialect in Herodotos and Hippokrates signifies nothing more than the ordinary use of the term 'dialect' as a cantonal idiom. It does not imply that this form may not in part have existed before the time of Herodotos and Hippokrates and elsewhere than in the pages of these prosaists. So the term 'Late Lakonian' does not denote either that much of its structure may not be of very considerable antiquity, or that Lakonia was the sole residence of certain linguistic phenomena. All chronological and geographical divisions of dialect life are purely conventional and hence of extreme elasticity. The boundaries of New Ionic might be so far enlarged as to include the entire dialect of the oldest inscriptions, of the lyric poets, and of Herodotos, and this New Ionic contrasted with the oldest portions of the dialect of the Homeric poems, *i.e.* those that may reasonably be placed before the year 800. But since modern usage has chosen to affix to the dialect of Ionic prose the name New Ionic, this designation may, under certain limitations, be here adopted as the basis of the discussion as to the interrelation between the Old and the New Ionic.

It must be understood that in the comparison of the ἀρχαία with the μεταγενεστέρη ἰάς, an importance has been heretofore attached to Herodotos utterly out of proportion to the real value of his history as a representative of the later division. The text of Herodotos, even when built upon the consensus of testimony of

<sup>1</sup> Τὸ λαὸς ἔπρεπτος ἔμεινε παρ' Ὀμήρῳ, καίτοι τῇ μεταγενεστέρῃ ἰάδι τραπέν' ἀπὸν ἀφῆσας, Ἰππώναξ 88 ; An. Ox. I 265. Strabo VII 340 classes Hipponax among the νεώτεροι, and even Archilochos falls under the same appellation Schol. Z 507, cf. frag. 176).



the best MSS.—which often does not exist—can claim, unless supported by extraneous evidence, only an inferior position as a standard by which to estimate the character of the Ionic of the fifth century. The diction of early Ionic prose, and preeminently that of Herodotos, is permeated by lexicographical, stylistic and syntactical affinities with the language of Homer. But far more significant is the erratic conduct of the phonetical and inflectional system, preferring now the Homeric now the contemporaneous dialect; the frequent aversion to the living speech when its forms contest the field with those consecrated by Homeric usage; the inconsistencies in one and the same word as presented by the MS. tradition. All these considerations, which are discussed at greater length below, § 88, create a presumption in favour of the view that the text of Herodotos had undergone a transformation at a time when exact knowledge of the Ionic of the fifth century had vanished even from the schools.

From this it follows that all the modern comparisons of Homeric phonology with that of Herodotos, as it exists in the best MSS. of the historian, will (unless they rest upon the assumption that Herodotos intentionally commingled a dead with a living speech) have to confront the objection that the retention, in such large measure, of open forms originally separated by *god* (and to a less degree, by *F* and *σ*), from the earliest known period of Ionic until the fifth century, is a phenomenon unique in the history of the language.

While the greater part of the dialect of Herodotos is contemporaneous Ionic, there is a residue of formations either entirely obsolete or obsolescent<sup>1</sup> in the fifth century. So far then as New Ionic embraces the dialect of Herodotos, it is only that part of the dialect which may either be proved, or inferred by the argument from analogy, to be the Ionic of the historian's time. With this limitation as regards the dialect of Herodotos, and in a less degree as regards that of Hippokrates, the date of the New Ionic may be marked off with tolerable chronological exactness as the Ionic of the fifth century.

28.] What is Old Ionic? The conventional application of the term to the dialect of the entire epos pays no regard to the fact that under the name Homeric are classed dialectal phenomena ranging from perhaps the eleventh to the seventh century. While the oldest portions of the *Iliad*, even those of distinctly emotional character, antedate the earliest monuments of the

<sup>1</sup> For example *καλέω*, *καλέωτο*, *φρονέω*, *λυνέω* etc. The inscriptions have but one case of the retention, as an archaism, of the open, and older, form. The poets have *-οίμεν* *-οίμεθα*, *-οίεν*. The iteratives still live on in Herodotos though with impaired vitality.

Ionic lyric, there yet remains, in the *Doloneia* and various lengthy passages in books B, I, Λ, Σ, Υ, Ψ, an irreducible minimum that is contemporaneous with Archilochos or even with Simonides of Amorgos. And so far as the Odyssey is concerned, all of that which is called by Kirchhoff the 'second enlargement' is placed by him as late as 660 B.C.

And yet, so similar in texture is the diction of the later to that of the earlier accretions which have grown about the Iliad and Odyssey, that it is virtually identical with that of the primitive bard. The elasticity of their art did not debar the workers at the fabric of the epos from the use of forms either obsolete or obsolescent in their day, nor on the other hand from having recourse to analogical formations of an archaic stamp.

Tempting as is the comparison of book K and the greater enlargements of the Iliad and the second enlargement of the Odyssey with the fragments of Archilochos and Simonides of Amorgos, such a test yields no proof that the language of these latest portions is the language of the seventh century. The tendency to adopt contracted forms is perhaps the only sign of the assimilation of the literary to the popular form of the language<sup>1</sup>. In the older portions of the epos the fusion of vowels may have been a matter of poetic license. The exigencies of the verse may anticipate by an indefinable period the processes which operate in the ordinary speech of the day.

Subjoined is a list of some instances of contraction and synizesis, which deserve attention from those who approach the comparison of the epic with the iambographic dialect from the point of view of vowel openness or contraction<sup>2</sup>. Forms showing synizesis come to light alike in the older and the later parts of the poems; contracted forms increase in frequency in passages whose later origin may be inferred on other grounds.

Apart (1) from instances of contraction occurring in those words, which, without vocalic fusion, could not find admission into the hexameter, and (2) the contractions in the sixth foot (except a few isolated cases mentioned below), there occur the following instances of later forms, most of which resist all remedial treatment save of the severest character. Cases which show the disappearance of *yoi* are less noteworthy than those where *f* or *σ* has been lost. Where the syllable of contraction or synizesis is not under the ictus, this is denoted by a star.

<sup>1</sup> Yet the termination *-εσιν*, when preceded by a single consonant, must have been in ordinary use at the end of the seventh century. By the year 479 B.C. it was old-fashioned in Teos. See footnote, p. 35, and § 45 (1).

<sup>2</sup> In reference to the position assumed by Menrad in his *De contractionis et synizesis usu Homericis*, see my review *A. J. P.* VIII 224 ff., Christ's *Ilias*, § 102 ff., and the articles by Mr. Arthur Platt, in the *Journ. Phil.* XVIII No. 35 ff., which deal immediately with some of the forms quoted above.

A 15\* χρυσέω, B 684 καλεῦντο, 490 χάλκεον, 677\* Κῶν(?); Δ 113 σάκεα, 384\* Τυδῆ; E 387\* χαλκέω, 525 ζαχρειῶν, 256\* ἐᾶ; Z 220 χρύσειον; H 394 ἠνώγεον (-γειν?); Θ 217\* κηλέω (cf. O 744); I 605 τιμῆς(?), 75\* χρεώ, 266 ἀθλοφόρους; K 285 σπείω, 449 μεθῶμεν; Λ 282\* ἀφρεον, 282 στήθεα, 611 ἔρειο, 708 πολεῖς, 179 πρηνεῖς, 699 ἀθλοφόροι, 151\* ἱππεῖς; M 347, 360 ζαχρηεῖς; N 684 ζαχρηεῖς; Ξ 7 λούση (λοφ?), 274 ὦσι; O 21 ἡλάσσειον, 65\*, 68\* κτενεῖ, 444 βέλεα, 339 Μηκιστῆ; P 451 βαλῶ; Σ 136 νεῦμαι, 493 ἠγίνεον, 539 ὠμίλειν, 612 χρύσειον, 475 τιμηντα; T 104\* ἐκφαρεῖ, 202 ἦσιν, 402\* ἐῶμεν, 88 ἄτην (6th foot), 95 ἄσατο; Υ 218 ῥκεον, 72 Ἑρμῆς (6th foot); Ψ 361 μεμνέωτο, 121 δατεῦντο (6th foot), 412\* κατακτενεῖ, 834 χρεώμενος, 226 Ἑοιτφόρος, 792 Ἀχιλλεῖ (6th foot); Ω 290 εὔχευ, 503 αἰδέιο, 722 θρήνεον, 101 χρύσειον, 354\* νόον(?), 28 ἄτης (6th foot), 734 ἀθλεύων, 769 δαέρων.

α 183 πλέων; β 358 ἀνοβῆ, 421 ἀκραῆ(?); γ 221 φιλεῦντας (6th foot); ε 54\* Ἑρμῆς (6th foot); ζ 210 λούσατε, 216\* λοῦσθαι, 219 ἀπολούσομαι (from λοφ?); η 94\* ὄντας, 110\* τεχιήσσαι, 107 καιρουσσίειν, 118 θέρευν, 116\* συκέαι; θ 550 κάλεον, 334\* Ἑρμῆν, 483\* ἦρω, 160 ἄθλων, 271 Ἥλιος; ι 269 αἰδέιο, 44 ἠνώγεα, 240 θίρεον, 283 νέα (ναῦν?); κ 347\* κρέα (6th foot), 136\* χρεώ; κ 229, 255 καλεῦντες (6th foot), 518\* χεῖσθαι, 263 ἠνώγεα, 240 νοῦς; λ 61 ἄσε; μ 249 καλεῦντες (6th foot); ν 78 ἀνερρίπτουν; ξ 86\* βῶσι, 435\* Ἑρμῆ; ο 74 φιλεῖν, 88 νεῖσθαι, 533 γένευν, 248 υἱεῖς; π 383 φθέωμεν, 367 ἄσαμεν; ρ 55 ἠνώγεα; σ 247 πλέονες; τ 136 ποθέουσα, 489\* οὔσης, 331 τεθυέωτι, 34\* χρύσειον; υ 14 βερῶσα (6th foot); φ 218\* πιστωθήτοιν, 47 θυρέων, 178 στράτος; χ 456 ἐφύρεον, 385 κοῖλον; ψ 77\* ἔα; ω 337 ἦτεον, 323 ἴσχεο, 491 ὦσι, 437 φθεωσι, 1\* Ἑρμῆς, 394\* θάμβευν (6th foot); 398 Ὀδυσεῦς, 523 Εὐπείθεα, 341\* συκέας, 360 προὔπεμψ'.

29.] Now if the dialect of the epos represents the period of Old Ionic according to the ancient and modern conception, and the language of the fifth century is New Ionic, it might be questioned whether there is not in the monuments of the sixth century an intermediate stage of the dialect. That such a middle period does not exist is evident from the study of the literature and inscriptions from 600-500 B.C. A few examples will in fact suffice to show that 'Middle' Ionic has no existence whatsoever.

Thus for example the oldest Ionic form of λᾶος is λῆός, found first in the misread Homeric Λειώδης and Λειώκριτος. λῆός itself does not come to light in the monuments of the dialect until the second half of the sixth century (Hipponax 88) while the Herodoteian Λεῖός had been formed as early as the

seventh century (Archil. 69), and was in use in Miletos (Bechtel no. 93) in the sixth century; to say nothing of the Homeric Ἀγέλεως χ 131, 247. Herodotos has also in Λευτυχίδης an example of a third form. While Herodotos has λεώς (lāfos, it is doubtful whether he has νεώς (nāfos.

Again: in at least eleven passages ranging from the earliest to the latest books, the genitive in -oo can be exhumed, a form which is the immediate parent of -ov and the direct descendant of -oio<sup>1</sup>. It may serve as the type of those forms whose archaic character is so clearly marked as to justify their ascription to a stage in the history of Greek in which lines of demarcation cannot be drawn between Ionic and Aiolic. Though we shall find it impossible to define accurately the life of 'pre-Homeric' forms, it is clear that the -oio form must have been in possession of the field centuries before the first accretions began to grow about the primitive Iliad and Odyssey. Even its offspring -oo must have acquired an archaic flavour at the time of the composition of the poems. A distinct stage in the life of the dialect, when -oio was old-fashioned and -ov had not come in, cannot be discovered,

Now if it could be shown from these and similar examples, that the life of a considerable number of individual forms was conterminous, a period of 'Middle' Ionic, such as is set up by Professor Sayce<sup>2</sup>, might be said to have existed. But there is no trace of a halting-place where a number of distinctly intermediate forms consort. All the meaning therefore that can be extracted from the expression 'Middle' Ionic, is that, in the most general sense, between the close of epic and the rise of prose literature there was an interval, the existence of which in no wise carries with it the conclusion that the inflectional and phonetic development of the language had reached an intermediate stage.

The assumption then of a Middle Ionic, in fact the comparison of Old with New Ionic, is of almost no value in the eyes of a science which deals not with periods, but with the life of the individual form. There may indeed be a primitive, a middle, and a final period in the life of the individual form, if it chance to have undergone three distinct phonetic changes which are actually attested or which may be inferred.

30.] The study of the life of the individual form in Homer, the lyric poets, and the inscriptions, reveals an organic development of the dialect, whose recognition has been forced to wait upon

<sup>1</sup> In La Roche's text the occurrences of -oio and -ov are: -oio Il. 1085, Od. 702, -ov Il. 1015, Od. 808. This count includes the instances of -oo for -oo.

<sup>2</sup> *Journal of Philology* X 111, cf. Monro, *ib.* IX 253.



the formation of a just estimate of the position of Herodotos. If it be admitted that the sounds and inflections of the diction of Herodotos and Hippokrates are not epic as such, the conclusion is irresistible that the form often assumed by these sounds and inflections in the MSS. especially of Herodotos, is antagonistic to this organic development of the language, whose beginnings may be traced in Homer, and whose later aspects are visible in the epic, in the iambic writers and the inscriptions.

31.) In that portion of the Homeric dialect which, after the separation of the Aiolic element, we call Ionic, there co-exist, as we have seen, forms of very different dates. In determining the chronology of the Ionisms of the epos, there are several considerations which deserve ampler recognition than that usually accorded them. (1) No single verse or passage, of which the verse is an indissoluble part, is older than the date of the youngest form it contains; provided the passage in question is not an interpolation, and the form is not due to the exigency of the metre. (2) Forms which have disappeared completely at a very early period in the history of the transmission of the poems, and whose existence is due solely to reconstructive criticism, are not necessarily of the most archaic type. (3) If there are passages of greater or less compass—even single lines or parts of lines—which have suffered transposition from Aiolic into Ionic, the Ionic forms which are metrically equivalent to those of Aiolic complexion, will belong to an early period of the dialect<sup>1</sup>. As a matter of fact, apart from the probability or improbability of Pick's conception of the genesis of an Ionic Homer, it is frequently, but by no means invariably, the case that where the Aiolic form cannot be substituted for the Ionic form in the text, this form in question represents a later stage of the development of Ionic. (4) The joint ownership by Homer and Herodotos of formations, of which the Attic seems to offer more ancient by-forms, is not *per se* indicative of a later origin of the Homeric passages in which these formations occur.  $\tau\acute{\iota}\theta\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota$  is no less a neologism than  $\tau\acute{\iota}\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\iota$ . (5) Homeric Ionic is not invariably older than that portion of the later dialect which is independent of epic influence. Yet in its totality the complexion of the Ionic of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* is sufficiently archaic to exclude the suggestion that portions of the poems containing forms found alike in Epic and in 'New' Ionic, are later accretions. (6) The assumption that, wherever Homer makes but rare use of

<sup>1</sup> The older the forms, the more nearly alike are they in all dialects. This fact of language has no necessary connection with a transference from one dialect to another of a product of literature.

a formation that grows apace in later Greek, this formation has been brought in by diasceuasts or copyists, is destructive of all linguistic perspective.

While not constituting a period of Middle Ionic, the dialect of the iambic writers is a bridge leading from the epic to the form assumed by the dialect in the fifth century. On the one hand it agrees with the Ionic of Homer in its freedom in treating the demonstrative as a relative pronoun; a freedom which has been somewhat restricted in Herodotos, and much more abridged in Hippokrates. In Archilochos, Simonides of Amorgos, Hipponax, and Ananios, we encounter  $\delta\varsigma$  in its ordinary relative use, and also the employment of the article as a relative. In Herodotos the  $\tau$ -forms prevail in the oblique cases and in the neuter of both numbers, while  $\delta\varsigma$ ,  $\eta$ ,  $\omicron\iota$ ,  $\alpha\iota$  occur in the nominative, after prepositions which suffer elision, and in certain formulae. Hippokrates adopts the Attic use. Furthermore the following instances of divergence from the prose dialect are noticeable. In a few cases the poets preserve open in vocalic stems forms which later suffered contraction, notably in Hippokrates. The  $\iota$  of diphthongs is less frequently lost before a following vowel than in Herodotos. There is in fact no case of such a form as  $\theta\eta\lambda\epsilon\alpha$ .  $\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\varsigma$  and  $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega$  are preferred by the iambic writers to the longer forms, which find favour in Herodotos and Hippokrates. For verbs in  $-αω$  we find  $-εω$  very rarely in the poets.

32.] It is difficult to discover any phonetic change of the fifth century (occurring in a word found also in Homer<sup>1</sup>) which does not appear in some portion of the epic. Oftentimes it happens that younger forms which come to light only sporadically, notably noun and verb forms which have lost *yod*, *sigma*, or *digamma*, are admitted in the later Ionic, which casts off the older form prevailing in the epos. Each set of forms deserves individual treatment, as it by no means follows that all younger forms<sup>2</sup> in the epos are universally adopted by the iambographers or the inscriptions; a consideration that must have weight in the reconstruction of the Ionic of the fifth century, when no light is cast by the iambic writers or the stone records.

Perhaps the most important marks of distinction between Old Ionic and the Ionic of Herodotos' time are the loss of the dual and of  $\phi$ , and the curtailing of the iterative formation in the latter. How far other phonetic differences may be set down as characteristic differences of Old and New Ionic is not always

<sup>1</sup> This limitation excludes  $\sigma\epsilon\omega\nu\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$  &c.; see under *Pronouns*.

<sup>2</sup> Thus  $\beta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\varsigma$  O 444,  $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\lambda\epsilon\varsigma$  Δ 113 (to say nothing of  $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\chi\epsilon\varsigma$ ,  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\gamma\epsilon\varsigma$ ,  $\tau\epsilon\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\epsilon\alpha$ ,  $\epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}\theta\epsilon\varsigma$  in the 6th foot) do not exclude  $-εα$  from the lyric dialect, though there  $-εα$  may be more frequent than the open form.

clear. Some of the more marked changes are *τέσσερες* for *τέσσαρες*, *θῶμα* for *θαῖμα*, and *ῶν* for *οῦν*; *κ* for *π* in pronominal forms. The existence of the *spiritus asper* is imperilled and the contraction of vowels has set in to a very considerable extent in New Ionic. On the other hand the dialect of the Ionic iambic poetry runs parallel with that of the inscriptions, save in the fact that the former has *κῶς*, *κότε* &c., while the latter has no case of the *κ* form. Except in this particular the language of the iambographers is more closely allied to that of the stone records than it is to the diction of Herodotos.

### *Homeric Ionisms.*

33.] The *résumé* of Aiolic forms under the head of Homeric Aiolisms, AIOLIC §§ 12-39, relieves us of the responsibility of treating in detail the Ionisms of the Homeric diction. All that is not Aiolic in Homer (with the exceptions referred to AIOLIC § 10) is Ionic. The following sections call attention to a few points, some of which are not free from doubt, where Ionic stands out in direct opposition to Aiolic.

34.] **Vowel-system.** When, in conjunction with *ρ*, we have variable forms in *α* and *ε*, as in *θάρσος* *θέρσος*, the presumption is in favour of the Ionic character of the *α* forms.

Ionic *ε* is = Aiolic *ā* in *τέως*, *έως* (*τείως* and *είως* are misrepresentations of the older Ionic forms in *η*), in *Ἀγέλεως* χ 131.

Ionic are all cases of *η* except those which are pan-Hellenic. Ionic *η* has often been obliterated by incorrect transcription of *Ε*, as in *Λειώκριτος* which stands for *Ληόκριτος* (cf. *Κριτόλαος*), and in *Λειώδης* = *Ληώδης*, the equivalent in meaning of Thessalian *Φασίδαμος* C. D. I. 371. *Ληώδης* is from *ληφο-φάδης*. The Ionians appear in Homer in the non-Ionic form *ἰάονες* N 685, while *πατήων* A 473 is genuine Ionic (cf. *Archil.* 76).

Ionic are all long vowels and diphthongs due to compensatory lengthening (but not to epenthesis) in cases where the Aiolic dialect geminates the preceding consonant. Examples under §§ 196, 224. The sound *ει* is Ionic as the result of the contraction of *εε* to *ει*; and all contractions of *οο* to *ου*. When Homeric *ει* has *ευ* = *εφ* as its counterpart in Aiolic, this *ει* is Ionic.

*ει* and *ου* under the ictus in cases for which comparative grammar can find no morphological explanation: *εἰλήλουθα*, *Εἰπέρτεια*, *Οὔλυμπος*. *χρύσεος* is Ionic, *χρύσιος* Aiolic.

Though the contraction of *ε* and *ο* assumes in a few instances

the form of *eu* in Aiolic, all cases of *eu* in Homer may safely be classed as Ionic<sup>1</sup>. In a stage of development of the Homeric poems so remote as the supposed 'Aiolic period,' while the synizesis *eo* might be possible, the contraction to *eu* would scarcely be admitted. Besides the instances given in § 28, the following may be mentioned:

ἐρέβειν Θ 368, λ 37 (cf. Hym. Dem. 410), ἀντενν Μ 160, (ἐ)γεγώνενν ι 47, μ 370, ρ 161, νεικεῦσ' Υ 254, εἰλεῦντο Φ 8, ὀχλεῦνται Φ 261, θηεῦντο Η 444, Κ 524, σφαραγεῦντο ι 390, 440, φοβεύμενος Θ 149, αἰρεύμενοι Π 353, ἰκνεύμεναι ι 128, οἰνοχοεῦντες γ 472, ἀμφιβαλεῦμαι χ 103, λωτεῦντα Μ 283. In most of these verbs open *eo* was impossible. Furthermore in ἐμεῦ (twenty-six times), μεν (sixty-three), σεῦ (thirty-five), εὔ (seven), τεῦ (sixteen).

Menrad's *De contractionis et synizeseos usu Homericis* attempts to heal many of the contracted forms in § 28 and in § 34, which are by other scholars rightly held to be hystero-geneous. Cp. A. J. P. VIII 224. ἐπιβάσομαι α 378, β 143, ἐπιβασόμεθ' Κ 463 (cf. X 254), βώσαντι Μ 337 has parallels in no dialect except Ionic. On ἐγδάκοντα Β 368, 652, see § 207.

**35.] Consonants.** κτ in πολυκτῆμων (Ionic κτέομαι), where Aiolic has πάομαι as in πολυπάμων. Movable *nu* in such collocations as θῆκεν, τοῖσι δὲ κ.τ.λ., Ψ 153. Movable *nu* seems to have taken its start from Ionic territory.

Ionic never geminates labials as in ὀππότε, &c., nor at any period of the dialect was κκ used instead of the Aiolic ππ. Nor does Ionic geminate τ in ὅττι, &c. When Homer has τ = Aiolic π, as in τῆλε, the τ form is Ionic.

Since the Ionic dialect seems to have lost the rough breathing at a later date than did Aiolic, cases of the *lenis* for the *asper* are more probably Aiolic.

**36.] Ᾱ Declension.** Nouns in -η and -ης in the nominative, and -η in all other case forms.

Gen. in *ew*. Dissyllabic -*ew* is found but once, in Ἄλτεω Φ 86, where the ἄλταο of Cod. C suggests an easy change. *ew* thirty-seven times in the Iliad, twenty-eight times in the Odyssey, chiefly in the arsis of the second, the third, or the fifth foot. ἀγκυλομήτεω is found at the end of the verse, Ἴδεω begins the verse I 558 (Meleager episode), ἰκέτεω occurs in the arsis of the fourth foot Ω 158, 187, συβώτεω in the thesis of the same foot ξ 459, ο 304. In the cases of -*ew* from Πηληϊάδης, Πηλεΐδης, Ἄλτης, Νηληϊάδης, Ἀτρεΐδης, Αἰνείης, βορέης, α' may be sub-

<sup>1</sup> According to the ancient grammarians *eu* was both Ionic and Doric.

stituted, the genitives occurring always before a vowel<sup>1</sup>. Τυδείδης does not admit of a like substitution, a fact which has called forth some speculation as to the position of Diomedes in the galaxy of the heroes.

The genitive in -ω is always preceded by a vowel: ἐυμελίω Δ 47, 165, Ζ 449, βορέω Ξ 395, Ψ 692, ξ 533, Ἑρμείω Ο 214, Αἰνείω Ε 534. βορέω never occurs save before a word beginning with a vowel.

Gen. plur. Dissyllabic -εων is found only Η 1, Μ 340, φ 191. -εων by synizesis twenty-one times in the Iliad, nineteen in the Odyssey.

-ων: thirteen cases of -ιων, furthermore των six times, σων Ε 818 (σέων Aristar.), αὐτων Τ 302.

37.] **O Declension.** Βριάρεων Α 403 seems to be Ionic alone, but Πηνέλεων Ν 92 need not be regarded as containing the Ionic λεώς. On ληός in Homer, see § 29. ἀγήρω *e.g.* Ρ 444 for ἀγηράω. I see no reason for regarding the instances of -οις as proofs of Ionic workmanship. Though -οιο occurs more frequently in the post-epic Ionic than in the Aiolic lyric, we cannot distinguish between the dialects as regards its appearance in Homer.

38.] **Consonantal Declension.** On γέλως, ἔρως see under Homeric Aiolisms; κυκειῶ Α 624. Whether the Aiolians ever used πλέονες, -ονας, is doubtful. Ὀδυσσεὺς ω 398 is certainly Ionic, as are all other instances of εὐ ξξ 28, 34.

39.] **Pronouns.** Ionic are the forms beginning with ἡμ- and ὑμ-. In many cases ἡμεῖς ἡμέας are found where Fick cannot readily substitute the Aiolic equivalents, *e.g.* β 86, 244, δ 294. σφας Ε 567, cf. Μ 43, seems to be Ionic.

40.] **Verbs.** κτεριῶ Σ 334, κτεριοῦσι Α 455, ἀεικιῶ Χ 256 seem to be Ionic rather than Aiolic. On other contractions see ξξ 28, 34. All forms of the contract verbs such as ἐπολεῖ are Ionic. αἰρέω is Ionic = Aiolic ἀγρέω, ἀγρημι.

Inf. in -ναι and -ειν are solely Ionic (Aiolic -μεναι, -μεν and -ην). Those in -εειν from the second aorist stem seem to be the work of Ionians.

41.] **Varia.** μῖα = Aiolic ἱα, τέσσαρες, τεσσαράκοντα, τεσσαράβοις.

εἰς in Homer is both Ionic and Aiolic, ἐς Ionic in all probability; ἄν may be Ionic in contradistinction to Aiolic κέ.

<sup>1</sup> On the Homeric genitive, see *i. a.* Platt in *Class. Rev.* II 12, 99.

*The Ionic of Iambic, Trochaic and Elegiac Poetry.*

42.]

AHRENS : *Ueber die Mischung d. Dialekte in d. griech. Lyrik*, 57-63. *De hiatu apud elegiacos Graecorum poetas antiquiores*, Philol. III 223.

FICK : *Die Sprachform der attionischen u. attischen Lyrik*, B. B. XI 242, XIII 173, XIV 252

FLACH : *Das nachhesiodische Digamma*, B. B. II 1 ff.

KIECHHOFF : *Zur Geschichte des attischen Epigramms*, Hermes V 48, 1871.

LABGE : *De veterum epicorum studio in Archilochi, Simonidis, Solonis, Hipponactis reliquiis conspicuo*, 1885.

RENNER : *De dialecto antiquioris Graecorum poesis elegiacae et iambicae*, Curtius' Studien I 1, 133 ff.; I 2, 1 ff., 1868. *Ueber das Formelwesen im griech. Epos und epische Reminiscenzen in der älteren griech. Elegie*, 1872.

SCHULHOF : *On the early Ionian poets and on the interrelation of Ionic and Attic Greek*, Trans. Oxf. Phil. Soc., 1889.

SITZLER : *Ueber die Sprache der Elegiker*, Jahrb. f. Philol. CXXV 504.

SCHNEIDWIN : *Beiträge zur Kritik der Poetae Lyrici Graeci*, 1844.

WAGNER : *Quaestiones de epigrammatis graecis ex lapidibus collectis* (by Kaibel) *grammaticae*, 1883. See also AIOIC, § 100.

43.] It is advisable to approach the investigation of early iambic, trochaic, and elegiac poetry from the point of view of the nationality of the poet. The poetry of those who 'purchased fame by keen iambicks' is redolent of the soil from which it springs. The elegists, on the other hand, fall into two distinct divisions: those of Ionic blood, whose contemporary dialect is tempered solely by the diction of Homer, and secondly those of non-Ionic birth, who, though they may colour their dialect with forms drawn from the soil either of their birth-place or of their adopted home, are debarred by the laws of their art from inter-fusing their dialect with forms that are specifically Ionic (κῶς, κóρε), i.e. forms whose use had not been sanctioned by having been adopted by Homer. Otherwise these non-Ionic elegists have equal recourse to the fountain head of elegiac diction, the epos.

*Dialect of the Iambists.*

44 ] Iambic poetry was the weapon which dealt the sabre-thrusts of Ionic invective; and the cultivation of the iambic measures remained an almost exclusive prerogative of the Ionic race until the trimeter was claimed for a higher and wider purpose by the literary successors of the Ionians. Its reception by Solon paved the way for its adoption by Tragedy.



The dialect of the three iambographers adopted by the Alexandrian canon was the pure Ionic of the century and a half during which the iambus was cultivated by the race which had first used it as a vehicle of literary expression. In the lyrical parts of Archilochos we observe a widening of the dialect horizon. These are considered below § 62; on his trochaics, see § 52.

Hipponax alone has so coloured the diction of his 'halting' iambics with words not Hellenic but drawn from Lydian<sup>1</sup> or Phrygian<sup>2</sup>, that he gained among the commentators the name of βαρύγλωσσος. τρῶσι in § 1 recalls the Aiolic scheme of inflection of the numerals. In the hexameters of Hipponax we find epic forms.

In the examination of the phonetic and inflectional system of Ionic the diction of the iambographers Archilochos of Samos, Simonides of Amorgos, Hipponax of Ephesos, Ananios, and Herodas, will be investigated in detail. The other monuments of iambic verse outside of tragedy and comedy are too scanty to yield information of value. A few interesting forms are found in Skythinos.

Though Ananios' personality is scarcely to be separated from that of Hipponax, his language speaks in favour of his being considered as a distinct poet. In some respect his inflections do not follow the strict norm set by his predecessors. Anakreon's iambics are too scanty to permit a conclusion as to their dialect.

The original colouring of the Ionic of Archilochos, Simonides of Amorgos and Hipponax, though partially obliterated by the ignorance or perversity of copyists, can nevertheless be restored without recourse to a violent disturbance of MS. tradition. In one or two cases epic forms seem to have forced an entrance into the text. In weighing the MS. evidence in the case of Archilochos, the testimony of the Thasiote dialect must be considered.

On the resuscitation of choliambics by the Dorian Herodas, perhaps a contemporary of Theokritos, Ionic came again into fashion. The Alexandrians confessed their allegiance to the Ionic norm; and Babrios' μυθιαμφοὶ Αἰσώπειοι attest, at least partially, the persistence of the Ionic standard. Cf. also Tzetzes in An. Ox. III 308.

The newly discovered papyrus of Herodas presents a tolerably faithful picture of the Ionic appropriate to this species of iambic composition. The Ionisms seem to be imitative, and not drawn from a living dialect, though there occur forms hitherto unknown in literature. Most of the Atticisms are

<sup>1</sup> βεβρόν 64 cf. Hesych. βεβροῖ ἀγαθός; κυρίσκει 64; μανλιστήριον 126; Κανθαίλα 1 'Μπονιστί'. Perhaps the Hesychian glosses βασκε πικρόλεια' πλησίον ἐξεβάζε and βαστιζακρόλεια' θάσσαν ἔρχον were derived from Hipponax.  
<sup>2</sup> ἡνιאתον 129; cf. 135

due to a disturbance of MS. tradition. In the case of others, however, where there is no fluctuation (e.g. twelve times), it may be doubted whether they are not to be ascribed to the author himself. The MS. has in places been corrected in the interest of the Ionic form. Forms of Doric complexion may be referred to the speech of the poet's home. These are especially such as show a contraction of  $a + e$  to  $\eta$ . The crasis of  $\kappa\alpha\iota$  shows more forms with  $\eta$  than with  $\bar{a}$ .  $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\varsigma$  regularly has  $\eta$  ( $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\eta\varsigma$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\eta$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\eta\tau\epsilon$ ).  $\gamma\lambda\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\alpha$  or  $\gamma\lambda\bar{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\alpha$  is not necessarily Doric.  $\nu\iota\upsilon$  is not uncommon. Some of the most interesting traces of Ionism are the following:—(1) *Vowels*: Over 150 forms have the Ionic  $\eta$ , less than ten have  $\bar{a}$  after  $\rho$ ,  $\epsilon$ , and  $\iota$ . The contraction of  $e + e$  to  $\epsilon\upsilon$  is very frequent; regularly so in verbal forms.  $\epsilon\upsilon\tau\epsilon\upsilon$  2<sub>25</sub>, 6<sub>25</sub> and  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\gamma\epsilon\upsilon\iota\nu$  4<sub>25</sub>, 25 are unique. Hyper-Ionic  $\epsilon\upsilon$  occasionally comes to light as in  $\delta\rho\alpha\mu\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\alpha$  5<sub>25</sub>,  $\chi\alpha\sigma\mu\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\eta$ , 4<sub>25</sub>.  $\epsilon\upsilon$  is generally so written in noun and verb, though it must usually be read  $\epsilon\eta$ .  $\Pi\eta\eta\zeta\iota\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\omega$  4<sub>25</sub> is a singular exception.  $e + \epsilon$  and  $e + \eta$  are always contracted when the forms were originally separated by  $\nu\alpha\delta$ .  $e + \eta = \omega$  in  $\beta\acute{\omega}\sigma\epsilon\nu$  4<sub>11</sub>, 13;  $\iota\phi\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  is frequent, as is the synizesis of  $\epsilon\alpha$  in neuter plurals. The Ionic  $\epsilon\omega$  appears in  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\lambda\epsilon\eta$ ,  $\gamma\omicron\upsilon\nu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\nu$ ,  $\nu\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\omicron\varsigma$ .  $\acute{\iota}\epsilon\pi\tau\acute{\eta}$  is attested 5<sub>25</sub>, cf.  $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\theta\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$  2<sub>15</sub>.  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\zeta\omega$  is found twelve times,  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\zeta\epsilon\omega$  but once.

2 *Consonants*:  $\kappa$  for  $\pi$  is very frequent. Traces of  $f$  are scarcely discernible; cf. 2<sub>17</sub>  $\tau\acute{\alpha}$   $\phi\iota\alpha\iota$ , but in five other passages the word has no  $f$ . The hiatus in 4<sub>11</sub> is excused by the caesura. There are many indications of psilosis, though these are outnumbered by the occurrences of the rough breathing. While  $\alpha\delta\tau\iota\varsigma$  is found there is no trace of  $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\kappa\iota$ .  $\chi\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\eta$  7<sub>16</sub> and  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\alpha\upsilon\theta'$  3<sub>25</sub> have driven out the Ionic form.  $\sigma\sigma$  holds its own ( $\tau\tau$  only three times).  $\gamma\lambda\acute{\alpha}\chi\omega$  occurs  $\theta\lambda\acute{\eta}\tau\epsilon\mu$  3<sub>25</sub> and  $\theta\lambda\acute{\eta}$  2<sub>25</sub>, 5<sub>11</sub> (?) are not Ionic. (3) *Noun declension*:  $\epsilon\eta$  generally, and  $\epsilon\omega$  probably everywhere in the genitive of  $\bar{a}$  stems.  $\epsilon\alpha\iota\varsigma$  and  $\epsilon\omega\iota\varsigma$  are certain, though the longer forms occur. Iota stems have  $\epsilon\omega\iota\varsigma$ ,  $\epsilon\iota$ . (4) *Pronouns*:  $\mu\epsilon\upsilon$ ,  $\sigma\epsilon\upsilon$ ,  $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\phi\omicron$ ;  $\acute{\eta}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\omega\upsilon$ ,  $\theta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\omega\upsilon$  (2<sub>27</sub>) and  $\theta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\omega\upsilon$ ,  $\acute{\eta}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\varsigma$ ,  $\theta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\varsigma$  as well as  $\acute{\eta}\mu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$  and  $\theta\mu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ . The Doric  $\epsilon\iota\nu$  is slightly more common than  $\mu\acute{\iota}\nu$ . Reflexive pronouns in Ionic dress are  $\sigma\epsilon\omega\upsilon\tau\acute{\eta}\nu$  2<sub>25</sub>,  $\sigma\epsilon\omega\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$  7<sub>10</sub>,  $\acute{\epsilon}\omega\upsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\nu$  5<sub>11</sub> (cf.  $\acute{\epsilon}\omega\upsilon\tau\acute{\eta}\varsigma$  6<sub>25</sub>). The demonstrative officiates occasionally as the relative. (5) *Verbs*:  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\omicron\iota\sigma\theta\epsilon\mu\epsilon\sigma\theta\epsilon$  4<sub>17</sub>,  $\acute{\iota}\sigma\theta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\epsilon\nu$  *Class. Rev.* V 481 no. 3. Pure verbs that contract in Attic are always contracted though the *scriptio plena* is often found.  $\delta\rho\acute{\alpha}\rho\eta\mu\alpha$  5, &c. and  $\acute{\alpha}\phi\acute{\alpha}\rho\eta\mu\alpha\varsigma$  5<sub>15</sub> are new forms.  $\epsilon\lambda\theta\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$  2<sub>11</sub> is the same form that Zenodotus regarded as Homeric. (6) *Adverbs*, &c.:  $\acute{\eta}\nu$  almost always,  $\theta\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\theta\epsilon\alpha\iota'$  5<sub>10</sub>, cf. 7<sub>12</sub>,  $\mu\acute{\alpha}$ ;  $\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$  is much more common than  $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ .

The following is a brief statement of the position of the dialect. For a detailed examination, see the discussion of the sounds and inflections of Ionic.

45.] *The Vowels*.  $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\omicron\varsigma$  though frequent in the elegy, is not found in the iambists.  $\lambda\eta\omicron\varsigma$  is attested in Hipponax 88. Supposed Doric forms such as  $\kappa\omega\pi\acute{\iota}\delta\epsilon\varsigma$  S. A. 15 (cf. Anan. 5<sub>2</sub>) or  $\pi\acute{\omega}\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\omicron\varsigma$  in S. A. 29 do not vitiate the conclusion that the iambographers did not mix dialects. See under OT.

If  $\nu\acute{\omicron}\sigma\omicron\iota$ , found in S. A. 1<sub>12</sub> is correct, it must be classed with  $\nu\acute{\omicron}\sigma\eta\mu\alpha$ , &c.

On  $\acute{\omicron}\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$  in Hipponax 35<sub>5</sub>, see under OT.

$\acute{\omicron}\acute{\iota}\rho\omicron\mu\alpha$  in Simonides of Amorgos 7<sub>27</sub> savours of the epic



transformation of the Ionic *ὄνομα*. It is probably a misread form. Usually the prosaical is also the poetical form, as witness Archilochos' *ἐνάλιος*.

Ionic *η* still occurs in Skythinos 1.

As to the contraction of vowels the iambic poets speak with no uncertain voice.

(1) When *yod* intervened between *ae*, *ao*, *aω*, *ee*, *eh* and *eei* contraction has resulted, even if, as happens in a few cases, the contraction is not visibly expressed; as in Sim. Amorg. 1, where the form *δοκέει* must be scanned as an iambus. *εχω* results always in a monophthong as does *εο*, though the orthography varies between *εο*, with synizesis, and *ευ*, which is perhaps due to the later manner of writing.

(2) Vowels originally separated by *f* or *σ* may, but need not, contract. *εσι* yields *ε̄ι* in all other cases except Hipponax 11, where Bergk's reading *ἀγε̄ι* has an initial *ā* that is not in harmony with the etymology.

46.] **The Consonants.** The *κ* equivalents of the Homeric *π* forms appear at the opening of the seventh century and remain in undisturbed possession. The presence of *ὄπως* upon an inscription from Thasos is no proof, as Wilamowitz opines, of the avoidance by Archilochos of the *κ* forms. The rough breathing appears intact in the Thasiote Archilochos (with the exception of but two instances), a fact which seems to bespeak its presence in the Nesiotic Ionic of the seventh century. From the MSS. of Simonides of Amorgos no conclusion can be drawn in reference to the *psilosis* of the dialect, but Hipponax offers proof that the Ionic of the Asiatic mainland was devoid of the influence of the *spiritus asper*, save in fixed compounds of preposition with verb. Digamma seems to occur only in *οἱ* (Arch. 29<sub>2</sub> and Sim. Amorg. 77<sub>9</sub>), though the number of cases directly opposed to its presence is so overwhelming that we are compelled to regard *ἦ δέ οἱ* and *οὐδέ οἱ* as mere formulae, proving nothing more than similar cases of hiatus in the tragic poets.

*ἄμμορος* in Hipponax seems to be the Epic and Aiolic form. See § 339.

Movable *nu* is employed, though sparingly.

47.] **Declension.** The dual is extinct. The genitives in *-εω* and *-εων* are completely established in the beginning of the seventh century.

In the dative plural instances of *-αις* and of *-οις* before consonants are rare, if permissible at all. It is by no means certain that (in the few examples which occur) we are not to recognize the instrumental which is obsolescent even in Homer. Scholars

of Nauck's proclivities have not succeeded in ousting all cases of this form from the epos. To cure Arch. 23 the knife must cut deep. The later Ananios without doubt used -οις.

-οιο is rigorously excluded from iambic poetry. Archilochos in the elegy has a sure case of the archaic form. Hipponax bears witness to the influence of the epos only in his hexameter *παρὰ θῖν' ἀλὸς ἀτρυγέτοιο* (85<sub>4</sub>).

-εσσι, in nouns which are non-sigmatic, is a stranger to all the iambographers except Ananios.

48.] **Pronouns.** The iambographers used *κεῖνος*, *κεῖθι*, the elegists both the longer and the shorter form.

49.] **Verbs.** The presence of the syllabic augment is rigidly enforced. Where the contrary seems to be the case, as Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>45</sub>, hyphaeresis must be assumed to have taken place. The temporal augment may be neglected in the case of verbs whose initial syllable is long by position. The existence of parallel forms in -αω and -εω begins as early as Archilochos, though it is not till the New Ionic period that these puzzling forms appear in great numbers. The elegy recognizes the existence of the -εω form in but one verb (Theog. 169 *μωμεύμενος*, 369 *μωμεῦνται*).

50.] **Prepositions, Adverbs.** *ἐς* is the preferred form. *ἄν* obtains everywhere except in Ananios who has the epic *κέ*.

51.] The language of the inscriptions alone is not an absolute proof of the Ionic character of a form in question unless the inscription is older than 400 B.C. and contains no form specifically Attic. The language of the iambists, when supported by that of the inscriptions, is the surest warrant of the Ionic character of any form, cf. § 92. The differences in inflection between iambic poetry and the literary Ionic of Hekataios, Herodotos, and Hippokrates tend mainly in the direction of the preference of the latter, or more strictly the preference of their MSS., for open forms. In iambic poetry diphthongs are less frequently deprived of their second element, *e.g.* in adjectives in -υς, -εια, -υ; there is no shifting of surd and aspirate in the dental and guttural series. The poets use both *θέλω* and *ἐθέλω*, while Herodotos and Hippokrates seem to have confined themselves to the use of the latter.

The relative and demonstrative pronouns are not restricted in the use of the poets to the Herodoteian rule. An external difference lies in the fact that the graphical expression of crasis is more frequent in the poets than in the prosaists and the inscriptions. *ζοικα* seems to have been the usual form of the

perfect, as it is found in Sim. Amorg. and Herakleitos, while Herodotos uses οἶκα. Verbs in -αω are just beginning in Archilochos to admit the presence of the parallel form in -εω which has extended its domain so widely in the New Ionic. A sharp distinction between Herodotos and the older Ionic might be drawn on the lines of the existence of forms in -οω verbs made upon the model of -εω verbs. But the MSS. of Hdt., which alone contain these formations, have probably been vitiated to a considerable extent by theories as to the preference of Ionic for εϑ in all stages of its history.

The iambographers agree with the inscriptions in making a much freer use of the movable *nu* than was made, according to the prevalent, but incorrect, theories as to their diction, by the first writers of Ionic prose. See § 340.

### *Dialect of Trochaic Poetry.*

52.] No more surprising example of the extreme delicacy with which the lyric poets interveined one dialect with another, can be discovered than the diction of early trochaic poetry. It is upon the foundation of contemporaneous, native speech, that both elegy and iambic poetry are raised: the elegy, however, permitting a recourse to the language of the epos which is alien to the genius of iambic verse. Midway between the two, in contents and in spirit, stands trochaic poetry. Its dialect too is not exclusively that of the poet's native speech, but is nevertheless far more deeply rooted to the idiom of the soil than that of the elegy. Homeric forms, even if belonging to another dialect than that of the poet, occasionally force their way in to heighten the pathos of this species of composition.

Less impetuous than the allied iambic rhythm<sup>1</sup>, trochaic verse under the hands of Archilochos expresses an elevated moral purpose which bids man contemplate without surprise the marvels of his outward life, and hold him steadfast in the shock of calamity. The tone of fr. 56, 66, 74 recalls the elegiac to Perikles, as well as the 'No care have I of Gyges' golden store.' When utilized for a less lofty purpose the tetrameter of the inveterate hater may become the vehicle of indirect attack. Yet it never 'bites into the live man's flesh like parchment' as does the terrible and keen-edged iambic. It rarely descends to the coarseness of the latter rhythm.

<sup>1</sup> Of the trochaics it has been said: *uxores civitatum iambiorum non eodem impetu quo iambi incedunt*. Hermog. de Id II 349 calls them γοργώτεροι καὶ λογοειδέστεροι and well adapted for use when ἐπείγεσθαι ὁ λόγος δοκεῖ.

In the Archilocheian trochaic tetrameter are found the following cases of divergence from the dialect of iambic verse:— (1) Διωνύσοι' 77 is the only instance of this elision<sup>1</sup> in Ionic, non-Homeric poetry, and the only occurrence of the -οιο form in this species of verse. -οιο is not found in the iambs of Archilochos, Simonides of Amorgos, or Hipponax. It may be noted that when Anakreon uses -οιο it is not in a trochaic fragment, but in an acatalectic iambic dimeter with anapaestic anacrusis. (2) καρθανοῦσι 64 may easily be forced to yield to the form without apocope. Its removal, however, is unwise, since there are not wanting traces of apocope in monuments of the dialect which are free from the suspicion of having been influenced by the epos. At best these traces are very rare. Apocope is confined almost exclusively to Aiolic and Doric. (3) φονῆς in 59 has been regarded as containing the Homeric ending, which had disappeared from Ionic by the time of Archilochos. We find however in Samos Πριηνῆι, on which see § 510. (4) Omission of the syllabic augment in 73 is not an Homeric reminiscence. Read 'κιχῆσατο.

Solon's tetrameters are couched in pure Attic save μοῦνον 33., and κέν 33<sub>s</sub>, the latter form being interesting from the fact that it is the only non-Ionic, but Homeric, form employed in trochaics. βίης in 32<sub>2</sub> is probably an Ionic interloper.

Lesser trochaic rhythms employed by Archilochos show the beginning of melic poetry, and are therefore referred to § 62.

### *Dialect of the Elegy.*

53.] The history of the elegy from the earliest to the Attic period is in great measure the history of the receding of the Homeric forms, notably those of Aiolic tone, before the wave of modernization. As the freedom and mobility of the speech of the *Divina Commedia*, which set the form for the literary language as Homer did for his successors, were to be restrained in the course of time, so the epos was to lose something of its opulence and plasticity as it passed into the hands of the elegists.

The elegiac poets, whether of Ionic or non-Ionic birth, accepting the language of the Homeric epos as the basis of the fabric of their verse, subject it to two modifications. Either (1) the archaic forms are shaken off, or (2) those peculiar to the poet's home and age are adopted. To the forms which were found alike in Ionic and Aiolic, but were obsolescent at the time of

<sup>1</sup> See Platt, *Class. Rev.* II 99, *Lugobil Der genit. Sing.* § IV.

the completion of the Iliad and Odyssey (800-650 B.C.), the elegy, as the voice of the present, displays a varying degree of repugnance. Thus the archaic ἐθέλωμι has become an impossibility, of *ἔ* there is but an echo, -φι added to nominal stems scarcely survives, -εειν in the second aorist no longer imposes upon our credulity, the open verbal forms are advancing rapidly, by way of synizesis, to the contraction stage. On the other hand the adaptability of -οιο still ensures its perpetuation.

It may be the result of chance, or it may be due to the innovating spirit of the Ionians, that in the fragments of the elegists not of Ionic birth we find more archaic forms preserved than elsewhere. Thus the suffix -θεν is found only in Tyrtaios and in Theognis, φι is preserved by Theognis alone, and the 'enclitic' δε, found once in Archilochos (epode 98), occurs in Tyrtaios, Solon, and Theognis. The terminations -σι (ἐθέλῃσι), -σθα (ἔχουσθα), and -μεσθα (φερόμεσθα) are dead except in Theognis.

The bond of sympathy between Homer and the elegy is not felt in equal force by the different poets of the elegiac guild. Stylistic reminiscences of Homer are more frequent in Kallinos and in Mimnermos than in the elegies of Archilochos, the Ionian of the Ionians. It is the colours of war that are most eagerly transferred from Homer to the canvas of the elegists, and Kallinos and Tyrtaios contain more Homeric reminiscences than any other elegists. Some small part of the sententious wisdom of Solon and Theognis is an echo of that of the *bourgeois* Hesiod<sup>1</sup>. In the adoption of epic reminiscences Theognis and several of his contemporaries evince a fondness for those of Aiolic structure.

On the one hand then we have a contraction of the freedom permitted to the diction of the epopee. On the other, the elegists drew from the soil such forms as had not been deemed suitable in tone to express the splendour and remoteness of the epic. We can thus admit without hesitation the κ forms of the Homeric πότε, πῶς, &c., even where the MSS. have π-, perverted by copyists who had the Attic form in their mind's eye. The inability of the Ionic to geminate κ ensures the correctness of Kallinos' ὀππότε κεν δῆ, which has proved a stumbling block to Fick's theory that the elegy in the hands of native Ionians contained no form not pure Ionic in character.

<sup>1</sup> When Phokylides in his hexameters (3) uses the Doric τετόρον, he borrows not from the Homeric, but from the Hesiodic epos, which has left its traces in Theognis and Solon. Cf. *Works and Days* 698 and Kinkel (pic frag. No. 148) τέτροπος. Hesiod, as a rule, was not popular with the Ionians of Asia Minor. There is scarcely a trace of an Hesiodic formula in Kallinos or Mimnermos.



Kallinos was not troubled by the thought that the form did not belong to the Ionic element in the Iliad.

54.] The chief feature in the linguistic character of the elegy that permits a line of division to be drawn between the older elegists Kallinos, Archilochos, Mimnermos, and Tyrtaios on the one hand, and the later Xenophanes, Phokylides, and Theognis on the other, is the presence of a greater number of Homeric Aiolisms in the latter class. These Aiolisms will be discussed under the head of AIOLIC.

A few noteworthy marks of the Ionic of the elegists are here recorded.

55.] **Vowels.** The indubitable Ionic form  $\lambda\eta\acute{o}s$  (see § 160) is unknown to the elegy, despite the fact that it must have existed as early as the Ephesian poet Kallinos. From his time to that of Xenophanes,  $\lambda\alpha\acute{o}s$  was regularly used, if we accept the testimony of the MSS. It is inconceivable that it can have been employed in the sixth century as a living Ionic form<sup>1</sup>. The preservation of each archaic word must have its special history.  $\lambda\alpha\acute{o}s$  may have been archaic, as *folk* is, but with more distinctive dialectal colour. Archilochos may have used  $\bar{a}$  in proper names at a time when Ionic  $\eta$  before vowels had passed or was passing into  $\epsilon$ .

56.] **Consonants.** Xenophanes and Phokylides show no trace of the influence of the *spiritus lenis*.

Though Mimnermos probably adopted  $\kappa\acute{o}\tau\epsilon$ ,  $\kappa\acute{\omega}s$ , &c. (whereas Tyrtaios could not adopt so peculiarly Ionic a phonetic change), yet our MSS. treat both poets alike in presenting only the form with the labial.

$f$  is practically dead in the elegists of Ionic extraction. In Mimn. 2<sub>11</sub>, Bergk writes  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\tau\epsilon \omicron\iota\kappa\omicron\varsigma$ , where the hiatus can be explained on the same view as Solon's  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\tau\epsilon \acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  and Archilochos'  $\epsilon\nu\nu\alpha\lambda\acute{\iota}\omicron\iota\omicron \delta\rho\alpha\kappa\tau\omicron\varsigma$ . On Mimn.  $\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha \omicron\iota$  12<sub>9</sub>, Xenophanes'  $\omicron \omicron\iota$  2<sub>9</sub> (which recall  $\phi \upsilon$ ), see § 389.  $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\eta\kappa\omicron\nu\tau\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\tau\eta$  Mimn. 6<sub>2</sub> is a prose as well as a poetical form. Tyrtaios has, in comparison with Kallinos and Mimnermos, more traces of the labial spirant, while in Theognis the retention of the  $f$  was facilitated by the speech of his ungrateful fatherland.

Assimilation of the final consonant of a preposition which has suffered apocope occurs but rarely (Arch. 6<sub>2</sub>, Mimn. 12<sub>2</sub>, 14<sub>4</sub>) and savours of Aiolic, though evidence from prose may be adduced in support of its Ionic character. Tyrt. 11<sub>19</sub> may be epic or Doric.

<sup>1</sup> Fick's explanation of the presence of  $\lambda\alpha\acute{o}s$  in Homer is that the Ionization of the poems did not take place until about 540 B.C. when  $\lambda\eta\acute{o}s$  was antiquated. With this view I do not agree, nor with that of Monro, *H. G.* p. 390. See AIOLIC, § 10 ff.

57.] **Declension.** Ionic -εω and -εων are to be read with synizesis, -οιο occurs twice in the elegies of Archilochos, four times in Mimnermos and in Tyrtaios, -αις and -οις are not to be removed from Tyrtaios and Theognis. Their expulsion from the Ionic elegists can be accomplished only with great difficulties.

The inflection of πόλις shows forms of various ages. Xenoph. 2<sub>9</sub> has πόλεως, Tyrtaios πόληϊ 12<sub>15</sub> but πόλει 4<sub>10</sub>, Theognis πόληος 757 but πόλεος 56. Archilochos has the old Ionic νηός. Kallinos preserves the old form of ηυ stems in Ἰησιονῆας, which has its parallel in φονῆες Arch. tetr. 59. Tyrtaios and Theognis admit the η forms more freely. Phokyl. 1, professes to have Προκλέους, an impossible Ionic form. ἔρως, which is stamped as Ionic by Archilochos (ep. 103), is also Theognideian.

58.] **Pronouns.** σαιτοῦ is read Mimn. 7<sub>3</sub>, though Bekker's σ' αὐτοῦ shows that the critic could not reconcile himself to so early an appearance of the pronoun. σαιτοῦ Theog. 795 is generally declared to be Attic, while for ἐμαυτόν Xenoph., which Bergk (II p. 116) retains, Schneidewin proposed ἐμεωυτόν.

59.] **Vowel combinations** are contracted in the elegy with almost as much freedom as in iambic or trochaic poetry. An -εει from -εω verbs is unknown. τελέων Mimn. 11<sub>3</sub>, κλουέοντα 14<sub>3</sub>, Xenophanes καλέουσιν 2<sub>5</sub> and δοκέουσι Phokyl. 9, are the only examples of vowels uncontracted in verbs upon the disappearance of *yoil*. Forms from adjectives in -αλεος which occur only in the elegists, likewise remain open. ἥλιος is not displaced by the prose form. Contraction is not imperative upon the loss of *f* or *σ*.

60.] **Particles.** ἄν is regularly employed by the Ionians, except in a single instance when Kallinos uses κέν. In the latter part of the sixth century (Theognis) κέν is more frequently employed.

The second book of the Theognideian collection contains many forms which must be allowed to stand, though inconsistent with those that are usual in the earlier portion. So too in all portions which can be shown to be the result of later imitation, Attic forms must be allowed a place. This may excuse such forms as εἶ 456, but is chiefly applicable to the contraction of ε + ο to ου which occurs in the Alexandrine elegy in conjunction with the Ionic ευ. The correctness of some Doric forms is not to be impeached because of the adoption of a Doric element by the later elegists. Until it is accurately determined what portions of Theognis are ancient, what of quite recent date, his text is an insufficient criterion in cases where a just doubt may arise as to whether or not a given form is contemporary Ionic.

*The Ionic Element in Solon.*

61.] In Archilochos no great interval in tone separates the iambic from the elegiac fragments. In Solon, too, the spirit of the elegiacs is not appreciably different from that of the iambic trimeters and tetrameters. Perhaps a greater measure of objectivity is discernible in the former than in the latter species of the lyric art as cultivated by the Athenian lawgiver. In the domain of language, however, each form of composition is subject to its own conditions.

The iambics are composed in the pure dialect of the first half of the sixth century. The pathos of the γλῶσσαν οὐκέτ' Ἀττικὴν ἔντας (36,) echoes the spirit of the Athenian, to whom the adoption of an un-Attic idiom was not easy; a fact attested by the language of the epigrams discovered upon Attic soil which almost without exception adopt the contemporary Attic form. Cf. §§ 72, 75, 2, 189.

The fragments of the oldest Attic elegy as represented by Solon, and in fact the remains of the entire Attic elegy to the time of Kritias, have been handed down in a form whose correctness, so far as the interrelation of the Attic *ā purum* and the Ionic *η* is concerned, has been disputed, notably by Kirchhoff<sup>1</sup>. The form of the Soloneian elegy as presented by the MSS. is practically that of the later epigrams, which do not scruple to use, now the Attic *ā*, now the Ionic *η*<sup>2</sup>. Kirchhoff contends that an Attic elegy with *ā purum*, or an Attic elegy with *η* throughout, would be conceivable; that we could not take umbrage even at a mixture of Attic and Ionic, provided there were discernible some law governing the interrelation of the two dialects; but that an arbitrary procedure which permits now *ā purum*, now Ionic *η* in the same word, is, in the light of the evidence afforded by the contemporary elegiac fragments upon inscriptions, utterly inconceivable.

In § 72 it is shown that the language of the Attic elegy in the inscriptions of the sixth and fifth centuries is, as far as the use of *ā purum* is concerned, pure Attic without a single trace of the Ionic *η*. The evidence of the stone records contemporary with, or subsequent to, Solon speaks therefore with no uncertain voice in favour of the view that would expel all cases of Ionic *η* from the text of the ancient lawgiver. In confirmation of this opinion may be adduced the fact that the MSS. of Solon have

<sup>1</sup> Zur Geschichte d. attischen Epigramms in *Hermes* V 48 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Wagner, *Quaestiones de epigrammatis*, p. 25.



passed through the hands of scribes who substituted Ionic for Attic forms. In XIII 46 there is no other reading than the hyper-Ionic οἰδεμένην. Similar forms have been dragged into the text of the philosophers (cf. Anaxagoras, 4). With all his dependence upon the diction of Homer, it must therefore be held that all cases of purely Ionic η must be expelled from Solon's text.

On the other hand the inscriptional evidence does not support the contention of those scholars<sup>1</sup> who would find in the early Athenian elegy nothing but contemporary Attic forms; as it disproves Kirchhoff's view that the Old Attic epigrams contain nothing but Attic forms, the Ionic epigrams nothing but pure Ionic, and that a mixture of Attic and Ionic is unknown in the earliest period. κούρη we find in C. I. A. I 469 (§ 75, 2), εἵρεκα in conjunction with γενεάς C. I. A. IV 477 E (§ 78), 'Αἰδαο C. I. A. I 481, ἀπο]φθιμένοις C. I. A. IV 477 C., ποτὶ C. I. A. I 466. This admixture of the Attic and Homeric dialect which we meet in the sixth century B.C. is the forerunner of that constant juxtaposition of Attic and Ionic which exists in the epigrams of the latest period. With Φρασικλείας, κούρη in C. I. A. I 469, cf. Λυκείας, κούρην Kaibel 152. Kirchhoff indeed holds<sup>2</sup> that κούρη is an Attic form, the 'survival of older phonetic conditions of the Attic idiom.' Even Kretschmer, who contends<sup>3</sup> that Διόσκουροι is genuine Attic, does not venture the assertion that this ου is Attic save in compounds in which the accent preceded the syllable containing the diphthong.

If the Attic elegy, as it found expression among the common people in funereal monuments, did not refuse to own at least a partial allegiance to the epic, it is the more improbable that, in its literary form under the hands of Solon, it should have cast off all forms not of Attic colouring. ἐλπόμεναι has, indeed, long ago retired before the ἐλπῆν μοι of Aristotle; ἔμμεναι may only occur in a spurious verse: but all efforts to disturb ἡγεμόνεσσιν must be fruitless in the face of the fact that this form comes to light in the elegy upon the deeds of Kimon preserved by Plutarch (*Kimon* 7).

In general it may be said of the dialect of Solon that it goes along with that of his Ionic predecessors or contemporaries. Open -ew has ceased to exist in verbal and substantival forms, -ew or -w being substituted therefor; Ionic -eu is found four, and Attic -ou three, times in the elegies. Verbs in aw, ew, ow are always contracted. Upon the disappearance of intervocalic σ contraction results almost invariably. Solon has Παιῶνος 1367,

<sup>1</sup> Notably Fick, *B. B.* XIV 252.

<sup>2</sup> *Hermes*, V 54.

<sup>3</sup> *K. Z.*, XXXI 443.

whereas Archilochos had *παιήονα*, but there are cases where vowels originally separated by *f* are kept apart. Traces of initial *f* do not exist. The Ionic form in *σσ* seems to have forced its way in, to the entire exclusion of the native *ττ*. Apocope of *ἀνά* occurs once (112). *-οιο* is found but twice, while *-οις* and *-αις* are so rare that their existence has been denied. Wherever there is a variation in the MSS. between Attic and Ionic forms the former should be adopted.

On Solon's trochaics, see § 52.

### *Ionisms of Melic Poetry.*

**62.] Archilochos (Epodes).** Forms not in consonance with the native dialect of the poet are: *κόρης* 120 (iobacchics), *ὀρέων* 115, a fragment of like metre with 114, if the final syllable of *δυσπαιπάλους* be regarded as anceps. In 114 (asynartetic, dactylic tetrapody + ithyphallicus) we find *λίπε*, a case of omitted augment which is not analogous to *κιχήσατο* 73 and *ποτᾶτο* 186, where hyphaeresis may account for the unusual form. The hiatus in *ἦ δέ οἱ* 97 recalls that of 29 (iambic), and is probably stereotyped.

Of the lesser trochaic rhythms<sup>1</sup> Archilochos manifests a preference for the ithyphallicus both in conjunction with the dactylic tetrapody, as in 114 and 115, and also when the paroemiacus precedes, as in 79, a fragment containing *Χαρίλαε*.

The trochaic tripody installed itself early in favour with the purely melic poets. Sappho united two ithyphallics to form a single verse, Anakreon employed the tripody after an iambic dimeter. Whether the *Hail to the Chief* of Archilochos (119) contains a catalectic trochaic tetrapody is doubtful. The occurrence of the form *ῥόλαος* (in the iambic trimeter) is at least worthy of note. *λαός* does not appear in the pure iambs of Archilochos.

**63.] Anakreon.** The dialect of Anakreon is the Ionic<sup>2</sup> of his time with an admixture of Aiolisms (see under Melic AIOLISMS) sufficient to indicate the debt his genius owed to the Lesbian school. These Aiolisms are not rigorously confined to the metres inherited by the Teian bard from his Mitylenaian predecessors. Dorisms, though found in the fragments handed down by Hephaestion, held to exist by Eustathios (1862, 11) and suggested by Bergk in his emendations, are totally foreign to the atmo-

<sup>1</sup> On the tetrameter, see § 52.

<sup>2</sup> *ἔγραψεν ἰλιγγεῖα καὶ ἰάμβους, ἰδὲ πάντα διαλέκτω*, Suidas.

sphere of the poet. The following Ionisms attest the character of his language:  $\kappa$  for  $\pi$  in  $\kappa\acute{o}\upsilon$ ,  $\kappa\acute{\omega}$ ,  $\epsilon\sigma\kappa\alpha\tau\omicron\rho\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$  1<sub>8</sub>,  $\epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\iota\omicron\nu$  90<sub>4</sub>.  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\theta\omicron\delta\omicron\varsigma$  43<sub>6</sub> is not a proof of the presence of the initial asper in the sixth century.  $\delta\chi\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\iota\omicron$  in 91 is the only example of the archaic ending in the Ionic melos<sup>1</sup>;  $\tau\epsilon\theta\acute{\epsilon}\mu\epsilon\nu\alpha\iota$  in the same fragment is another example of the persistence of the Homeric form (though both might be classed with the Aiolisms). Another older form is  $\Pi\omicron\sigma\iota\delta\eta\iota\omega\upsilon$  6. The shorter forms  $-\alpha\iota\varsigma$  and  $-\omicron\iota\varsigma$  (e.g. 24, 64<sub>11</sub>) cannot be conjectured out of existence. Anakreon is of great importance for the study of the supposed fondness of Ionic for open vowels. In vocalic contraction Anakreon followed his predecessors in the treatment of vowels originally separated by *yod*.  $\phi\iota\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\epsilon\iota$  70,  $\delta\omicron\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  75<sub>2</sub> written with *scriptio plena* are due to Hephaestion and Heraklides Pontikos respectively. When  $f$  or  $\sigma$  intervened, Anakreon adopted the open or the contracted form. In a considerable number of instances the uncontracted forms appear in the MSS. despite the necessity of contraction or at least synizesis. Forms that are certainly open are rare, e.g.  $\Theta\rho\eta\kappa\iota\kappa\iota\varsigma$  96 eleg. (but cf. 49, 75),  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\iota\varsigma$  21<sub>12</sub>. In 45 we even find  $\acute{\alpha}\delta\omega$  (cf. 65), and in 63<sub>3</sub>  $\epsilon\gamma\chi\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\varsigma$ ! Initial  $f$  is extinct. The genitives in  $-\epsilon\omega$  and  $-\epsilon\omega\nu$  are monosyllabic. The expulsion of the second element of the diphthongs  $\epsilon\iota$  and  $\omicron\iota$  occurs chiefly in Anakreon and Hipponax, and reminds us of the approach of the later prose usage. Crasis is not often expressed graphically (8<sub>3</sub>, 21<sub>7</sub>, 88, cf. 44<sub>0</sub>).

*The Ionic Element in the Epigram and in Melic Poetry (Alkman, Stesichoros, Ibykos, Simonides, Pindar, Bacchylides).*

64.] The nature of the mixed dialect adopted by Alkman, Stesichoros, Ibykos, Simonides of Keos, Pindar, Bacchylides, &c., who made use of Doric, Aiolic and Ionic, will be discussed in a later volume of this work in the chapter treating of the mixture of dialects in the earlier choral poetry and in the later universal melic.

The Ionisms which constituted a portion of the poetical apparatus of choral poetry, are drawn chiefly from the Homeric, less frequently from the Hesiodic epos.

Regard to the virtue of each of the component parts<sup>2</sup> of the melic art dictated the presence of epic forms in varying degree.

<sup>1</sup> This fragment is the only example of an acatal. iamb. dimeter with an anapaestic anacrusis.

<sup>2</sup> Plato, Rep. III 398 D: τὸ μέλος ἐκ τριῶν ἐστὶ συγκεῖμενον, λόγου τε καὶ ἁρμονίας καὶ ῥυθμοῦ.

## 67.] IONIC ELEMENT IN EPIGRAM AND MELIC POETRY. 59

When the substructure of the poem is Ionic and we find superimposed both Doric and Aiolic, Doric is the heavier, Aiolic the lighter element. When Doric lies at the base, the purely Ionic framework is more noticeable than the Aiolic.

65.] Forms of distinctly Ionic colouring are exceedingly rare in Alkman. In fr. 30 the MS. has γούνατα for which γώνατα is to be written with Hiller; so Dor. δωρί for δουρί fr. 68. In εἶαρος 26, τρεῖς 76, ὄρνεις 28, ἀγείται (-ῆται Schneid.) 93, the εἰ is Ionic, as is the case in εἰμένα 97 (Hiller ἡμένα). The εἰ of εἶπατε 47, 56 B is pan-Hellenic.

66.] In the following sections are examined the occurrences of the purely Ionic forms in the melic poets, Stesichoros, Ibykos, Pindar, Simonides, and Bacchylides. In the case of the epigrams of Simonides the occurrences of *ā* are noticed. Since a registration of such Homeric forms as are not absolutely Ionic is not attempted, all Aiolo-Ionic forms are excluded.

In order not to break the light thrown upon the dialect of the different varieties of lyric verse cultivated by Simonides, the epigram has been noticed here rather than in conjunction with the elegy (see § 53 ff.).

67.] The epigram was originally completely local in colouring and not restricted to the elegiac distich as a vehicle of expression. In the oldest monuments we find the hexameter<sup>1</sup>, a metre which still proved serviceable after the distich had long been in vogue. Homer indeed was styled the first epigrammatist on the strength of II 89—

ἀνδρὸς μὲν τόδε σῆμα πάλαι κατατεθνηῶτος,  
ὃν ποτ' ἀριστεύοντα κατέκτανε φαίδιμος Ἴκτωρ.

Epigraphical monuments of the seventh century such as the Korkyraian inscriptions in honour of Polynovas, Menekrates, Arniadas (C. D. I. 3186, 3188, 3189) are composed in hexameters, but in the Korinthian dialect. Attic epigrams in hexametrical form are to be found C. I. A. I 468, cf. 465, 476, 478.

One of the earliest Doric epigrams in the distich form—

εἰ μὴ ἐγὼν ὦναξ παγχρύσεός εἰμι κολοσσὸς  
ἐξώλης εἴη Κυψελιδᾶν γενεά

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Hdt. V 59, Plato, Laws XII 958 E. Epigrams in iambic or trochaic metre are rare in all periods.



was designed for the colossus of Zeus, consecrated by Kypselos not long after Ol. 33<sup>1</sup>. An early epigram in Boiotian is found in I. G. A. 146.

If the epigram was originally couched in the dialect of the person in whose honour it was composed, the rise of the elegiac distich<sup>2</sup> as the instrument for the expression of grief or of sententious thought, changed in course of time its linguistic framework. Instead of representing a purely local idiom in its literary form, the epigram often accepts the Ionic of the elegy as an ingredient. Antiquated terminations such as *-σθα*, *-μεσθα*, *-θεν*, *-φιν* are rejected, though *-οιο* is retained from the fact that it is well adapted to come immediately before the first caesura, and at the end of the verse.

With Simonides the epigram widens its horizon, does not disdain ornament, and admits Doric and Attic forms as a constituent part of a diction that is not a local, but an epic, Ionic. Some portions of Ionic territory such as Chios, where no trace of an admixture of Doric may be discovered, have yielded epigrams containing a slight infusion of Doric forms. The Athenian epigram, however, displays a repugnance to forms alien to Attic. This consciousness of the duty to the mother tongue finds expression as early as Solon (*γλώσσας (γλῶττας?) οὐκέτ' Ἀττικὴν ἱέρτας*). Epigrams that have come to light upon the soil of Attika generally contain nothing that is not pure Attic. But when a Dorian or an Ionian caused a monument to be erected in Attika in memory of a fellow countryman, we observe the introduction of Doric or Ionic forms. So in Simonides Dorisms or Atticisms are admissible in case Dorians or inhabitants of Attika are the cynosure of the poet's eye. These Dorisms must not be too remote, that is, specifically local in tone.

In the course of time, as the individuality of dialect life disappeared, the strictness of the principles regulating the diction of the ancient epigram relaxed. In late inscriptional epigrams from Attika we find Ionic and Attic forms commingling, much in the same manner as in the MSS. of the old-time epigrammatists, whose texts have suffered no little depravation from the hand of time. A *παιδείαι καὶ σοφίῃ* is not an unusual occurrence. Even when the general frame-work is Attic or Doric, Ionic forms continue to appear. Nor are these Ionisms restricted, as might be expected, to those enfranchised by the Homeric poems. The New Ionic occasionally makes itself heard. Errors of the stone cutters in the direction of the insertion of familiar forms become more and more frequent as

<sup>1</sup> Bergk *Gr. Lit.-Gesch.* II 174.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Mackail, *Anthology*, p. 5.

time advances. The poet even ventures upon dialect collocations which would have been avoided at an earlier date. In an execrable elegy commemorating the exploits of a Megarian in the Korinthian war, the Doric is contaminated by 'Αθήνας (which is pardonable enough), and by δῆμωι. We also meet with a Doric epigram in honour of an Ionian, whose name, however, still retains its Ionic stamp. In the epigrams of peoples who once spoke Ionic the admixture of Ionic forms is not more surprising than in those monuments which commemorate Dorians. Dialect epigrams became a matter of personal predilection dependent more or less upon the skill and taste of the local poet.

The investigation of the epigram at the period of its highest artistic excellence is beset with the difficulty that there has been fathered upon Simonides no inconsiderable number of creations of a later date (Bergk 178-188), whose spuriousness is not always easy to demonstrate. Junghahn's<sup>1</sup> criterion of the use of ὄδε and οὗτος is here of no avail. The possibility of deception was rendered comparatively easy in the case of the epigrammatists because it was not till late, as we learn from inscriptions<sup>2</sup>, that the artist affixed his name to his work as a mark of its genuineness. The fragments of the lyric poets were collected without critical examination at a tolerably early date, and Alexandrian and later learning was impatient of the confession that it could not discover the author of an epigram that professed to have been handed down from the golden age of lyric poetry. The result was that to Archilochos, Pisander, Sappho, Erinna, Anakreon, and especially Simonides, much has been attributed that is the product of mendacious art or scholastic exercise.

**68.] Ionic H<sup>3</sup>.** The choric poets agree in using  $\bar{a}$  for the Ionic  $\eta$  in all passages except those mentioned below, where the reading of the chief MSS. is stated; but pan-Hellenic  $\eta$  is not changed to  $\bar{a}$ .

(1) In the terminations of the first declension. Exceptions are rare, e.g. Sim. 46, 60, 66, 76; Bacch. 13<sub>1</sub>, 24, 26, 27<sub>1</sub>, 39; Stesich. 26<sub>4</sub>, Pind. P. V 67. In several of these passages there is MS. authority for the  $\bar{a}$  form, as also in Ibyk. 20.

In the epigrams composed in honour of Dorians  $\bar{a}$  is to be

<sup>1</sup> *Quaestiones de Simonidis Cei epigrammatis* (fourth Jahresbericht über das Luisenstädtische Gymnasium zu Berlin, 1869).

<sup>2</sup> The source of an epigram may be indicated in inscriptions by other means. In Hicks 11 we have a late restoration of an epigram by Simonides, whose name appears in the introduction.

<sup>3</sup> See Mucke *De dialectis Stesichori, Ibyci, Simonidis, Bacchylidis aliorumque postorum choricorum cum Pindarica comparatis*. Schaumberg *Quaestiones de dialecto Sim. Cei, Bacch., Ibyci*; Peter *De dialecto Pindari*. See *AIOLIC*, § 100.

accepted, *e.g.* Sim 99, 103, 141, 160 where Ionic and Doric stand side by side according to the editions. The tendency to adopt epic instead of Doric forms is seen in 138, an epigram quoted by Thukydides, Demosthenes, Plutarch, and by Suidas with the Ionic 'Ελλήνων ἀρχηγός, μνήμη', though the historian expressly says that the words were inscribed by order of Pausanias. ἐμπορίην in 127 must yield to ἐμπορίαν since γενεάν precedes. The MSS. vary in the case of Nos. 105, 115, 116, 141. Conversely Doric forms have MS. authority when no reason appears to exist for their presence (*e.g.* 89, 108).

(2) In forms derived from verbs with stems in -α or from nouns of the  $\hat{A}$  declension. Exceptions are δῆσιπολις Sim. 53 (ὄνασα 55), ἔστη Bacch. 33 (cf. ἔφα), θνητῶν Sim. 71, Bacch. 3 and θνητοῖς Bacch. 9, 36. θνατός is frequently attested. ἀδμᾶτες Bacch. 34, the conjecture of Bergk, must be adopted in place of Clem. Alex. and Eusebios' ἀδμήτες (θεόδμητος in a few MSS. Pind. Ol. III 7, elsewhere -δματος). In Sim. epig. 141, we have νικήσαντα and αἰγλήεντα 177 (hexam.); elsewhere the η forms except μνάματα 134, μνᾶμ' 138.

Pindar has φάνασε Ol. XIII 67 &c., ἐδινάσθην P. XI 38 B has η', ὠκυδίναντος Isth. V 6, πεπονναμένον P. IX 93, ποναθῆ Ol. VI 11, the first and last verbs having η forms elsewhere. Boeckh's φιλάσαντ' N. VII 88 and φίλασ' N. V 44 have but poor support; ἀπονασάσαντος N. VI. 50; ὠναῶσαι in all MSS. Isth. III 7.

(3) In the augment of verbs whose initial vowel is α. Sim. ἤρξατο 46 has long ago been corrected in the light of ἄλλοντο 403. For ἄρθη 16 the MSS. have ἤρθη. In the epigrams Sim. has η (*e.g.* ἤρθη 111). Pind. P. IV 119 has προσηύδα.

(4) Forms with radical  $\hat{a}$ . S. has ἀπρακτος 516, 39, Bacch. ἀπρακτ' 20, Pindar πράξις &c., but ἀπρήκτων Isthm. VIII 8, which is defended by Boeckh on grounds that fail to produce conviction. Pindar has furthermore η in σιδηρόταν N. V 19. ἡσυχία is the better attested reading in six passages, despite the existence of ἀσίχιμον Ol. II 32, ἀσύχιον P. IX 22. Μιημοσίνας is supported by a consensus of all MSS. N. VII 15, and στήλα by the testimony of some in Ol. III 44. Elsewhere η is found only in proper names in Pindar: —Ζηνί fifteen times, Ζηρός four times, Ζῆνα P. IV 194, IX 64; Θρηκίων P. IV 205; Ἀσκληπιόν N. III 54 is condoned by Peter for the strange reason that the ode has an Aiolic colouring (Ἀσκλη- is Aiolic); an argument put forward by Hermann and Boeckh in defence of πολυμάλῳ Ol. I 12, which Gildersleeve regards as = πολυκάρπῳ. μῆλον *sheep* has η invariably in Pindar.



Simonides 79 with ἥδυμος brings up the question of the origin of the word and its relation to νήδυμος (see Leaf on B 2). In 41<sub>2</sub>, 71 and 74 S. has ā. In the following words η occurs:— ἀμήχανος 51<sub>1</sub>, cf. 43, ἥματα 12, ἡμερόφωνος 80 B, σηκός 48, κληῖς 23, ἡλίθιος 55. On ὀνησίπολις 53, &c. see above (2). In 57<sub>4</sub> στάλας, not στήλας, is correct. In his epigrams S. has ā, as in Πελοποννάσου 91<sub>2</sub> (v. l. η), νᾶσος 96<sub>2</sub>, δάμψ 155<sub>10</sub>, σᾶμα 126, καρύσσει 182<sub>6</sub> (spurious?).

In a trochaic fragment (28) Bacchylides has ἡδύς, which is Attic rather than epic. In 24 we find πῆχυν, in 9 Ζηνί.

Ibykos offers Θρητικός 1, κῆπος 1, πεπηγώς 21.

Stesichoros νηυσίν 32, ἀμήχανα 51 (as Epicharmos and Theokritos) with which cf. S. 51<sub>1</sub>, 43. Pindar has uniformly ἀμάχανος. Furthermore κήδεα 50, ἡλίβατος 83.

(5) In compounds whose prior member ends in ο usually. στεφανηφόρον (Bergk, P. L. G. III 734, l. 7) was formerly attributed to Pindar, whereas the correct form appears Ol. VIII 10. In P. XI 8 ὀμηγερέα or -γυρέα, despite ὀμάγυριν Isth. VII 46.

(6) Feminines in -αῖνᾱ. Pindar's Ἀλκμήνα (e.g. Ol. VII 27) led Schneidewin to correct Ἀλκμάνας Sim. 8. εἰράνα (*Lysistr.* 1081) should not cause any confusion as to the Doric character of the form εἰρήνα, attested by Alkman and containing a pan-Hellenic η. εἰράνα seems to be due to the influence of σελάνα, γαλάνα. In Pindar we have εἰρήνα in almost all MSS. Ol. XIII 7, P. IX. 23, N. I 69 (εἰράναν in the pseudo-Pind. adesp. 140). εἰρήνη in Bacch. 13<sub>1</sub>, needs only the slight change to εἰρήνα and not Boeckh's more caustic remedy. Pindar has both Ἀθάνα (e.g. Ol. XIII 82) and Ἀθηναία<sup>1</sup> (Ol. VII 36) and Sim. in his epigrams has Ἀθάνας 151<sub>1</sub> and Ἀθηναίης 143<sub>2</sub>. Compare the use in tragedy. If any change is necessary in Sim. 151, I should prefer Ἀθηνᾶς to Bergk's Ἀθήνης. This contracted form occurs in Attic as early as the sixth century. Ἀθήνη is a rare form, if it exists at all, upon old inscriptions. An instance is found Roberts I. No. 26, but at all events is too doubtful to permit us to assume that this form was a part of the poet's apparatus. Sim. has Ἑλλάων 108<sub>4</sub> and 138 (epigr.) as Pindar, e.g. P. I 49, and Timokr. 2 Ἑλλάνας. Pindar has ἀπήνα Ol. V 3, ποτανός often, but ποτηνός P. V 114 (Peter proposes πετηνός or πετεινός); Μυκητᾶν in P. IV 49 is strange.

(7) Suffix in -τας = Ionic -της. Bacchyl. 42 ἀβρότητι, where the Doric form is intentionally excluded by the choice of rhythm and tone of the fragment. Pindar has -τᾶτ- invariably.

<sup>1</sup> Peter thinks the η of Ἀθηναία was retained from the epic from a reverential regard for proper names. Cp. the treatment of Ἡρακλῆς in Boiotian and Thessalian. Most editors read Ἀθαναία in Ol. VII 36, N. X 84.

(8) Other suffixes: Ἰθακήσιος in Bacchyl. 38; καύχημα Is. V 51.

(9) Ionic ημ=Doric ᾱμ=Aiolic ᾗμμ, <ασμ. Ibykos 1<sub>11</sub> ἡμετέρας which was corrected by Hermann. Bacchylides 11 ἡμέτερον.

(10) In isolated words (radical syllables): Ibyk. 22 has νήρι in the MS. which was changed by Boeckh to ἀνηριτᾶν. Bergk reads ἀναριτᾶν. In Ib. 1<sub>2</sub> μηλίδες (despite μάλον Stes. 29, Ib. 6) has been corrected by Hiller. πηνέλοψ Stes. 91 (schol. *Aves* 1302) πρᾶτον in Sim. 182 (probably spurious).

69.] Other Ionisms. (1) Cases of the adulterine diphthongs εἰ are as follows.

Pindar: εἰνάλιος except P. IV 39 where ἐνάλιος occurs, ἀλεωνός, ἐρατεινός, ποθεινός, σκοτεινός, κλεινός eleven times (elsewhere κλεεννός three times, cf. κελαδεννός, φαεννός), κεινός Ol. III 1 and κενεός. In the case of κελαδεινός and φαεινός Homer uses the Ionic forms without exception.

The inf. in -ειν occurs besides that in -μεν and in -εν; εἰμέν Ol. III 60.

Stesichoros: κλεινᾶς 5, χειροβρώς 4, κλαίειν 51.

Simonides: ποθεινός 71<sub>2</sub> (also in Likymn. 4), εἰαρινός 57<sub>2</sub>, (Pind. ἡρινός P. IX 46); χεῖρας 8<sub>2</sub>, χειρῶν 17 (χέρα 37<sub>4</sub>, χερῶν 5<sub>2</sub>). In the epigrams Sim. has χεῖρα 141<sub>6</sub>, χειρός 136<sub>3</sub>, χεῖρα 107<sub>8</sub>, 115<sub>1</sub>); εἰροπόλιοι 235 (Bergk αἰριπόλιοι). ξείνος occurs only in the epigrams and elegies: Ξεινοφίλου 147<sub>3</sub>, ξεινοδόκων 1 and as v. l. in 96, 92<sub>1</sub>; κλεινοῖο epigr. 94<sub>1</sub> (κλεεννόν ep. 12 κλεεινόν by conjecture). εἰ also in εἰμί ep. 152<sub>1</sub>.

Bacchylides: ἰκνεῖσθαι 3<sub>3</sub>.

(2) The adulterine ου and ου due to metrical lengthening occurs as follows:—

Pindar: Οὐλυμπος Ol. III 36, XIII 92, P. IV 214, N. 84, Is. IV 55, frag. 30<sub>4</sub>; Οὐλυμπιονίκας Ol. IV 9, Οὐλυμπος Ol. III 15, V 2, N. IV 75. Elsewhere Ὀλυμπος, Ὀλυμπεύς, Ὀλύμπιος.

μοῦνος P. IV 227, IX 27, Is. V 12, elsewhere μόνος; νοῦσος Ol. III 7, IV 293, elsewhere νόσος; κούρος κούρα throughout; δούρα P. IV 38, δουρί Ol. VI 17, N. IX 26; γούνασιν Is. II 26; οἶος Is. VI 32, οὔρεσι P. VI 21; οὐλόμενον P. X 41, -αν P. IV 2 frag. 107<sub>10</sub>; μουσικᾶς Ol. I 15, elsewhere Μοῖσα; Ἀρέθουσας Ol. III 69. -ουσα in the participle is found in all MSS. Ol. VII 1, P. IX 23, Is. VIII 35; in P. VIII 4, Ol. I 31 some MSS. have -οισα, others -ουσα; -οισα elsewhere. Pindar uses either -οισα or -οντι, as verbal terminations.

Stesichoros: κλείουσα 35; Μοῦσα 35, 44; κούρα 18, 35, κοῦρα 8; μοῦνος 26.

Ibykos: κούρα 15, and 9 by conjecture (κόρα 45, κόρους 16 for κουρ- of the MSS., according to Dindorf). θαλέθοισι occurs in frag. 1.

Simonides: δούρατι 37<sub>1</sub>, δουρί 53<sub>1</sub>; ούρεας 18<sub>2</sub>; κοῦροι ep. 108<sub>2</sub>, κουριδίην ep. 117<sub>4</sub> (but not in the melic fragments); νοῦσε ep. 117<sub>1</sub>; Οὐλύμποιο ep. 167<sub>1</sub> (Ὀλυμπία 125, Ὀλυμπιονίκαν ep. 149, Ὀλυμπιάδας 152<sub>2</sub>); μοῦνος 87 (ep. 184<sub>5</sub>), μόνος 77, 88<sub>1</sub> el., 46<sub>1</sub>; σῆνομα ep. 110<sub>3</sub>; Μοῦσα 46<sub>1</sub>, Μουσᾶν 44<sub>2</sub>, Μοισᾶν ep. 148<sub>12</sub><sup>1</sup> are the MS. readings; στρέφοισαν 30<sub>4</sub> is a conjecture of Wyttenbach for στρέφοιαν; στίζουσα 78, καλέουσι 31<sub>3</sub>, κλέπτουσιν 42 are the MS. readings. Bergk adopts ἀποτρέποισι in 1<sub>2</sub> and οἱ throughout in μοῦσα, in the fem. part and third pl. The MS. evidence for this is very scanty. Pindar certainly extended the range of the Aiolic οἱ wider than Simonides.

Bacchylides: Μοῦσα 28<sub>2</sub>, μαρμαίρουσιν 27<sub>8</sub>, ἄγουσιν 27<sub>10</sub>, are Attic; μοῦνος 26 (μόνος 25 was changed by Gaisford to μοῦνος), νοῦσος 34, κούρα 48, eleg.

(3) *Varia*. The inf. in -ναι (δεικνύναι Pind. fr. 42<sub>4</sub>, δοῦναι P. IV 35), a form that prevails in Simonides (-μεν 30<sub>3</sub>, 31<sub>2</sub>, ep. 85<sub>9</sub>, 137<sub>4</sub>), Ibykos, Bacchylides. ἡμῖν Sim. ep. 89<sub>1</sub>, 97<sub>5</sub> (Bergk ἄμιν). προδεδεγμένον Ibyk. 19.

The Homeric genitive in -οιο, though more frequently retained in Ionic than in Aiolic, is to be regarded as the joint property of the two dialects. It is frequent in Pindar (who has also -οι') and is found in Stes. 8, 85, Ibyk. 9 (in *C D*). On the other hand, Ibyk. 29 has Ἐνναλίου though Homer has Ἐνναλίοιο. ἐλικοβλεφάρου is adopted by Bergk in Pind. P. IV 172, fr. 123<sub>8</sub> and Sim. 18. In the epigrams, Sim. has -οιο 84<sub>3</sub>, 94<sub>1</sub>, 113<sub>1</sub>, 129<sub>1</sub>, 143<sub>1</sub>, 167<sub>1</sub> (179<sub>1</sub>). Christ has collected<sup>2</sup> the traces of Pindaric and Doric -ω (gen. sing.) and -ως (accus. pl.), which may have been original, but supplanted by the Ionic forms.

### *The Nature of the Ionisms of the Universal Melic.*

70.] A study of the dialect preferences in the remains of the melic poets shows that it is hazardous to assert the existence of a dialect that is absolutely uniform even in the adoption of Ionisms, to say nothing of a consistent usage in respect of Aiolisms and Dorisms. Truth lies then on the side of Ahrens and Bergk in denying the existence of a uniform melic dialect, which

<sup>1</sup> The last verse of ep. 148 is in a different metre from the foregoing. Verses 11 and 12 are perhaps spurious.

<sup>2</sup> *Beiträge zum Dialekte Pindars*, p. 52 ff.

was advocated by Schneidewin, Boeckh, Neue, and others. On the other hand Ahrens, while holding that Ionic may be found in Pindar, went too far (II 132) in demanding the expulsion of the epic  $\eta$  when it is equivalent to the Doric  $\tilde{a}$ . The paramount influence of Homer is seen in the fact that all the words containing an Ionic  $\eta$ , with the exception of the Simonideian  $\eta\mu\epsilon\rho\acute{o}\phi\omega\nu\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\delta\upsilon\eta\sigma\acute{\iota}\pi\omicron\lambda\iota\varsigma$  and  $\eta\lambda\acute{\iota}\theta\iota\omicron\varsigma$ , are traceable to an epic source<sup>1</sup>.  $\eta\mu\epsilon\rho\acute{o}\phi\omega\nu\omicron\varsigma$  may be an error for  $\iota\mu\epsilon\rho\omicron$ - (cf. Sappho 39), a form actually found in some MSS.  $\delta\upsilon\eta\sigma\acute{\iota}\pi\omicron\lambda\iota\varsigma$  awakens suspicion when confronted with  $\tilde{\omega}\nu\alpha\sigma\alpha$ .

The list of Ionisms given above shows that, while certain forms invariably appear in an Ionic dress, in other cases now the Ionic, now the Aiolic or Doric form is found. In general, however, the two latter dialects do not transcend the boundaries established for them by usage. The poets of the sixth century bear witness to the fact that at an extremely early period in the history of the Greek lyric certain words had assumed a fixed form. Departure from the stereotyped form contravened the principles of the melic art.

### *Relation of Old Attic to Ionic.*

The following treatises deal chiefly with the stylistic relations between Old Attic and Ionic prose. See also p. 74.

CYRANKA : *De orationum Thucydidearum elocutione cum tragicis comparata*, 1875.

DIENER : *De sermone Thucydidis quatenus cum Herodoto congruens differat a scriptoribus Atticis*, 1889.

NIESCHKE : *De Thucydide Antiphontis discipulo et Homeri imitatore*, 1885.

C. F. SMITH : *Traces of tragic usage in Thucyldes*. Proceed. Am. Philol. Assoc. Vol. XXII (1891), p. xvi.

71.] The identity of the  $\pi\alpha\lambda\alpha\iota\acute{\alpha}$  'Ατθίς with the 'Ιάς as asserted by Strabo<sup>2</sup>, was widely held by the ancients<sup>3</sup>, by scholars of the

<sup>1</sup> ἀβρότης in Bacchylides' castigation of the Ionians (frag. 42) is also, despite βασιλῆς, an exception.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo VIII, page 333. τὴν μὲν 'Ιάδα τῇ παλαιᾷ 'Ατθίδι τὴν αὐτὴν φάμεν (καὶ γὰρ 'Ιῶνες ἐκαλούντο οἱ τότε Ἀττικοί, καὶ ἐκεῖθεν εἰσιν οἱ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐποικισάντες 'Ιῶνες καὶ χρησόμενοι τῇ νῦν λεγομένη γλώσσῃ 'Ιάδι. Cf. Galen, quoted § 95, Dionys. Perieg. 61; and § 119 on the dialect of Ἔγυια Ἀγυῖαι. Apoll. Dyscol. says more cautiously of the Athenians that they are θυράμει 'Ιῶνες, περὶ συνδ. p. 228, 1, Schol. Cf. Anecd. Bachm. I. 265, and above § 24.

<sup>3</sup> Joh. 11r 235, 241, Gram. Leud. 628 δοκεῖ δὲ ἡ 'Ιάς ἀρχαία εἶναι 'Ατθίς according to the certain emendation of Koen ud Grag. Kor p. 383. Dion. Halik. περὶ τ. Θεουκ. χαρ. 23: οἱ τε τὴν 'Ιάδα προσελάμεναι διδλεκτον, τὴν τε τοῖς τότε χρόνοις, i.e. of Kadmos and Aristaios, μάλιστα ἀνθοῦσαν, καὶ οἱ τὴν ἀρχαίαν 'Ατθίδα, μικρὰς τινὰς ἔχουσαν διαφορὰς παρὰ τὴν 'Ιάδα.

seventeenth<sup>1</sup> and eighteenth<sup>2</sup> centuries and in fact down to comparatively recent times. While the points of contact between the two dialects are patent, the question as to how long they pursued a parallel course of development and the problem as to the period when Attic may be said to have asserted an individual existence, have been answered in various ways.

The view maintained in the present work is that Attic and Ionic, so far as we can trace back their history, are, with all their correspondences, essentially separate and individual dialects; and that the argument which seeks to explain the Ionisms of Attic tragedy as Old Atticisms, that is as survivals of the period when Ionic and Attic were still undistinguished, builds upon a false foundation.

In § 172 the view is upheld that originally in Attic all cases of primary  $\bar{a}$  became  $\eta$ , and that at a later period this secondary  $\eta$  after  $\epsilon$ ,  $\iota$ ,  $\upsilon$  and  $\rho$  became  $\bar{a}$ . At what period in the history of the Attic dialect did this recurrence to the original  $\bar{a}$  ensue? Furthermore, are there any traces in Old Attic of forms which are distinctly Ionic in colouring, forms which represent a still undivided Ionic-Attic, and which were uniformly abandoned by the later dialect of Attika?

Bergk, who was the first to maintain that Attic  $\bar{a}$  after  $\epsilon$ ,  $\iota$ ,  $\upsilon$  and  $\rho$  was a development of  $\eta$ , was of the opinion that shortly before the Soloneian period we may trace the first beginnings of that revolution in Attic which, carried on shortly after Solon, became an accomplished fact by the time of Peisistratos. In Bergk's view then Attic did not receive the stamp of individuality until the sixth century. Gustav Meyer (*Gr. Gr.*, p. xxxii), while less positive as to the date of the separation of Attic from Ionic, makes the statement that it 'appears to be certain that the Attic spoken and written before the foundation of an Attic literature—that is, the Attic as we know it from the fragments of the laws and the inscriptions—was much more closely connected with Ionic than the later form of the language'.

72.] The oldest monuments of Attic dactylic poetry show scarcely a trace of an Ionic  $\eta$ <sup>3</sup>, despite the fact that the elegy was a creation of Ionic genius and specially cultivated by the Ionians. In C. I. A. I 471, dating from the time of Solon or even from an earlier period, we find ἀνο[ρέ]αν, ἡλικίας; in I 463, of very ancient date, νεαράν, πρᾶγμ'; in C. I. A. I 469 Φρασικλείας; IV C 422<sup>13</sup> ἀφθορ[ί]αν; in C. I. A. IV 477 E γενεᾶς; in I 468 Λυσείαι; in I 478 A]νεΐαι. All these inscriptions have  $\eta$  after

<sup>1</sup> For example, Salmasius.

<sup>2</sup> E. g. Bentley, Markland, Koen.

<sup>3</sup> See Kirchhoff, *Zur Geschichte des attischen Epigramms* in *Hermes* V, p. 48.



other sounds than those which caused the Attic *ā*. In inscriptions of the fifth century we find Ποσειδαίως twice in I 442, βίαι 3334, σφετέρων IV B, 446 A 51. The Ionic forms αἰδοίην and πατρώης in I 477, and other occurrences of non-Attic *η* are due to the fact that the author of the elegy in which they occur is an Ionian.

It is but rarely that a specifically Ionic form has found its way into the oldest poetical monuments preserved in the Attic inscriptions. On κοίρη, see § 75, 2. On εἵρεκα C. I. A. IV 477 E, § 78.

73.] The earliest inscriptions of Attic prose show no trace of a residue of Ionisms. In Klein's *Faun* we have Ἐξηκίας, Στησίας Καλ(λ)ιφόρα &c. (seventh or sixth century). Naturally the names of Ionic peoples such as Αἰλιῆται, Ἴηται, Ναξιῆται, Πριηίης upon the Attic tribute lists from 456-424 B.C. are no exception to the rule. Oftentimes these very names have been Atticized. Ionic names may retain, non-Ionic names assume, the Ionic form, which is due in each case to peculiar reasons, *e.g.* Ἐφύρη Thuk. I 46, 4<sup>1</sup>, Θαλέω Plato Rep. X 600 A, Τήρεω, Πυθέω Thuk. II 29, Καμβύσεω Xenoph. Kyr. I 2, 1. In V 71 Herodotos speaks of the πρυτάνεις τῶν ναυκράρων. The ναύκράροι were instituted before the time of Solon. In the laws of Solon as adduced in Lysias' *κατὰ Θεομν.* we find ἡλιαία, θύρα. οἰκῆος *ib.* § 19, would, if correct, be the only example of an Old Attic -ῆος. But an οἰκεός might readily have been transcribed οἰκῆος because this word was antiquated even in Solon's time, and in Homer only forms with *η* are found<sup>2</sup>. κεραμ(έ)ως is read C. I. A. I 467.

74.] Against this mass of evidence, the counter testimony in favour of the view that Old Attic was essentially identical with Ionic can make no stand.

In addition to the four cases of Ἀθηναίη in archaic inscriptions held by Bergk and others to be the stronghold of the identity of Old Attic and Ionic, but which have been disposed of by Cauer (Curtius' *Studien*, VIII 244-249<sup>3</sup>), the following instances of supposed Ionic-Attic forms are to be examined:—

(1) The genitive in -εων in the psephism of Themistokles (Plutarch *Them.* 10): τὴν μὲν πόλιν παρακαταθίσθαι τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ τῇ Ἀθηνεων μεδεούσῃ. On this passage Siefert and Blass remark that the expression τῇ Ἀθ. μεδ. was drawn from the original document by Plutarch's source, and that its Ionic colouring is due to the fact that the Ionic of the time of Themistokles was

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Choiseb. in Bekk. An. III 1173, Hdn. I 340

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Dittenberger *Hermes* XVII 36 ff., Wackernagel *K. Z.* XXVII 263.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Kirchhoff, *Hermes* V 53.

nearly allied to Attic. The phrase is primarily epic but adopted not only by the poets (Aristoph. Knights 763 Ἀθηναίῃ τῇ τῆς πόλεως μεδεούσῃ; cf. 560, 585, Lysistr. 834), but also in ordinary speech, as on a term-stone in Samos (Bechtel No. 216), which contains the inscription: οὖρος τεμένεος Ἀθηνᾶς Ἀθηνῶν μεδεούσης. Here the mixture of Attic and Ionic shows that the phrase was familiar to the Attic cleruchs of the island. μεδέουσα occurs in inscriptions in Ionic colonies (Latyshev, II 19, 28, 343).

Ἀθηνέων in Aristophanes' Clouds 401 is found in a phrase of Homeric texture; in Thesm. 329 the MSS. have Ἀθηναίων, but Bergk's -εων is admissible, the passage being choral. In Knights 159 MSS. -αιων, Bergk -εων on the ground of the character of the passage and the metrical difficulty.

Furthermore, an Attic genitive in -εων<sup>1</sup> in the Ἄ declension was an impossibility even in the seventh century (cf. ὀρχηστῶν *Millh.* VI p. 106, cf. p. 118—the oldest known Attic inscription). In the decree concerning Arthmios, Demosth. *Phil.* III 42 we find Ἀθηναίων.

(2) That the accent of such Attic forms as μυριαδῶν, χιλιαδῶν (Choirob. in Bekk. *Anecd.* III 1263, Arkad. 136, Hdn. I 428<sub>9</sub>) makes for the existence of an Ionic-Attic -εων in consonantal stems is incredible. In Herodoteian MSS. the insertion of the hyper-Ionic ε occurs, though not so commonly as in Hippocrates and the Pseudo-Ionists. If even in Hdt. both χιλιαδέων and μυριαδέων may be shown to be unwarrantable (§ 428), it is impossible that Attic -ῶν in these forms should be a survival of a period when both Attic and Ionic had -εων in -δ-stems. The sole means of rescuing the perispomenon accent is to assume that the *della* stems have adopted the genitive ending of the Ἄ declension, for which procedure a parallel may be found in Hesiod's θεμιστέων *Theog.* 235 (-ίστων in M 3). See § 480.

75.] In the chapter of his *New Phrynichus* entitled the *Growth of the Attic Dialect*, Mr. Rutherford has advanced a theory as to the genesis of the language of tragedy which deserves notice, inasmuch as it trenches upon the question as to the interrelation of Old Attic and Ionic. Recognizing the fact that in Greece 'different kinds of composition had a tendency to adhere generally to the dialect in which they started,' and that even in comedy, when there was occasion to use hexameters, old words and forms were introduced, because 'epic verse did not deviate from that use of words which Homer had discovered to be most suitable to the genius of hexameter verse,' he holds—despite the obvious

<sup>1</sup> -εων is found in C. I. A. II 4, B 19 (400 B. C.), but it occurs in the name of a Thasiote exile.



objection that the Athenians were not the inventors of the iambic line—that 'the basis of the language of tragedy is the Attic of the time when tragedy sprang into life.' On this view Mr. Rutherford proposes to account for the discrepancy which exists, both in vocabulary and in accidence, between tragedy and comedies of the same date.

The chief argument advanced in support of this theory is that whatever is peculiar to Herodotean Ionic and to the Attic of tragedy is Attic of the sixth century, then, it is held, is distinguished from the Ionic of Asia Minor. That certain words in use in the time of Thespis have become obsolescent, and entirely obsolete in the age of Perikles is due, it is claimed, to the extraordinary revolution undergone by the language under the influence of democratic institutions. And again: words whose lease of life was expiring in the sixth century were rescued from oblivion by their absorption into the literary dialect of tragedy.

The objections to this theory on the score of the differences in accidence between Old Attic and Ionic have been ignored (*Nilphrynichus*, p. 5). The argument in its favour on the side of similarity of vocabulary cannot claim our unqualified assent if it can be shown that the dialect of tragedy contains forms of the most ordinary occurrence which never existed in Attic in any stage of its development. Some of these forms which may here be mentioned will necessitate the modification of important particulars, if they do not tend to overthrow a considerable part of the entire theory brought forward by Mr. Rutherford.

(1) If the language of tragedy is the Old Attic of the sixth century, how are we to account for *μῶνος*, *γούρατος*, *ξείνος*, words which are pure Ionic, and at no time Attic? *f* disappeared from *\*μόρφος*, *\*γούρατος*, *ξείφος* in an extremely early period of Attic. In C. I. A. I 463 (sixth century) we find *ξένος*, in I 20 (middle of the fifth century) *ξένια*. Solon's *μῶνον*<sup>2</sup> 336 is an instance

<sup>1</sup> The solitary examples that may be brought forward to attest the actual presence of *f* upon Attic soil *αφ' ὧν* C. I. A. IV C 477 P. *ναφ' ὧν* *πηνόρ* C. I. A. IV C 373<sup>2</sup>, and the examples cited to prove its power in shaping Attic forms, are powerless to give life to any theory that *f* was the cause of the Old Attic *ξείνος*, &c. Attic *πεπας* side by side with Ionic *πεπας* < *\*πέπας* shows that Attic-Ionic *ἀπειρος* is from *\*ἀπειρος*; Attic *δεπας*, *δεπασθῆναι* belong to Skt. *dṛshat* not to *depf*. *f* was retained in Attic until the moment which changed *η* to *α* after *ε*, *ι*, *υ*, *ρ* had spent itself; until *\*στυγέω* had yielded *στενέω* and *\*μαρφέω* had yielded *μάρω*. Agam. 184. The *αφ' ὧν* like that of Naxian *αφ' ὧν* is used for a distinct purpose, and no more proves the longevity of *f* upon Attic soil than the Naxian word proves the existence of *f* as an essential part of the framework of contemporary Ionic.

<sup>2</sup> The Attic *Μουνηλία* *Μουνηλίαν* &c., are ascribed by Meisterhans to dialect mixture, which no doubt often occurs in proper names. It may be doubted whether *μῶνος* is connected. That the *ου* is not Attic is clear.

of the retention of an epic form in trochaic verse; cf. κέν 338. In his senarii, which represent contemporary Attic, Solon has δρους 36<sub>4</sub> (Ionic οὔρους).

(2) κούρη in C. I. A. I 469, 355, IV C 373a<sup>5</sup>, 373<sup>28</sup>, cannot outweigh the Old Attic character of κόρη. φόρη is the correct reading in an inscription of the sixth or even the seventh century (C. I. A. IV B 373, No. 97 B), and Κόρει occurs C. I. A. II Add. 57 B 8 (362 B.C.). In the second of the instances of κούρη quoted above, the words Διὸς γ(λ)αυκώπιδι κούρηι indicate sufficiently the source of the form. In the first instance, κούρη occurs in direct conjunction with Φρασικλείας which is Attic beyond dispute. See § 61. Κόρη in the later Attic documents (always in this form) is restricted to official decrees, whereas vase inscriptions and others of like character always use Φερρέφαττα.

(3) In Aischylos ἦν<sup>1</sup> occurs but twice (Pers. 708 troch. tetr., Sept. 1027 trim.), in Sophokles it has so gained on ἐάν as to be met with over twenty times, but never except in dialogue. ἐπήν is found in Aristophanes (Birds 983, 1355, Lysis. 1175). This form is Ionic, not Attic. In C. I. G. I 8 B 7 (before 570 B.C.), in *Mitth.* IX p. 117 (between 570 and 560) and in numerous instances in inscriptions of the fifth century, ἐάν is the prevailing form. So too in the fragments of the ancient laws; Hicks 59 (Drako's law taken from the first axon of Solon), Lysias' *Theognestor* § 16, Demosthenes' *Lept.* 102. ἦν occurs nowhere in the Attic inscriptions.

These facts speak clearly against the assumption that the ἦν found in early Attic prose<sup>2</sup> is an Attic form. The testimony of the στοιχηδόν inscription C. I. A. IV p. 14, No. 46 B proves that the official text of the treaty given by Thuk. V 47 had ἐάν (cf. line 28 of the inscr.), not ἦν which is read in all the MSS. The solution of the problem as to the variations between the stone

from the fact that it occurs in inscriptions from the fifth century B.C. to the third century A.D. Munichia, not Munychia, is the proper English form. That no case of Μον- occurs should warn against adopting Kretschmer's conclusion (*K. Z.* XXXI 442), that, with the accent removed from the syllable preceding *f*, *μονf*- yielded *μουν*-; or that for the ου of Διόσκουροι no other explanation is to be sought than a purely phonetic cause acting within the confines of the Attic dialect.

<sup>1</sup> Notwithstanding Brugmann's suggestion, *Grundr.* II p. 627, that ἐάν is from *ἐ-άν* and ἦν from *εἰ-άν* (though *εἰ-άν* after *καί* could become *άν*) the peculiar position of ἦν in Attic literature justifies our refusal to admit that it is an Attic word and the result of an Attic phonetic change.

<sup>2</sup> I find ἦν but twice in the *de republ. Athen.* (II 17, III 3), whereas ἐάν occurs I 4, 15; II 3, 4, 11 bis, 17, 18, III 5 bis, III 7.; *ἐάν* II 19, *άν* I 11, 17. In Antiphon there appears to be no case of ἦν; *άν* occurs *κατ. φαρ.* 23, *Tetral.* I A, 1. Isokrates made use of ἦν (*Benseler ad Artop.* p. 146 ff.). The speech of Gorgias on Palamedes circa 411 B.C., which is genuine according to Maass, contains a case of ἐάν (§ 36).

record and the text of the historian does not concern us here<sup>1</sup>. Perhaps the presence of  $\eta\nu$  in early Attic prose is due to the influence of Gorgias, who gave the impetus to the formation of a tragic prose dialogue as a counterpart of tragedy itself<sup>2</sup>. Ionisms were adopted by Thukydides, not because they were also Old Atticisms, but because they were the result of certain stylistic tendencies in vogue at Athens before his exile, tendencies which ran their course in so brief a period of time that they were out of date upon the return of the expatriated historian. The later disciples of Gorgias made great concessions to the Attic norm.

76.] So long as the morphological and inflectional side of language constitutes the standard of exact dialectical differentiation, so long must Mr. Rutherford's theory as to the identity of Old Attic and Ionic be pronounced superficial. While the language of tragedy is replete with forms that are the common property of Attic and Ionic (*e.g.* -οισι, -ησι after consonants except ρ), forms that are also contemporary Attic, there yet remains a residue of pure Ionisms. These were not drawn directly from the epos, nor from the melic<sup>3</sup> art of Simonides and Pindar<sup>4</sup>, though both epos and lyric may have indirectly contributed their quota of influence towards the adoption of forms which they had consecrated to the poet's use.

The occasional Ionic colouring of the dialogue portions of tragedy affords another proof of that artistic conservatism which forms so prominent a feature of the development of the Greek lyric and prose writing<sup>5</sup>. The dialogue of tragedy records the fact that the iambic trimeter was first cultivated by the Ionic race<sup>6</sup>, as its choruses record the fact that the choral ode was a creation of Doric genius. The bulk of the diction of tragic dialogue, so far from being solely contemporary Attic, reaches back into that obscure domain which lies beyond the awaken-

<sup>1</sup> Croiset (*Præf.* XX) thinks that  $\eta\nu$  was introduced into the text of Thuk. by the scribes who recognized that  $\eta\nu$  was the genuine Thukydidean form.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Wilamowitz, *H. m. Unters.*, p. 313; Diels *Sitzungsberichte d. Berl. Akad.* 1884, p. 397; Maass *Hermes* XXII p. 566.

<sup>3</sup> Gerth in Curtius *Stellen*, I B 269 contends that, as all the epic forms in the dialogue and lyric parts of tragedy are found in Pindar, the diction of tragedy has an exclusively lyric background.

<sup>4</sup> It is noticeable that tragedy has more intimate connection, as regards myth and form, with Ibykos and Stesichoros than with Pindar and Simonides, though no great chasm in dialect separates the Eastern melic poets from the Chalkidian of the West.

<sup>5</sup> Wilamowitz, *H. m. Unters.*, p. 310 ff.

<sup>6</sup> It is not surprising that there are but few traces of literary reminiscence of the Ionic iambic poetry in Attic tragedy, *e.g.* Eurip. Or. 1547 = Sim. Am. I 1. The ethical intent, the political and social horizon were entirely different. So in the case of Pindar, who uses Aiolisms without regard to the distinctive character of the Lesbian poetry.

ing of Attic genius. The coincidences in vocabulary between the New Ionic of Herodotos and the Attic of the drama are indications that both Ionic and Attic had preserved to a large extent the old-time wealth of words<sup>1</sup> with their raciness, picturesqueness, and vividness, the *sonantia verba et antiqua*. But how much is contemporary Attic, how much archaic Attic in the vocabulary of the dramatists, cannot be discovered, because we are ignorant of the nature of the ordinary speech of the men of the time of Thespis.

A considerable portion of the words which Mr. Rutherford says were cast aside by the innovating spirit of democratical and imperial Athens may have been outworn, or at least found a resting-place in poetry, in the days of the Peisistratidai. Their retention at the same time by Herodotos is only another instance of the conservatism in language manifested by the colony, a conservatism which finds expression in the retention in the dialectal speech of America of many vocables that were part of the ordinary speech of the England of the seventeenth and earlier centuries<sup>2</sup>. It is inconceivable that such a revolution in vocabulary, as is a necessary feature of Mr. Rutherford's theory, can have occurred between the birth of Aischylos and the death of Sophokles.

The beginnings of Attic comedy are not so far removed in point of time from the age which witnessed the dawn of tragedy that, had comedy not from the first breathed a different air from its sister art, it too might have preserved here and there survivals of that Old Attic-Ionic whose retention Mr. Rutherford regards as the prerogative of tragedy. The diction of Kratinos, whose *Wineflask* gained the day over Aristophanes' *Clouds*, cannot have been less redolent of the popular speech than that of his rival; yet the youth of Kratinos must have been passed under the same linguistic influences as those under which, on the view that the Attic of tragedy is the Attic of the sixth century, the vocabulary of Aischylos was formed.

The atmosphere of comedy was from the first local and foreign to the admission of old-time phraseology. Pointing their wit with the idiom of the soil, Deinolochos, Epicharmos and Sophron created a chasm which was always to intervene between the diction of the comic and the diction of the tragic art.

<sup>1</sup> The notes to Wilamowitz-Moellendorff's *Herakles* often comment upon Ionic words in tragedy.

<sup>2</sup> Many examples might be given: In South Carolina *use* in the Spenserian and Miltonic sense may still be heard, in the Cumberland mountains in East Tennessee *contrary* in the Chaucerian sense ('For sothe I wol no lenger you contrarie').



*Ionisms of Tragedy.*

ALTHAUS : *De tragicorum Graecorum dialecto curae secundae*, 1870.

BARLES : *De vocalis a pro η in trag. Gr. versibus trimetris usu*, 1872.

DRESSEL : *De Dorismi natura atque usu in trag. Graec. dictionibus et anapaestis*, 1868.

EICHLER : *De formarum quas dicunt epicurum in tragediis Aeschylae atque Sophoclis usu*, 1873.

GERTH : *Quaestiones de Graecae tragediarum dialecto*, in *Curtius' Studien* I. 2, 193 ff. 1868.

KUEHLSTAEDT : *Observ. crit. de tragicorum Gr. dialecto*, 1832.

LECHNER : *De Aeschylae studio Homero*, 1862. *De Sophocle poeta* Ὀμηρικώτατος, 1859.

RUTHERFORD : *The New Phrynichus*, pp. 131, 1881.

SCHNEIDER : *De dialecto Sophoclis*, 1812.

VERRALL : *On some Ionic elements in Attic tragedy* in *J. H. S.* I 260, II 179.

WEIDGEN : *Qua ratione Euripides in carminibus melicis Doridem, in anapaestis Atticam dialectam temperaverit*, 1874.

Other treatises, dealing with the Doric elements in tragedy, will be mentioned under DORIC.

77.] The following list contains a selection of such forms as bear an unmistakable Ionic mark. Epic forms not thus characterized are not mentioned. The diction of Tragedy does not adopt New Ionic forms when they differ from those in vogue in Homer.

1. H<sup>1</sup>.

Θρηξ and congeners occur, not only in dialogue, but also in choral parts. Θρηκίος is also Pindaric.

Θρηξ Ant. 969 (ch.), Tereus fr. 523; Hek. 19, 428 (Θραξί), 682 (ch.), 774, 873, 1036, Alk. 483; Rh. 379 (ch.), 394, 409, 429, 522, 662, 732 (ch.), 733 (ch.), 744 (ch.), 804, 924; Erech. 362<sub>48</sub> (D).

Θρησσα Ant. 589 (ch.), Tham. fr. 229; Alk. 967 (ch.).

Θρηκη Pers. 509, 566 (ch.); Hek. 75 (lyr.), 81 (lyr.), 856, 963, 1090 (lyr.), 1142, Alk. 67, Andr. 215, Rh. 279, 381 (ch.), 931.

Θρηκίος Pers. 870 (ch.); Ag. 654, 1418; O. R. 197 (ch.); Kykl. 329, Erech. 370, (Θρηκίον D), Hek. 7, 36, 710, Alk. 498, 1021, Rh. 297, 302, 313, 440, 616, 623, 651, 670, 745 (ch. iamb.), 950.

After ι we find Ionic η in proper names such as Ἀσιήτης, Ἀδριηνός, and in foreign words such as ἡλεμος, τήρα. πολήτης is also found e.g. Hipp. 1126 (ch.). In the Mediceus we find ἔδρης Prom. 201 and αἰτήν 226, forms that cannot be defended.

<sup>1</sup> Kirchhoff, *Hermes* V 50, sees in the use of Ionic η a desire to produce an aesthetic effect corresponding to the nature of tragic ethos. The grammatical endings are, on Kirchhoff's view, unaffected by this movement in the direction of Ionic.

Mr. Verrall does not scruple to introduce Ionic *-ιη* into passages which are tinged with Ionisms and which contain *-σύνη*, e.g. *οὐρανίην* Hipp. 166, *Ἀσίην* Persai 584, (Weil *Ἀσιηνάν*), despite the fact of their occurrence in choral parts. The occurrences of *-συνη* in tragedy are inherited, on Mr. Verrall's view, from Ionic poetry, and carried as a rule associations that were literary, not local.

Ionic *η* frequently appears in choral passages, as in *μηλοφόρων* Eurip. H. F. 396, with which compare *Μηλίσ*, never *Μαλίσ*, in tragedy. On *πλήκτρῳ* Eurip. H. F. 350, see Wilamowitz-Moellendorff *ad loc.* *Ζηνός*, *Ζηνί*, *Ζήνα* as in Pindar, according to the best MS. testimony; *σκῆπτρον* Prom. 171 and other forms in lyrical passages where the Doric form is not admitted. The choral lyric had *σκᾶπτρον* (Pind. Ol. I 12). *η* furthermore in *Παρησῶα* Choeph. 563 (cf. 953), *πρύμνην* Philokt. 482 (§ 420).

2. *ευ*. (a) by contraction:—

*πωλεύμεναι* Prom. 645, in the recital of Io (only one MS. *πολούμεναι*); cf. Od. 2, 55.

*είσοιχνεῦσιν* Prom. 122 (anap.), cf. Od. 9, 120.

*μυθεῦσαι* I. A. 790 (ch.) in MSS.

*ὑμνεῦσαι* Med. 422 (ch.).

*ἀύτευν* Hipp. 167 (ch.).

(b) From *ην* in *πρευμενής* Aisch., Soph., Eur., cf. Hdt. *πρηύτερος*, Plato *πραότερος*.

3. Forms containing Ionic *ει*. *ξείνος* occurs but once in Aischylos—Sept. 942 (ch.) with 40 cases of *ξένος*. Aischylos uses the Attic form of the vocative, whereas Sophokles merely prefers *ξέιε* (about 40 times) to the Ionic *ξείνε*. In opposition to the view defended by Elmsley, that *ξείνος* is only then permissible when required by the metre, Hermann argued justly that since in Iph. Taur. 798 the vocative *ξέν'* would almost disappear, metrical considerations may be outweighed by rhetorical reasons. The first foot in the iambic trimeter line bears the burden of the chief emphasis. *ὦ ξείνε* occurs in the dialogue portions of Soph. 7 times (O. K. 33, 49, 856, 1096, 1119, El. 675, 1119)<sup>1</sup>. In three passages the non-vocative form *ξείνος* has the support of the best MSS.:—

O. K. 1014 *ὁ ξείνος, ὦναξ, χρηστός· αἱ δὲ συμφοραὶ | αὐτοῦ παύλεις*.

O. K. 928 *ξείνον παρ' ἀστοῖς ὥς διαιτᾶσθαι χρεών*.

Frag. 153 *ἐν Ἀργεὶ ξείνος ὧν οἰκίζεται*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Jebb on O. R. 1418. *ὦ ξέιε* occurs when *ὦ ξείνε* was possible (O. K. 62, 492, El. 662, 1112). Eust. 1396, *ὦ ξείνε* (Phil. 791) cannot stand.

In these passages the occurrence of the Ionic form is defended by Gerth on the ground that there is a direct contrast of thought, while in such passages as O. R. 817, El. 975, Tr. 187 ξένοι ἢ ἄστροί has become a mere phrase. In none of these passages, it may be remarked, is ξειν- metrically permissible. Ellendt, on the other hand, can discover no passage in Soph. analogous to the ξειν' of Iph. Taur. 798; and Jebb in O. K. 928 prefers ξένον of the Vat. to ξεινον of L and A, which is adopted and defended by Wunder in his excursus. Here at least there is no such contrast as that found in 1014, and it is the only place except I. T. 798 where the diphthong is not under the ictus.

In choral passages in Sophokles we find ξεινοι O. K. 174 (ξένοι MSS.), 184 ξεινος ἐπὶ ξεινης (ξείνης MSS.) 518 ξειν' (ξεν' MSS. see Jebb), 530 ὦ ξειν', cf. 510 and 215. Euripides uses ξεινος in the senarii but rarely (I. T. 798, El. 247), much more frequently in lyric passages (Hek. 82, 479, Alk. 598, Kykl. 510, Herakl. 355, I. T. 218, 226, I. A. 606); ξειναπάρον Med. 1392, ἄξεινον Andr. 793 in all MSS. except C, Πολυξείνη Hek. 76, πολίξεινος Alk. 568.

In Antig. 1241, L<sup>2</sup> has εἰν, for which some editors substitute Heath's ἐν γ'. In Trach. 495 κειρόν has been substituted for κειρόν, though Aisch. Pers. 761 has ἐξεκείνωσεν. κειρός is both Pindaric and Euripidean (ch.). ἰπείροχος Prom. 428 (ch.), Trach. 1096 cannot stand.

If εἰλίσσω is from *feliskw* we expect in Attic prose ἐλίσσω, which is Sophokleian. In Aisch. we find εἰλίσσω only in lyric passages. In sixteen passages in the extant dramas, Eurip. has ten cases of εἰλίσσω.

εἰεκα (see below § 78) does not occur in the Laurentianus of Sophokles. In the same MS. of Aischylos it is met with Prom. 345, Suppl. 188 (οὐνεκα 4 times). None of the best MSS. of Euripides have this form, which stands in MSS. of the second class H. F. 210, Hek. 137, Andr. 251, 408, frag. 499.

Aischylos has δέρη, Euripides δειρή in lyrics.

Only in choral passages do the following words with Ionic εἰ occur: εἰνάλιος Ant. 346, Eur. Elekt. 450, I. T. 1240 (Kirchhoff), Troad. 1095, Hel. 526 (Herm.), εἰρόδιος Ion 1048.

4. **Forms containing Ionic ου.** μοῖρος occurs 13 times in the dialogue portions, twice in choral, and twice in anapaestic passages of Sophokles. Aischylos has μουρώπα Prom. 804, but never μοῖρος. In the Rhesos 31 μούναρχοι is generally abandoned for μόραρχοι, Euripides having invariably μόιος. Gerth calls attention to the fact that in S. we never find οὐ μοῖρον ἀλλά but always οὐ μόνον ἀλλά. The necessities of the trimeter, not the requirements of emphasis, decided the question as to



whether the Ionic or the Attic form should be admitted. Cases of the emphatic use of *μῶνος* (as Antig. 308), may be confronted with others where no emphasis is discernible. In Antig. 308 it is the word, not the form of the word, which adds emphasis; *μόνος* would have been equally effective.

Other cases of *ου* are *γούνατα* O. K. 1607 in the speech of the messenger (*γόνασι* Phil. 485). Aischylos has no instance of the *ου* forms, which in Euripides occur with the same freedom as the Attic (in the senarii Andr. 892, Hek. 839, Alk. 947, in lyrics Andr. 529).

*δουρ-*. Aisch. *δουρικλύτοις* Pers. 85 (ch.), *δουρικμήτι* Ch. 365 (ch.), *δουρίπηχθ'* in dialogue, Sept. 278. Sophokles *δουρίληπτον* Aias 894 (ch. iamb.), *δορίληπτος* Ai. 146 (anap.), *δουριάλωτον* Ai. 211 (anap.), *δούρατι* Phil. 722 (lyr.), *δούρειος* *ἵππος* Troad. 14 (sen.) and in comedy (see below).

*οὔρειος* in choral passages Ant. 353, I. T. 127, 162, 1126, Troad. 533, Phoin. 232, 806, Elekt. 210 (*ὄρειος* Hipp. 144), *οὔρεσιβώτας* Phil. 1148, *οὔριθρέπταν* Hek. 204 (*ὀριδρόμων* Bacch. 986 Kirch. and Sandys).

*Οὔλυμπος* but once Her. F. 872 (troch. tetr.).

*οὔνομα* is not found in tragedy despite Markland on I. T. 36. In Phil. 251 *οὐν-* of the MSS. is rejected by all, so Bacch. 320, where *οὐν-* is found in *P C* (see Elmsley).

*ρούσων* Aisch. Suppl. 684 (ch.) where *νόσων* is possible.

*κούρη* has been seen (above § 75, 2) to occur upon Old Attic poetical inscriptions of the sixth century. In the Septem 149 Dindorf rejects *κούρα*, a form whose enfranchisement in choral diction is clear from *κουροβόρῳ* Ag. 1512 and *κούρα* O. K. 180, where the metre requires the diphthong, though elsewhere the half Attic, half Doric *κόρα*, *κόρας* prevails in lyrical passages. *κοῦρος* is an error Trach. 644 (ch.). Euripides has *κούρα* in lyrical passages Hipp. 141, Alk. 410, I. T. 210, 217, 402, Hel. 382, 1307, 1314, El. 481 MSS. (cf. 117), 1184, Hek. 462. In I. T. 1114 Kirch. reads *κόραν*; in Androm. 1224 *κόρη*, Troad. 144 *κόραι*: in El. 481 *κόρα* is due to Dindorf. In dialogue portions *κούρη* does not occur (*κόρη* is now read in Hel. 1098)<sup>1</sup>. *κοῦρος* is met with nowhere out of lyrical passages (7 times). The same holds good of the Euripidean compounds *κουροτόκος* Suppl. 957, *κουροτρόφος*<sup>2</sup> Tr. 566, Bacch. 420. Neither *Διόσκοροι* nor *Διόσκουροι* appears in Aisch. or Soph. Eurip. uses the *ο* form in the senarii eight times. In Hek. 943 (ch.) *F* has the *ου* form, which is rejected by Kirchhoff. *Διοσκούρων* I. A. 769

<sup>1</sup> *κόροι* also frag. 534.

<sup>2</sup> In regard to the retention in prose of *κουροτρόφος* and similar polysyllabic words, we should not fail to regard the distaste manifested by Attic towards a succession of many short syllables.

(ch.) is defensible. *κούρω* was formerly held to exist in a supposed formulaic<sup>1</sup> *κούρω καὶ κόρη* (Plato *Laws* VI 785 A, where it has the support of but one MS.; cf. *κόρου καὶ κόρης* VII 793 E, *κόρους καὶ κόρας* 796 C). Since in proper names forms alien to the native dialect are not uncommon, and since [Δι]ο[σκ]ουρίδου is found C. I. A. II 66, 4 (356 B.C.) and Dittenb. *Syll.* 418, 2 (not before 292 B.C.) it need not surprise us that *Διοσκούρων* is met with Plato *Euthyd.* 293 A, Thuk. III 753 τὸ τῶν Διοσκούρων (-κόρων in only two MSS.) *ιερόν*, IV 110 τὸ Διοσκούρειον<sup>2</sup> (thus the MSS.). Phrynichos says that those who use the Ionic form are open to ridicule. *κουρείον*, *κουρεῶτις*, which Mr. Rutherford quotes from Lobeck's note, have nothing to do with *κούρος*. Their *ουρ* is from *ορσ* (cf. *κορσοῦρ* 'κείρειν, and *κορσωτεύς*, *ἀκερσεκόμης*). *ἐπικουρος* has probably nothing to do with *κούρος*, *κόρος*; cf. W. Schulze *Quaest. Hom.* 17.

5. **Ionic forms in Declension.** *φύσιος*, *πρήξιας* (Ambr.) Eurip. fr. 902, *δήριος* Agam. 942. *δρῦς* Eurip. H. F. 72, is regarded as Ionic for *δρυθας* by Wilamowitz, for what reason I do not know.

The forms of *ναῦς* with *η* are rejected by the editors despite their not infrequent occurrence (Kuhner-Blass, p. 463). On *νηός* in New Ionic see § 170.

6. **Varia.** *κεῖνος* for Attic *ἐκεῖνος* (also in Attic prose after *η* or rarely after a short vowel or diphthong); *σσ* for *ττ*; on *Ἀΐδης* with long *α* see § 160; on *ἰρός* see § 300. *ζή* for *ζωή*; *πολλός*; *ποτί* a form that, however, never appears in any New Ionic monument. *ρσ* in *θαρσεῖν*, *ἄρσην*, &c. is possibly Ionic, cf. *Θαρρίας* C. I. A. I 445 (middle of the fifth century).

### *The Ionisms of Attic Comedy.*

RUTHERFORD *The New Phrynichus*, 32-52, 1881.

SETTI *Il linguaggio dell' uso comune presso Aristofane in Museo di antich. class.*, I 113-130.

SPECK *De Aristophanis dialecto*, 1878.

78.] Ionisms are admissible in the lyric parts of comedy, not excluding those of anapaestic movement. Even in the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Pollux VIII 107, Apollod. III 12, 15, Schol. Acharn 146, Diod. Sic. IV 61 *κούρους καὶ κόρας*.

<sup>2</sup> Hdn II 848, -*κορείον*, I 375, -*κούρειον*, II 864, *Διοσκούρων κώμη Λιβύης*. The treatise under Herodian's name *Μοῖρις* p. 445 cites *Διόσκουρος* but *Διοσκόρων*, a differentiation that could not last. That in one and the same dialect two different forms of the name of a divinity may occur is evident from *Κόρας* and *Κούρας* in Knidos C. D. I. 3538, 1, 2) and often in 3539-3544, 3546 48.

trochaics of the parabasis there is a well-attested case of an Ionic termination. Koch and Humphreys contend that the occurrences in anapaestic parts ('Αθηναίη Knights 763, Τριτογενείης Clouds 989) and in the parabasis (Σεληναίης Clouds 614, Dindorf -as), are instances of the survival in the popular dialect of older, more poetical forms. That this is an erroneous position is clear from an examination of all the Attic inscriptions previous to the Peloponnesian War. In no inscription, whose genuineness has not been universally suspected, or whose Attic character has not successfully been disputed, is there a single occurrence of Ionic -ιη. It is therefore impossible that 'Αθηναίη and *a fortiori* Τριτογενείης are Attic. Plato's 'Αθηναίη (*Euthyd.* 302 D) does not alter this conclusion in the least. The three instances quoted above are taken from an Ionic, and poetic source. On 'Αθηνέων see § 74, 1<sup>1</sup>.

In the dialogue portions Ionisms are not admissible save when the speaker is an Ionian, in paratragedic passages, or when proper names have been preserved in an Ionic form by the pressure of Ionic tradition.

Peace 46: 'Ιωνικός τίς φησι παρακαθήμενος  
δοκέω μέν, ἐς Κλέωνα τοῦτ' αἰνίσσεται,  
ὥς κείνος ἀναιδέως (τὴν) σπατίλην ἐσθίει

where δοκέω and κείνος hit off the Ionian. Phrynichos II 583 (2)<sup>2</sup> is either corrupt or the line was spoken by, or of, an Ionian. On κείνος in Eupolis see Koch I 294 (139). Eurip. Orestes 742 οὐκ ἐκείνος, ἀλλ' ἐκείνη κείνον ἐνθάδ' ἤγαγεν was parodied according to the Schol. κείνος appears in lyrical passages Thesm. 784, Wasps 751.

κεινέου is not adopted by Koch I 50, in his attempted restoration of Kratin. II 83 (6).

εἵνεκα is well attested in Aristophanes, Timokles, Plato, Philemo. That it was an Ionism adopted in Attic literature is evident from its occurrence in Thukydides, Plato, Isaios and Demosthenes (at least 20 times in Σ). In Old Attic poetry it is found in one passage (C. I. A. IV 477 E). By the period of the empire it has fully established itself in popular speech, to which it was heretofore more or less a stranger. See Wackernagel K. Z. XXVIII 109-130.

κοῦρος, κούρη. Aristoph. has κοῦρε Birds 977 (hex.), κοῦραι Thesm. 102, κούρην I 139 (lyr.).

In senarii κουρίδιον λέχος Peace 844, κουροτρόφος Plato II 674,

<sup>1</sup> See Causer l. l. p. 246, Speck *De Aristoph. dial.* 15 ff., 29.

<sup>2</sup> References are given to the paging of Meinecke's *Fragmenta* when his reading is that accepted by Koch.

cf. Κουροτρόφῳ in the Herald's proclamation Thesm. 297. Aristoph. has always Διοσκόρῳ, as Amphis and Menander. Chionides' Διόσκουροι II 8 (Koch I 5), if actually used by the poet, occurred in anapaests.

δοῖριος Birds 1128 (ἵππων ὑπόντων μέγεθος δσον ὁ δ.), cf. Plato II 688 (24), Diphilos IV 419 (7). All these passages refer to the Trojan Horse. Cf. Eurip. Tr. 14, Plato Theait. 184 D.

Οὐλύμπου Knights 9, where Dindorf suggests that the line may be a quotation or adaptation from a poetical source. Perhaps Οὐλύμπου νόμος had become a technical phrase.

Homeric in colouring are οὐλοχύτας Strato IV 546 (v. 34); γούνατα in the hexameters of Metag. II 751 or of Aristagoras II 761 (Krat. II 207 (91) has γόνατα); παρέοντα in the Cheiron of Pherekrates, II 335 (3); μεδέουσα Knights 585 (ch.), 763, Lysist. 834 (sen), μεδέων Knights 560 (ch.) (cf. above § 74, 1). οὐρελαίς occurs in Birds 1098 (lyr.).

In Thesm. 878 the use of the Ionic πεπλώκαμεν (πεπλεύκαμεν D) is a jeer on Euripides (Hel. 461, 532).

In Birds 867 (herald), Peace 1064 (hex.), -ῃσι is found after ι; in Wasps 399 πρύμνην (§ 420). ὅτ Peace 930 is called by the poet Ἰωνικὸν ῥῆμα. It is also Aristotelian. ἀρχηγέτι Lys. 642 (lyr.) may be noted in connection with this.

ὄκως, Krates II 233 (1).

### *Dialect of Ionic Prose. 'Pure' and 'Mixed' Ionic.*

79.] The criterion by which the ancient rhetoricians distinguished the varying aspects presented by the dialect of the early prosaists was its purity, that is to say, they sought to discover whether their Ionic was ἀκράτος or μεμιγμένη. Upon the basis of this standard of comparison, Herodotos was placed in the second, Hekataios<sup>1</sup> and Anaximenes<sup>2</sup> of Miletos, and Hippo-

<sup>1</sup> Hermogen. *De Ideis* III 399, W (cf. Strabo I, 7, 18): 'Εκαταῖος δὲ ὁ Μιλήσιος, παρ' οὗ δὴ μάλιστα ὠφεληται ὁ Ἡρόδ. (cf. Suidas s.v. Ἐκατ., καθαρὸς μὲν ἐστὶ καὶ σαφής, ἐν δὲ τισὶ καὶ ἡδὺς οὐ μετρίως, τῇ διαλέκτῳ δὲ ἀκράτῳ Ἰάδι καὶ οὐ μεμιγμένῳ χρησάμενος, οὐδὲ κατὰ τὸν Ἡρόδ. ποικίλῃ, ἥττάν ἐστιν ἐνεκα γὰρ τῆς λέξεως ποιητικῆς καὶ ἡ ἐπιμελεῖα δὲ αὐτῷ οὐ τοιαύτη, οὐδ' ὅμοιος ὁ κόσμος ὁ περὶ αὐτήν. διὸ καὶ ταῖς ἡδοναῖς ἐλαττοῦται πολλῶν τοῦ Ἡρόδ. ἀλλὰ πάνυ πολλῶν III 313, W: ἐκεῖθεν δὲ μάλιστα διαρκὴ ἔσχε Ἡρόδ. τὴν γλυκύτητα, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὴν εὐθὺς τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ ποιητικῶς προεῖλετο εἰπεῖν ἡ γὰρ Ἰὰς οὐσα ποιητικὴ φύσει ἐστὶν ἡδεῖα. εἰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλων διαλέκτων ἐχρήσατό τισι λέξεσιν, οὐδὲν τοῦτο, ἐπεὶ γὰρ Ὅμηρος καὶ Ἡσίοδος καὶ ἄλλοι οὐκ ὀλίγοι τῶν ποιητῶν ἐχρήσαντο μὲν καὶ ἑλλαις τισὶ λέξεσιν ἑτέρων διαλέκτων, τὸ πλεῖστον μὲν ἰάζουσι.

<sup>2</sup> Of Anaximenes, Diog. Laert. II 2 says κέχρηται τε γλώσσῃ Ἰάδι ἀπλῇ καὶ ἀπεριττῇ.

krates of Kos<sup>1</sup> in the first division. Herodotos stands alone, in the view of the ancients, as the representative of 'mixed' or 'variegated' Ionic, though Ktesias of Knidos, whose fragments have not been utilized in the present treatise, followed in the wake of Herodotos<sup>2</sup>.

To the students of Greek style under Augustus, Herodotos had become the canon of the Ionic dialect<sup>3</sup>. The term ἀκράτος ἰός, when applied by the rhetoricians to the other Ionic prosaists, seems to have been employed with direct or indirect reference to the historian of Halikarnassos. It is instructive, however, to notice, in connection with this, the judgment of a grammarian, the greatest authority on syntax of his age, who was himself the author of a treatise *On the Ionic Dialect*, and hence more cautious than the rhetoricians whose criticism often lacks perspective. Apollonios Dyskolos pronounced against the claims of Herodotos and Hippokrates to be regarded as representatives of Ionic, and elevated to that position Hekataios, Pherekydes and Demokritos<sup>4</sup>.

Now if it could be shown that by 'pure' Ionic the critics of antiquity meant a dialect vigorous enough to repel the encroachments of a non-Ionic idiom such as Doric or even Attic, a dialect that preserves its native system of phonetics and inflections, the value of their criticism would be inestimable; and command the greater respect in view of the fact that many

<sup>1</sup> Bachm. Anecd. II 367<sub>B</sub>, cf. Cod. Parisinus, p. 679 in Schaefer's Greg. Korinth.: Ἡρόδοτος γὰρ διφροφωρευμένους λέγει τοὺς φορείοις φερομένους, καὶ Ἰπποκράτης πολλάκις χρῆται τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ, ὅς ἀκράτῳ τῇ ἰάδι χρῆται· ὁ γὰρ Ἡρόδ. συμμίγει αὐτὴν τῇ ποιητικῇ. See Ilberg *Studia pseudipprocratea* p. 33. Lobeck *Philologus* VIII, p. 14 ff. Of the λέξεις of the logographers Dion. Hal. (*de Thuc. jud.* VI 865, 819 R.) says: καὶ γὰρ καθαρὰ καὶ σαφὴς καὶ σύντομός ἐστιν, ἀποχρώντως σώζουσα τὸν ἴδιον ἐκάστης διαλέκτου χαρακτῆρα. A grammarian quoted in Schaefer's Greg. Kor. p. 910 says that for ἔω, ἔσκω is used, οὐ κατὰ διάλεκτόν τινα, ἀλλὰ κατὰ σχηματισμὸν ποιητικόν, ἐφ' ἑτέρου ἐφ' ἑτερον τύπον ῥήματος. ὅτι Ἡρόδ. χρῆται τοιούτοις μετασχηματισμοῖς. κλέπτεισκε γὰρ φησι καὶ ἀγεσκον. μήποτε γοῦν ἰωνικά εἰσι ταῦτα μᾶλλον. ἀλλ' ἀναμφίβολον πάλιν τοῦτο ποιεῖ, τὸ μὴ τὸν Ἡρόδ. ἀκράτῳ τῇ ἰάδι χρῆσθαι, ἀλλὰ μεμιγμένῃ τῇ ποιητικῇ. Longinos calls Herodotos Ὀμηρικώτατος (*Symb.* 12). Eustathios *Iliad* A p. 9, says: ἔοικε δὲ καὶ Ἡρόδ. τῷ Φερεκύδῃ καὶ Ἐκαταίῳ ὅμοιος τοῖς καταβαλοῦσι τὸ τῆς ποιήσεως εὐδόκιμον.

<sup>2</sup> Of Ktesias Photios (p. 45 a 7. 20 Bekk.) says: κέχρηται δὲ τῇ ἰωνικῇ διαλέκτῳ, εἰ καὶ μὴ δι' ὅλου καθάπερ Ἡρόδοτος, ἀλλὰ κατ' ἐνίας τινὰς λέξεις. ἀνεγνώσθη δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ ἰνδικὰ ἐν ἐνὶ βιβλίῳ, ἐν ᾧ οἷς μᾶλλον ἰωνίζει. The last words indicate that in Ktesias' time a partial Ionism was held to be sufficient to maintain the tradition of the Ionic origin of the historian's art. Ionic obtained a foothold in the Doris before the birth of the author of the *Περσικά*. Herodotos and Hippokrates felt the pressure of the Ionic atmosphere of their surroundings.

<sup>3</sup> Τῆς ἰάδος ἄριστος κανὼν Dion. Hal., Photios l. l., and in the epigram in St. Byz. s. r. Θούριος:—

Ἡρόδοτον Λύξω κρύπτει κόνις ἥδε θανόντα  
ἰάδος ἀρχαίης ἱστορικῆς πρότατον.

<sup>4</sup> *De Fria.* 118 B.



of the fragments of the logographers and philosophers have either perished completely or have been forced to submit to a more or less thoroughgoing depravation of their original form. Unfortunately, however, this judgment of antiquity respecting 'pure' as distinguished from 'mixed' Ionic means no such thing. Its value is vitiated for the purpose of dialectology because it is a verdict based upon the insecure premise that vocabulary and style are essentially determinative of dialect character. So far removed from the immediate purpose of the rhetoricians was the conception that purity of dialect consists in the unimpeded transmission of an indigenous vowel and consonantal system and in a native method of inflection, that they are constantly exposed to the danger of not distinguishing dialect from diction. Exceptions are rare. When Dionysios of Halikarnassos wishes to display the power of the Herodoteian style in its marshalling of words, his first thought is to cast aside the veil of the dialect that no extraneous charm may reinforce his argument as to the perfect disposition of the tale of Gyges or of the descent of Kroisos<sup>1</sup>.

The grammarians rarely<sup>2</sup>, the rhetoricians never, busied themselves with any possibility of difference between the idiom of the soil and that of Ionic prose literature, filled from the horn of plenty of the epos. The nature of the inflections, the character of word forms, fail to trouble Hermogenes when he sets Hekataios<sup>3</sup> off against Herodotos, or characterizes the poetical nature of the latter's diction<sup>4</sup>.

80.] The distinction between *pure* and *mixed* Ionic is therefore, in view of the attitude of the rhetoricians towards the creations of Ionic prose literature, a distinction destitute of authority for us in respect of matters of phonology and inflection. Whatever significance it may possess can be understood only in relation to the genesis and stylistic development of prose as a literary instrument.

Two views have been advanced in ancient as well as in modern times, which seek to penetrate into the obscurity enveloping the dawn of Greek prose.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Quint. IX 4, 18.

<sup>2</sup> Dionysios Thrax ch. 1 illustrates the horizon of the grammarians:—*γραμματική ἐστὶν ἐμπειρία τῶν παρὰ ποιηταῖς τε καὶ συγγραφεύσιν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ λεγομένων.*

<sup>3</sup> In the passage n. 1, p. 80, Hekataios' style is described as simple, in contradistinction to the parti-coloured diction of Herodotos. The passage ending with *ποιητικός* may have reference to epic style and vocabulary. See Zarncke *Literatursprachen*, note 32.

<sup>4</sup> Hermog. II 395: *καὶ γὰρ ταῖς ἐννοαῖς μυθικαῖς σχεδὸν ἀπόσαις, καὶ τῇ λέξει ποιητικῇ κέχρηται διόλου . . . οἱ γὰρ πλεῖστοι τῶν ῥυθμῶν αὐτῷ κατὰ τε τὰς συνθήκας καὶ τὰς βάσεις δακτυλικοὶ τε εἰσὶ καὶ ἀναπαιστικοί, σπονδειακοὶ τε καὶ δλωσι σεμνοί*



81.] The ancients with scarcely a dissenting voice, and the moderns in the early part of the nineteenth century under the leadership of Heyne especially, held that the rise of Ionic prose was due to a gradual abandonment of the metrical form, though at the same time the word structure that belonged to poetry was retained. Dealing with local myths at the outset, but continually widening its horizon, it nevertheless retained some of that poetical colouring which had proved so splendid an ornament to the tale of the Trojan war. Strabo is the chief authority in ancient times for this view<sup>1</sup>.

In confirmation of this side of the controversy it was urged that the connection between the epic and the earliest literary prose was most intimate<sup>2</sup>, an inference suggested by the tradition that Akusilaos transferred Hesiod to prose, and because of a similar legend attaching itself to the name of Eumelos. The language of Anaximander is replete with poetic reminiscences<sup>3</sup>; and the diction of Herakleitos<sup>4</sup> and Demokritos<sup>5</sup> has not lost traces of its affiliation with the poetic past<sup>6</sup>. Doubtless some part of the poetic flavour of Platonic prose is not entirely due to the vivid imagination of the artist, but is the result of a more or less conscious reproduction of the philosophic diction of the Ionians (*e.g.* ἐγκρίνω *Rep.* VI 486 D).

The bond of sympathy between archaic literary prose and verse<sup>7</sup>, the refusal to abandon the medium of metre after a philosophical prose had won a place in the literary circles of Ionia, the analogy of the diction of Pythagorean prose, proved powerful factors in gaining the suffrage of scholars to the view that Strabo was substantially correct.

82.] If modern criticism does not actually overthrow the Strabonian explanation of the genesis of prose writing, it at

<sup>1</sup> I 18: ὡς δ' εἰπεῖν, ὁ περὶ λόγος, ὃ γε κατεσκευασμένος, μῆμα τοῦ ποιητικοῦ ἐστίν. πρότιστα γὰρ ἡ ποιητικὴ κατασκευὴ παρῆλθεν εἰς τὸ μέσον καὶ εὐδοκίμησεν, εἴτα ἀκρίβητι μιμούμενοι, λύσαντες τὸ μέτρον, τὰλλα δὲ φυλάξαντες τὰ ποιητικά, συνέγραψαν οἱ περὶ Κάδμον καὶ Φερεκύδη (i.e. of Συγος), καὶ Ἐκαταῖον· εἴτα οἱ ὕστερον ἀφαιροῦντες ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων εἰς τὸ νῦν εἶδος κατήγαγον ὡς ἂν ἀπὸ ὕψους τιός. The passage from Strabo reappears in Eust. II. p. 9. With this statement may be associated the remark of Aristotle *Poet.* 1. 8; that the language of Empedokles was in no wise different from prose, save in the fact that it was metrical.

<sup>2</sup> See throughout Zarneke's *Entstehung der gr. Literatursprachen*, which contains the best defence of the older view, though the part dealing with the rise of prose is the weakest part of the article.

<sup>3</sup> Theophrastus, *apud* Simpl. *phys.* 6 r 42.

<sup>4</sup> Strabo, p. 3, βελτίων δ' Ἡρακλ. καὶ δμηρικώτερος.

<sup>5</sup> Cicero, *Orat.* 67.

<sup>6</sup> Anaximenes, according to one witness at least, seems to have been less constant in his adherence to the poetic element in philosophical style. *Diog. Laert.* II 2, cited above, § 79.

<sup>7</sup> The *Karneonikai* of Hellanikos was written in prose and verse.

least demands its modification in several important particulars. It is maintained that the foundation of Ionic prose is to be sought in the local dialects (notably the Milesian), and that the diction of historical, philosophical and scientific writing can have come into being only after the labours of successive generations had succeeded in rendering the rude idiom of the registers and decrees capable of being a vehicle of literary expression. Those of this second school emphasize the fact that even in antiquity there was no consensus of opinion, and bring forward at least two utterances making in favour of their view: (1) Cicero (*De Orat.* II 12, § 53), in speaking of the earliest Roman annalists who made no use of poetical ornament, compares them with Pherekydes, Hellanikos and Akusilaos. (2) After describing what manner of men the older local historians were, Dionysios of Halikarnassos<sup>1</sup> says that their style was clear and intelligible to all, pure and precise. Of the moderns, no less an authority than Bergk says: '*it is remarkable how slight has been the influence of poetry upon the prose of the earlier period, though poetry attained at an early date to a periodic connection of sentences. Prose, originally a totally different species of composition, intentionally renounces the artistic means adopted by poetry*'<sup>2</sup>.

83.] In all this speculation, both of the moderns and of the ancients (who possessed a greater wealth of material, but not the horizon enabling them to estimate its dialectal value), a vital fact has been ignored. Style is one thing, phonetics and inflections something quite different. Poetical ornament or poetical reminiscence, the recourse to archaic or obsolescent words, be they never so frequent, are not incompatible with a contemporaneous system of inflection and phonetics. The substitution of prose for the λέξις εἰρομένη by the logographers of the sixth (or fifth) centuries is not identical with the adoption of an Homeric scheme of declension. The various dialects of Hellas, in which are preserved early dedicatory or laudatory hexameters of epic tone, have no scruple in adopting inflections proper either to an archaic or to a contemporaneous form of the language, while at the same time the words are borrowed to a greater

<sup>1</sup> D. H. *de Thuc. judic.* 819 R. : σαφῆ καὶ κοινὴν, καὶ καθαρὰν καὶ σύντομον. Before he says: κατ' ἔθνη καὶ κατὰ πόλεις διαιροῦντες, καὶ χωρὶς ἐκφέροντες, ἕνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν φυλάτταντες σκοπόν, ὅσαι διεσώζοντο παρὰ τοῖς ἐπιχωριοῖς μνήμαι κατὰ ἔθνη τε καὶ κατὰ πόλεις, εἴτ' ἐν ἱεροῖς εἴτ' ἐν βεβήλοις ἀποκείμενα. γραφαί, ταῦτα εἰς τὴν κοινὴν ἀπάντων γνῶσιν ἐξεργεῖν, ὅας παρελαβὼν μῆτε προστιθέντες αὐταῖς τι, μῆτ' ἀφαιρούντες, ἐν αἷς καὶ μῦθοι τινες ἐνῆσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ πολλοῦ πεπιστευμένοι χρόνου καὶ θεατρικαὶ τινες περιπέτειαι, πολὺν τὸ ἡλίθιον ἔχειν τοῖς νῦν ἀκοῦσαι. *Demetrius, de Eluc.* 12, vol. IX, p. 9 W says of the style of the older prose-writers. διερρημένη, εἰς κῶλα λελυμένη οὐ μάλα ἀλλήλοις συνηρημένα, ὥς ἡ Ἑκαταίου, καὶ τὰ πλείοτα τῶν Ἡροδότου.

<sup>2</sup> Bergk, *Gr. Literaturgeschichte*, II 394, note.

or less extent from Homer. So in the domain of prose. The archaic words employed in Herodotos' vocabulary, when it is identical with that of Homer and divergent from that of Attic prose, may coexist with contemporaneous inflections. Even in the vocabulary of Ionic prose, much of what has been regarded as poetical is in fact nothing more than old-time Ionic, a survival of the time when the Ionians did not dwell over-sea, and cherished with all the fervour which unites the speech of the colony to that of the metropolis. In the America of to-day there survive words drawn from the treasure-house of Chaucerian, Spenserian and Shakesperian English, words which were still vigorous with life in England in the seventeenth century, but which have since been permitted to starve. The Tennessean says *suddint* for *quick-tempered*, as Chaucer said *sodeyn Diomede*.

On the one hand then, the utterances of antiquity and the hypotheses of the moderns in reference to the difference between the Herodoteian and non-Herodoteian dialect lead to no result, since they proceed on the lines of discriminating one style from another. On the other hand, we find in the extant fragments no answer to the much-vexed question whether there was any radical difference in the dialect of the various writers of early Ionic prose.

84.] Upon turning to the existing monuments of Ionic prose, we confront the fact that, so far as the fragments of the logographers permit a comparison of their dialect with that of Herodotos, there is no appreciable difference between the two. These fragments are but few, and even these bear the touch of Attic or pseudo-Ionic hands. Of Kadmos and Dionysios, Deiochos and Bion of Prokonnesos, Eugeon of Samos, nothing has been preserved. Akusilaos of Argos, the first writer not of Ionic stock who pursued the genealogical enquiries of the Ionians, must have written in Ionic, though the fragments extant in antiquity were branded as spurious by Suidas. The *Σικελιώτις συγγραφή* of Antiochos of Syrakuse, utilized by Thukydides, offers no picture of the form assumed by the literary Ionic of the Western colonies. Charon of Lampsakos has *ἀπίξεται*, and a few cases of *-ιη*, which was the feature of the dialect which resisted dislodgment most obstinately. In frag. 2 Plutarch has *βασιλητου* together with *τείχους* and *ἐπανάχωροῦσι*. Of Xanthos nothing worthy of note is preserved.

Even the fragments of Hekataios yield no result commensurate with their greater number. In the field of vocabulary we notice here and there a peculiar word, but even upon the basis of the study of vocabulary and style, we have not material

sufficient to test the criticism of Hermogenes. It is only occasionally that Ionic forms appear in Steph. of Byzant. and in Athenaios<sup>1</sup>, whose texts present now the Attic, now a partial Ionic form. The pseudo-Longinos always Atticizes. δοκέω rests upon the authority of Hdn. π. μ. λ. I p. 13. There is no example of an open εε or εει.

Direct quotations from Pherekydes are extremely rare. Some Ionic forms are preserved by the schol. on Apoll. Rhod. III 1178 (= Pherek. 44): Ἀθηναίη, ὄφις, λιθοισι, δοκέοντες, κρατέουσιν; by the schol. on Pind. P. IV 75=133 (= 60): μαιτήριον, Αἰήτew, Ἡρη, νόον; by the schol. on Eurip. Alk. 1 (= 76): Βρόντew, Στερόπew, Ἀργew; and by Dion. Halik. Arch. I 13 (= 85): καλέονται, οἰκέοντες, Δηταρείης. All of these citations contain in addition Attic forms.

In Ion of Chios as quoted by Athenaios I find the Attic verbal forms except in δοκέον, ἀφαιρετέοντα. The adjectives of colour and material appear in the open form (πορφυρέω, -έας, χρυσέας).

85.] The vigour displayed by Ionic as the language of the scientists of the day, not merely Ionians of Ephesos, Samos, Klazomenai or of the Thracian Abdera<sup>2</sup>, but thinkers from Krete, or cosmopolitans, puts to confusion the aesthetic-physiological vapidness of many older, and some modern, books on Greek. The mollient harmonies of the Ionic vowel system were applied, even at the period of the destruction of effeminate Ionia upon the fall of Miletos, to give expression to the hardest thinking that the Hellenic world had witnessed. So far from the Ionic dialect in early prose always appearing in the easy-flowing, anecdotal style of an Herodotos: it is the idiom which has to express the resplendent subtleties of Herakleitos. 'Milesian tales' are exchanged for the crabbedness of an Obscurantist, or for the defence of the all-pervading power of causality by the Atomic philosopher; and finally for the picturesque yet terse and nervous style of the Father of Medicine.

And yet, however different the styles in vogue among the thinkers of the sixth and fifth centuries, styles ranging from the poetic prose of the speculative thinker Pherekydes of Syros to the powerful compression or unadorned simplicity (as in the Ἐπιδημῖαι) of Hippokrates, we are unable to bring together

<sup>1</sup> In Steph. Byz. -εου- appears fr. 67, 78, 114, 135, 189, 190, 193, 195; contracted ου- 105, 186. Athen. has open -εου- 290, -εο- 172, ου- 173, 341; εε and εει are always contracted.

<sup>2</sup> In connection with this, reference may be made to the view upheld by Gomperz that the pseudo-Hippocratic tract *περὶ τέχνης* is the work of an Abderite, and also to the view of Wilamowitz-Moellendorf that the pseudo-Hippocratic *Νόμος* is the production of Demokritos.

enough material to warrant the conclusion that there was any thoroughgoing differentiation between the dialect of historical and that of scientific writing. Apart from the question of the relation of Herodotos to Hippokrates, which will be considered in § 100, there is scarcely a trace which points to a difference in dialect between Anaxagoras, Herakleitos, Demokritos, Diogenes, Melissos, Apollonios, or Protagoras<sup>1</sup>. While tradition has not been impartial in its dealings with the original colouring of their dialect, it nevertheless appears tolerably certain that they all made use of the inflections belonging to the accepted idiom of the day, which was common alike to the logographer and to the scientist. Radical differences in phraseology, sentence arrangement or syntax<sup>2</sup> may have existed, it is true, though in the scanty material at command, they elude our powers of observation.

Scientific writing gradually passed over into the hands of the Athenians. Archelaos of Miletos, the pupil of Anaxagoras, was in the view of Diogenes Laertios the first who transferred from Ionia to Attika the study of the philosophy of nature. Anaxagoras himself was banished from Athens, and a like fate befell the cosmopolitan Protagoras. Though none of these thinkers deserted the literary form established by their predecessors, we find that Bion, the pupil of Demokritos, wrote partly in Ionic, partly in Attic. This procedure may have given a start to that paraphrasing of the old Ionic texts which in course of time won for itself a place even among the critics who were not unsusceptible to the charm of dialect.

*On the Transmission of the Text of the Ionic Philosophers.*

For pseudo-Ionisms and hyper-Ionisms see § 113.

86.] 1. No fragments in dialect have been preserved of Anaximander or of Anaximenes (on whose dialect see note 2, page 80). Anaxagoras is known to us solely from the citations made by

<sup>1</sup> Some have held that Melissos imitated Hdt., Demokritos Hippokrates ξίω. Mullach (*Vulgarsprache* p. 10) notes that Demokritos often agrees with neither Hdt. nor Hipp., but with the epic poets or inscriptions. He is unique for his 'pregnant brevity, poetic colour, and independent boldness in word formation.'

<sup>2</sup> μετὰ with the genitive (in the singular) of things, especially of an abstract character, occurs, probably for the first time in Ionic prose, in Demokritos, who has μετ' ἀρετῆς (?). Mommsen (*Gr. Praep.* p. 112, note 50) says that the use of μετὰ with plural nouns is almost entirely avoided before Euripides; but cf. Hippokrates, *περὶ ἀρχ.* 17r. I 612 (§ 17). See Gomperz, *Apologie d. Heilkunst*, note 2 on p. 92.



Simplicius, who has turned into Attic many of the essential features of the original language of the philosophers. Thus *eo* is contracted into *ov*, the *κ* pronominal forms have given place to those in *π*, the Ionic forms of the reflexive pronouns have completely disappeared.

2. Melissos has been treated more kindly by Simplicius. *eo* is retained in the optative, and *eo* has not entirely disappeared. The retention of *κερεός* and *κερεώτερος* is noteworthy. In one instance a pronominal form in *κ* has escaped the levelling process.

3. Herakleitos has fared better at the hands of his excerptors than most of his contemporaries. The compression of his style may have prevented too great a deflection from the original. The earliest direct citation (by Theophrastos) is, however, paraphrased. The *κ* pronominal forms are preserved by Clemens, Stobaios, Plutarch, Hippolytos, Origen; the *-ων-* forms are found in Strabo, Plutarch, Diogenes Laertios, Julian, &c.; uncontracted *-eo-*, *-eov-* in Clemens of Alexandria (whose MSS, however, are inconsistent in this regard and also in the retention of the characteristic Ionic *κ*); uncontracted *-ew-* in Diogenes Laertios, Strabo.

*ε* in place of *α* in *-aw* verbs is found in Clemens and Hippolytos.

*ξυνόν* for *κοινόν* in Origen, Plotinos, Porphyrios, Sext. Emp. The *ε* forms in the comparative degree are rarely preserved intact by late writers. *μέζους* is found in Clemens, *κρέσσον* in Stob. The Ionic *η* is retained except by those who Atticize outright. Plutarch rarely swerves from the original.

The fragments of Herakleitos found in the Strassburg MS. of Justinian, now destroyed, and dating 474-491 A.D., are completely Atticized with the exception of *ὀκοῖον*, *τουντέοισι*.

4. The longest single fragment of Diogenes of Apollonia has been paraphrased by Aristotle. In the other fragments as preserved in Simplicius we notice the retention of the Ionic declension of *iota* stems, except in *-ων*. *eo* is kept open in *πλήθεος*, a genitive form which is as unique in Simplicius as is his retention of *ὄκη* in Melissos 14. The reflexive pronouns conform to the Attic standard.

5. The *Moralia* of Demokritos, handed down chiefly by Stobaios, present the features of Ionic distorted by Atticisms, which at times completely overshadow the original lineaments of the dialect. Within one and the same fragment (e.g. 70) we find the same word now in Attic, now in Ionic, guise. The characteristic features of the dialect of the Abderite philosopher emerge often



enough to permit the reconstruction of the whole, though not always in the form adopted by Mullach. The -ων- forms of the reflexive pronoun are tolerably common (*e.g.* 92, 100, 188); κρέσσον we find in 94; οἰκήιος (94); -ιος and -ias in -ι- stems (20); the κ pronominal forms have often given place to the Attic π, but the guttural appears (13, 20, 41); retention of ψῶσις (92) is as rare as the open -εο- and -εω- are common. These forms appear with greater consistency than any other deflection from the Attic usage. There is a constant fluctuation between ξύν and σύν, and between the longer and shorter forms of the dative plural of the Ἄ and Ο declensions. Mullach has edited ξύν and τοῖσι and τῇσι indefensibly. τοῖς and ταῖς occur even when, as is rarely the case, the nouns end in -σι. The articular τοῖσι, however, occurs in 41, the relative in 47; τῇσιν ἐπιθυμῇσι in 46. τολμέωσι is found in 215.

The *Physika*, as cited by Sextus Empiricus, are almost completely Atticized. Ionic η is occasionally preserved; ὀρήν occurs in § 139 (frag. 1).

*On the Style of Early Ionic Prose Writing.*

87.] Among the early logographers who raised the edifice of their recitals upon the simple annals of the Ionic cities, genealogies, priestly records, &c., some would seem to have adopted a plain and homely style, ungarnished by that admixture of epic colouring which distinguished the work of others. Both styles, however, had their roots in the local idioms in which subsisted variations to some slight degree. No Ionic prose in fact held itself aloof from the idiom of the soil. But to the epos, rather than to the unaided efforts of the early worthies, is due the creation of what might fairly be called a literary instrument. The influence of the epos cannot be conceived save upon the supposition that the ruder prose had of itself been already elaborated to a degree enabling it to make a distinct advance under the inspiration of a poetic model. There seem to be certain indications making for the conclusion that the language of the earliest logographers was in closer touch with the idiom of the soil than that of Herodotos. In this view 'unmixed' Ionic would show less of that conscious recourse to the epos and other literature (*cf.* § 89) which characterizes the dialect of Herodotos, and which in fact constituted his ποικιλία<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> It is wide of the mark to extend the application of the words of Hermogenes: 'Ἐκταῖος παρ' οὗ δὴ μάλιστα ἐφέληται ὁ Ἡρόδοτος *cf.* above § 79 so as to find in them a confirmation of the belief, whether well founded or not,

Pherekydes and Hekataios dwelt within a narrower circle, while Herodotos extended the boundaries not only of subject-matter but also of style.

It is often a matter of dubitation what is the contemporaneous Ionic form which deserves a place in Herodotos, so scanty are our epigraphic materials and so perverse the confusion in the grammarians between the different strata of Ionic forms. Yet it is nevertheless certain that, save in passages which bear the unmistakable stamp of deliberate recurrence to Epic formulae, the system of phonology and inflection is that of the soil. If it

that Herodotos purloined from his predecessor much of his subject-matter. The tone of the passage in Hermogenes indicates the belief of the rhetorician that Herodotos owed a debt in matters of style to Hekataios, notwithstanding that the latter used the *ἄσπετος, οὐ μεμιγμένη* *ἰδὲς*. A hard and fast line between the Milesian and the Halikarnassian cannot well be drawn. I am indebted to Diels, *Hermes* XXII 426, for reference to a passage in Eusebios, *Pr. Ev.* X 3, p. 466 B, to the effect that Porphyrios in his *Φιλόλογος ἀκρόασις*, following Polio *περὶ τῆς Ἡροδότου κλωπῆς*, showed that Hdt. transferred from Hek. several passages without material change (*βραχέα παραποιήσας*). Diels does not hesitate to regard the *ποικιλία* of Hdt. as due to the wider horizon of the historian, which embraces not only description of all manner of things but also stylistic affinities with the epos, tragedy, &c.

In connection with this, reference may be made to a treatise which has generally escaped the notice of scholars. Peyron's *Origine de la langue dialectale Grecque par rapport à celle de l'Etrusque illustre Italique*, first published in 1838, and now accessible as the 12th appendix to his *Tucidide*, Turin, 1861. In §§ 49-56 he treats of Ionic, chiefly in regard to the relation of Herodotos to his predecessors and to the statements of Hermogenes above § 79 and Dionysios of Halikarnassos above § 82. His views are, briefly, as follows:—the language of Hekataios and that of the early logographers was that of the nativity of each, here and there ennobled by a slight admixture of the poetic element. An *ἄσπετος* dialect is a dialect spoken by the common folk in a single city or district and not yet elaborated by literary artists; the words *οὐ μεμιγμένη* refer to a diction uncontaminated by the adoption of Homeric or other species of Ionic; and *ποικιλία* is used of a speech which seeks to avoid the monotony incidental to the use of a single dialectal idiom, by having recourse to forms and inflections other than those native to a single locality. Pseudo-Plutarch used *ποικίλος* in this sense when speaking of Homer *λέγει δὲ ποικίλην κεχρημένον τοῖς ἀπὸ πάσης διαλέκτου τῶν Ἑλλήνων χαρακτῆρας ἰγκραμίζον*. In confirmation of the view that the diction of Hekataios was essentially plebeian, the following words are cited: *δεας* for *κρεας*, *αἰμον* for *αἶμον*, *γέγνιος*, *ἐπισσαι*, *κίβωτος*, *σκοπιζέσθαι*, *σκεδάανυσθαι*, *ἀδελφιζειν*. In general the predecessors of Herodotos wrote as they spoke, but gradually *l'fraseggiare del volgare si innalzava verso la dignità ed il ritmo della greca prosa*. Hekataios and his compilers were not absolutely intolerant of the dialect of other localities than their own, nor were they invariably studious of the avoidance of Homeric phraseology. They only essayed a unification of elements, whose fusion was reserved for the genius of Herodotos. Herodotos took as the foundation for his dialect the language of Homer, as the successors of Dante regarded his diction as their sovereign norm. The *ποικιλία* of Hdt. is the result of the superimposing upon Homeric Greek of the Ionic of Herodotos' own day and of other non-Ionic elements.

Latterly the ancient qualifications of the style of Hdt. have been regarded as covering loan-forms from non-Ionic dialects, which, it is assumed, were foreign to the writers of the 'pure' Ionic. Cf. *K Z* XXX 571.

is erroneous to regard Ionic prose as naught save the epic done into prose, to ruthlessly expel all Homeric forms from the text of Herodotos or of any of the early Ionic prosaists is to blind oneself to the true character of the genesis of prose in Ionia.

The presence of distinctly Homeric forms in Herodotos is due to the literary complexion of his history and is explained in part by his relationship to Panyassis. It is implied also in great measure by the after history of the text itself. It was the existence of an admixture of a poetic element which gave room and verge enough for the later redactors to erect the structure of an hyper-Ionism, whose creed licensed an indiscriminate substitution of epic forms in place of those of the living speech of Herodotos' day.

What may have been the distinctive virtue of the diction of the many representatives of Ionic prose classed by the ancients as writers of pure Ionic, it is now beyond our power to discover. Certainly if the ποικιλία peculiar to Herodotos has been correctly explained above, the bipartite division of antiquity does not rest upon differences of dialect in the strict sense of the word, and dialectal 'purity' is to be kept apart from stylistic 'purity.'

### *The Dialect of Herodotos.*

ABICHT : *Quaestionum de dialecto Herodotea specimen prim.* 1859 ; *Philol.* XI 275 (on -εται, -ετο for -εται, -ετο).

BREDOW : *De dialecto Herodotea*, 1846.

DINDORF : *Dissertatio de dialecto Herod.* in the Didot edition, 1844.

FRITSCHE : Critique of Merzdorf's *De dialecto Herodotea*, in *Jahrbücher für kl. Phil.* 1876, p. 105 ff.

LEARDY : *Quaestionum de dial. Herod. cap. I and II*, 1844-46.

MERZDORF : *Quaest. gramm. de vocalium in dialecto Herodotea concursu* in Curtius' *Studien VIII* 127-222, 1875. *Vocalverkürzung und Metathesis im Ionischen*, *ibid.* IX 201-244, 1876.

MEYER, W. L. : *Ueber die Contraction der Verba auf -ειν*, *Programm des Paedagog. zu Ilfeld*, 1868.

NORÉN : *De contractis verbis in -ειν apud Herodotum*.

SPEER : *De verbis contractis apud Herodotum*, 1874.

STEIN : in the *Præfatio* to the first volume of his critical edition (1869), p. xliv ff.

STRACHAN : in the Introduction to his edition of Book VI, 1891.

STREVE : *Quaestionum de dial. Herodoti specimina III*, 1828-30 (in the second volume of his *Opuscula*).

The following i.e. deal with the relation of Hdt. to Homer :

BOTTIGER : *De Herod. Historia ad epici carminis indolem propius accedente*, 1792.

HOFFER : *Ueber die Verwandtschaft d. herod. Stiles mit dem homerischen*, 1878.

HOELSCHER : *Die Entwicklung u. d. Zusammenhang d. ionischen Prosa mit den homerischen Epen*, 1875.

PICHLER : *Ueber syntaktische Beziehungen Herodots zu Homer*, 1882 (*Jahresbericht d. philol. Vereins zu Berlin*, X (1884), p. 366).

STADELMANN : *Dissertat. de Herodoto ejusque dialecto*, 1830, 32.

STEPHANUS : *Herodotus* 1570, p. 18 ff. contains a collection of expressions in which Hdt. and Homer agree).

See also ZARNCKE's *Entstehung der griech. Literatursprachen*, 1890, pp. 38-45.

88.] Within less than a century after Herodotos had concluded his history, the epitome of its contents by Theopompas became a possibility. The construction and continuance of an Athenian empire, whose reason for existence was the presence of the barbarian in the home of the Ionic Greeks; the rise of an artistic Attic prose as a more facile and more highly elaborated organ for the expression of trained political thought; the unexampled rapidity of development displayed by this new creation of Greek literature; the extinction of the easily flowing and loosely joined style of the Ionic narrative prose; the absorption of the fourth century in the process of perfecting the rhythmic and periodic style; and finally the continual widening of the chasm that separated the Eastern Greeks from those of Hellas proper;—all these factors contributed to the speedy decay of interest in the Herodoteian work. Now to this unpopularity of the Father of History, lasting from the extinction of Ionic literature to the time of Dionysios of Halikarnassos, is due in large measure the absence of a definite tradition of his original text. The disturbance of the current of Ionic tradition by the appearance of Attic worked to the prejudice of Herodotos. The unpoverishment of the dialect and the deflection of literary curiosity to other quarters prevented a constant modernization of the original text, and ensured a speedy obscuration of the original complexion of so unique a literary product. When the interest in Ionic literature revived during the Augustan age, the seeds of corruption had borne their fruit; and it was impossible to reconstitute the genuine tradition of Herodotos as of other Ionic prose writers, who from this time onward continue to excite an attention in the rhetorical schools which they had failed to obtain in a more creative period of Greek literature.

The MSS. of no other prose writers exhibit such a wilderness of various readings and so complete an inability to transmit the original form as do those of Herodotos and Hippokrates. Fortunately in the case of Herodotos, with whom we are here more immediately concerned, this aberration affects not the sense, but the external form. No single dialectal canon seems to have

guided the copyists, who adopt now one standard as regards one set of forms, now another as regards a set completely analogous. The absence of any scholia makes for the view that Alexandrian learning did not (as it did in the case of Homer, the lyric and tragic poets), by means of critical studies devoted to the dialect, erect a bulwark against the gradual transformation of that part of the authentic text in which Later Ionic was exposed to contamination with Homeric Ionic.

The incoherency of the Herodoteian scheme as it appears in the MSS. is evident from many considerations. If  $oe$  and even  $on$  are contracted, is it conceivable that  $oo$  should remain open?

Despite the general acquiescence in the traditional belief that the open forms of the  $-ew$  verbs are genuine Herodoteian and Hippokratic, there are not wanting signs of a more rational view even in circles that do not despise the evidence of the MSS. in all matters pertaining to the contraction or non-contraction of vowels. Gomperz in his *Apologie der Heilkunst* does not scruple to adopt the closed forms, though the Paris MS. *A* has only 18 instances against 21 instances of the open forms in the pseudo-Hippokratic  $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\ \tau\acute{\epsilon}\chi\eta\varsigma$ .

Neither of the two classes<sup>1</sup> of MSS. of Herodotos (the older represented by *ABC*, the younger by *RPVS*) succeeds in carrying us to a period antedating the existence of an ignorant speculation as to the original form of the dialect adopted. The Florentine MS. (*A*) of the tenth century contains a greater farrago of perverse Ionisms than is found in the Romanus (*R*) of the fourteenth century. Cobet and Gomperz rate higher, for other reasons, the younger family of MSS. to which *R* belongs. On the one hand the confusion in the mind of the dialectologists between Homeric (cf. Greg. Korinth. § 20, 22) and Later Ionic foisted upon the early MSS. forms that are purely Homeric, and sometimes even such as owe their origin to a depraved Homeric tradition; and on the other the text, like all dialect texts, was exposed to the inroads of paraphrasing Atticists. In the uncertainty as to what was genuine, the dialectological sciolists played havoc with the later Ionic, and their blundering stupidity gave birth to such misshapen creatures as  $\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\nu\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\tau\omicron$ ,  $\delta\epsilon\sigma\pi\acute{o}\tau\epsilon\alpha$ ,  $K\rho\acute{o}\lambda\sigma\epsilon\omega$ ,  $B\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\epsilon\omega$ ,  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$ ,

<sup>1</sup> Holder arranges the MSS. as follows: the archetypal MS. split into 1,  $a = AB$ , (2,  $R + V' = V + S$ . *C* and *P* are placed by Holder among the *codices contaminati vel mixti*. See Kallenberg, *Philologus*, 1885, p. 717, who showed that in books I and IX, *P* belongs to the family *ABC*, but was corrected from a MS. of the *R* family; in books II-VIII *P* belongs to the family *R* but underwent correction from a MS. of the family *ABC*. Together with *ABC*, *R* is to be cautiously used. Stein held that only when *P* and *R* agree is use to be made of their readings. Cobet called *R* at once the best and the worst MS.



αὐτέων (masc. neutr.), τουτέοισι, σταθμεύμενος, ἐδικαίευν, which run riot in the MSS.

89.] The ancient grammarians, to a large extent under the influence of the rhetoricians, neglecting the influence exerted upon Herodotos by tragedy, lyric poetry, and perhaps even by the contemporary Sophistic, regarded his ποικιλία as emanating from his sympathy with the form and complexion of the epos. For Epic diction is characterized by a ποικιλία of its own<sup>1</sup>. It was alien to the purpose of the ancient rhetoric to attempt to trace out in Herodotos the possibility of a combination of local idioms, each of which might have been compelled to yield its contribution towards the creation of a prose style, more highly elaborated than that wrought out by the predecessors of the Halikarnassian historian. Such a conception of the Herodoteian style, though not warranted by actual facts, could become possible only in modern times. Various have been the attempts within the past fifty years to explain the ποικιλία of Herodotos. Some, misconceiving the spirit of a Greek historian and the atmosphere of Ionic prose, have regarded it as the result of the fusion of Ionic with Karian, despite the fact that Halikarnassos was Ionized at least by the middle of the fifth century. Others, misconceiving the words of Suidas (ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ καὶ τὴν Ἰάδῃ ἠσκήθη διδασκῶν), have regarded his dialect as Samian, which solely on this account was held to be a mixture of all the Ionic sub-dialects; though in fact, so far as we are acquainted with its structure, Samian Ionic opposes the infusion of alien, non-Ionic words and inflections<sup>2</sup>. Most of the modern editors of Herodotos maintain the view that his 'variegated' Ionic is due to the presence of poetical (epic, lyric, elegiac), Doric, and Attic forms and expressions, which arose for the most part from the birth, training and surroundings of the historian. The present treatise, while professing allegiance to a view which holds, properly enough, that the personal coefficient has been largely instrumental in giving to Herodoteian style its peculiar virtue, is nevertheless antagonistic to the theory that his ποικιλία permitted Herodotos to adopt, as Homer adopted, now one, now another inflection for one and the same word; and in fact to the conception that the variegated complexion of the MSS. is any indication of a ποικιλία in the form reproduced by Stein and many modern editors. I hold that only in the treatment of proper names and in passages of unmistakably epic colouring is a certain latitude

<sup>1</sup> Ὅμηρος λέγει ποικίλῳ πεποιημένον says the author of the tractate *εὑρεσις Ὀμηρικῆς διαλέκτου*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above, § 21.



on the lines of a departure from the contemporary Ionic to be regarded as justifiable.

90.] The language of Herodotos, as reconstructed upon the basis of the best MSS., consists of a mixture of early and late Ionic and a number of Attic forms. Doric forms occur in proper names. Much of what is genuine in Herodotos is likewise Attic, but some of the forms which appear to be found on Ionic soil alone readily admit of explanation by the laws of Greek morphology. Of the Ionic forms the greater part represents the dialect of the historian's time<sup>1</sup>, but of the considerable remainder one part was obsolescent, another obsolete in the fifth century.

91.] The critical canon adopted by many of the editors<sup>2</sup> and by some scholars<sup>3</sup> who have made a special study of certain portions of the diction of Herodotos is as follows: the form to be assumed by a given word in a given passage depends upon a count of its occurrences in the MSS., *i.e.* if one form has a majority of MS. witnesses in its behalf it is accepted, while the other must be rejected.

This principle, though seemingly the only safe guide, is illusory. Thus on the authority of a majority of the MSS. ποιέει and ποιέειν are to be adopted, while in the case of νοέω, νοέεις, -νόει and -νοεῖν would demand to be accepted. In the case of the subjunctives of -εω verbs the MSS. have the open forms in fourteen instances when a vowel precedes the ending, and the closed form ten times when a consonant is the preceding letter. What system of literary aesthetics can pronounce in favour of θάρσει but demand στρατηλάτее; or differentiate the delicate shades of feeling in παραινέε and βοήθει? Shall we here conclude that there existed a thoroughgoing differentiation between vocalic and consonantal endings, when such a differentiation does not exist in other cases where -εω or -ω appears? In one instance δοκέη has been deemed worthy of a place in the text, though by count in the present subjunctive it has a

<sup>1</sup> That a Dorian of Halikarnassos should have written in Ionic is due not merely to the existence of an Ionic prose at the opening of the fifth century, but also because Halikarnassos had been Ionized before the birth of the historian. Cf. the Lygdamis' inser. No. 238 in Bechtel's collection. The exceedingly old papyrus, published in *Philologus* XLI 748, dating probably from the fourth century B.C. and referred to Halikarnassos, contains several Dorisms.

<sup>2</sup> Holder, because more amenable to inscriptional authority, is much more radical than Stein in his refusal to accept MS. testimony.

<sup>3</sup> Notably Bredow. In justice to the memory of a careful scholar, it should be stated that Merzdorf abandoned in *Curtius Studien* IX 201, the position assumed by him in the *Studien* VIII 127. The futility of the principle of majority rule was shown by Fritsch in *Fleckeisen's Jahrb.* 1876, p. 108, and in his *Vokalismus d. herod. Dialekts*, pp. 1 ff. Cf. *Kratylos* 437 D.

majority of but one over ποιῆ. In VIII 76 all MSS. have περιποιῶσι, though they have ποιέωσι IV 111, εἰδῶ II 114, but εἰδέω III 140, ἀποδεχθῶ I 124, but ἀπαιρεθείω III 65, ἀδικοῖεν V 84, but δοκέοι I 24, ποιοῖ or -οῖν VI 35, but ποίλοιν IX 104. In the case of thirteen *verba contracta* the closed forms prevail, in the case of two others, though the MSS. prefer the contraction, Stein capriciously edits the open forms; in thirty-eight verbs only the contracted forms appear, and in the case of ὀράω, εἰρωτάω and φουράω the wildest license reigns.

The adoption of the modern canon of criticism thus leads, as regards contraction or non-contraction (where the greatest lack of uniformity prevails), to a dissolution of a uniform system of inflection, and in fact to a conglomerate of inconsistencies such as is not found in any other prose author, with the possible exception of Hippokrates, whose text has met in great measure the same fate as that which has befallen the Herodoteian. From a survey of MS. evidence the conclusion is irresistible that this confusion is at least as old as the archetypal MS., which is held by some to be found in the conjunction of the readings of *ABR*. Whether the lack of uniformity displayed by the archetypal MS. is the echo of a similar lack dating from Herodotos (as some would maintain), or whether it is the result of a disturbance of the original tradition, are, it is scarcely necessary to remark, two totally different questions. The view reached in this work is that no agreement of MS. testimony in respect of contract verbs, unless it is an absolute consensus, is authoritative in the determination of the original text of the early Ionic prosaists. To establish an absolute consensus is often an impossibility. There are indications that different views as to the proper form of reconstructing certain parts of the Ionic verbal system obtained foothold at a very early period in the history of the transmission of the text. Thus as regards the 'pure' verbs, *ABR* often agree as to the necessity of contraction, *CP*<sup>1</sup> more frequently than the others (though not consistently) treat the -αω verbs as if they had passed into -εω verbs, the *Florentinus* *C* having -εω, the *Parisinus* *P* having εο, εου and εω for αο, αου and αω.

The attitude of the MSS. towards the question of the character of the dialect of Herodotos, can be accounted for only upon the supposition that at an early period, certainly not very long after the decline of literature under Alexander's successors, the knowledge of the text had become obliterated. When the period of reconstruction arrived the dialectological theories which en-

<sup>1</sup> Some of the forms of *CP* are regarded by Stein and others as due to the grammarians.

deavoured to break through the obscurity succeeded only in perpetuating divergent views as to the nature of prose Ionic. Nor did these theories, which found the chief field for their activity in the text of Herodotos, spare the texts of the lesser lights of the Ionic constellation.

92.] The investigation pursued in the present work proceeds upon principles which may thus be outlined :—

1. Herodotos made use of a uniform system of phonetics and inflection<sup>1</sup>, i.e. when a word can be shown to be genuine Ionic and Herodoteian, no variation in its form is permissible except in certain special cases, as, for example, those comparatively few epic reminiscences which are so direct as to carry the Homeric form into Herodotos. Nor are we to regard as recalcitrant such variations as *βοηθέω*, *βώσαντι*. Proper names of non-Ionic peoples and personages are given, now in the Ionic, now in the native, form.

2. The appellate court for deciding upon impeachable portions of the Herodoteian system of phonetics and inflection is composed of the inscriptions and the poets of Ionic birth. Herein we attribute greater weight to the writers of iambics and trochaics than to the elegists. The language of the inscriptions alone is not an absolute criterion of the genuineness of an Ionic form unless the inscription is older than 400 B.C. and contains no trace whatsoever of that which is specifically Attic. When the language of the inscriptions, with this limitation, agrees with that of the poets, we possess in their agreement the surest test possible under the circumstances by which to examine the credentials of any disputable form; and against the united voice of iambists and stone records the fluctuating orthography of Herodoteian or Hippokratic MSS. can make no stand. On the other hand, it is necessary to insist upon the fact, too often forgotten by some of the radical German scholars, that because a form is found in iambic poetry, or in the inscriptions, it does not follow that this form must be Herodoteian.

In the course of the detailed examination of Ionic my primary purpose has been to let the facts themselves show how great or how small is the difference between the actual speech of

<sup>1</sup> Stein, whose principle it is to follow the best MSS. in each passage, and who admits the doctrine of manifold forms, quotes with approval *Orator* 156: *alias ita loquor ut concessum est, ut hoc vel pro deum dico vel pro deorum, alias ut necesse est, cum trium virum non virorum, cum sestertium nummum, non nummorum, quod in his consuetudo varia non est.* But, as has long ago been remarked, this by no means implies that a writer has the liberty of mixing archaic and modern forms at will. There are not wanting in Herodotos, or even in inscriptions, analogues of the retention of the old gen. in *-um*, while cases similar to the younger *-orum* had elsewhere gained a place in the language of the day.

Herodotos' time and that which is ordinarily proclaimed as fifth century Ionic, the rules for which, as formulated by Dindorf<sup>1</sup> in the Didot edition, upon the authority of Herodoteian MSS., have proved for nearly two generations a treacherous guide to editors<sup>2</sup> of the Ionic writers of the Hadrianic Renaissance and of the authors quoting early Ionic literature. I have endeavoured not to advance any theory, either of the development of Ionic prose literature or of the nature of the Herodoteian dialect, which might throw into a false light the explanation of the life of the individual form; but to present the material in such bulk and in such shape that the theory advanced in this part of the volume, when supported by the facts as given in another, cannot be dislodged by the arguments of those of different belief.

The view of the dialect of Herodotos which, on the whole, seems most probable is as follows:—

The *ἱστορίης ἀπόδεξις* was originally composed, not in the pure Milesian dialect as spoken in ordinary life by the Milesians of the fifth century, but in an ennobled form of the Milesian dialect which, gradually perfected by the predecessors of Herodotos, had received under the hands of the historian an impress due to the peculiar virtue of his genius. This literary Milesian idiom had its roots in the soil. Its inflections and phonetics were those of the common speech. If this common speech did not invariably and at once reject all older forms that were brought face to face with those of more recent origin, *à fortiori* the literary dialect did not keep pace with the innovations of the speech of daily life<sup>3</sup>. It confessed the supremacy of the Ionic *epos*<sup>4</sup> by a frequent reproduction of Homeric sentiment and phraseology, chiefly for the purpose of ornament. An additional lustre was shed

<sup>1</sup> Dindorf, it is true, uttered a warning against a superstitious reverence for the authority of the MSS: *quorum auctoritate sola qui regi pulcrum suum patiuntur perinde faciunt ac si quis hæserarum jactu deprecandum esse censeat* (quibus quoque in loco vocularum sanas usus esse putandus sit Herodotus). But Dindorf lived in a state of primeval innocence in respect of epigraphy. The iambographers have in his view no voice at all, the pseudo-Ionists an all important voice in shaping the form of Herodoteian Ionic.

<sup>2</sup> The dialectologist is hampered at every turn by this dependence upon a long established code which results in grafting upon such authors as Stobæon all sorts of hyper-Ionic forms. Especially is this to be deplored in the case of the many editions which do not give a full conspectus of various readings. Such a book as Diel's *Symphicus* is a notable exception.

<sup>3</sup> For example, if in Halikarnassos or in Miletos the form of the article was *τοῖς* about the year 450 B. C., it does not follow that in Herodotos the longer form should be displaced, provided, as is the case, *τοῖσι* existed in Miletos in the sixth century. For *τοῖσι* in Hdt. to be correct, it is necessary that it should have existed at a time when the Milesian literary dialect was forming.

<sup>4</sup> Demetr. *de Eloc.* § 51: *πλὴν οἱ μὲν γυμνῇ πάνυ χράνται τῇ μιμήσει τῶν ποιητῶν, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐ μιμήσει, ἀλλὰ μεταθεσει καθάπερ Ἡρόδοτος. Θουκυδίδης μέντοι καὶ λάβρῃ παρὰ τοῦ ποιητοῦ τι, ἰδίως αὐτῷ χράμενος ἰδίῳ τὸ λεγόμενον ποιεῖ.*



upon the heroes of the Ionic Revolt and of Marathon by the recital of their deeds in a language whose tone recalled that in which the poet had recounted the story of Achilles and of Odysseus. But in its external form, save in those passages which were imbued with epic colour, it was the dialect of the sixth and fifth centuries, such as is in part presented in the language of the epigraphic monuments and in part to be reconstructed by the aid of the living speech of a slightly older date, found in its purest form in the fragments of Archilochos, Simonides of Amorgos, and Hipponax, and in the elegists after a considerable subtraction of epic forms has been made. And furthermore, this Milesian dialect must not be thought of as a highly artificial idiom, hostile to natural and spontaneous variation.

The practical effect of this theory, if applied to a reconstruction of the Herodoteian text, would leave undisturbed by far the greater part of the dialect. The system of declension unfolded in the best MSS. would be preserved, the traces of  $\psi\lambda\omega\sigma\iota\varsigma$  vouched for, while its absence in compounds would not be branded as spurious. But in one particular which for years has been proclaimed a distinguishing feature of Later Ionic—the entire absence of contraction of the  $-\epsilon\omega$  verbs—the testimony of the stone records and of the iambists is fatal to the assumption that Herodoteian Ionic is fifth century Ionic. The evidence as to the scheme of inflection of the contracted verbs is so complete that those who maintain the genuineness of the readings of the ordinary editions must take refuge in the conclusion that the historian deliberately resuscitated an entire system of inflection which had passed out of actual speech nearly a century before his time. The artificiality of style which adopts obsolete, or gives renewed life to obsolescent words is essentially different from a prose diction which reproduces a whole scheme of dead inflections. Even on the view that Herodotos' prose, like that of Hekataios, was derived immediately from poetry, its inflection of the *verba pura* is not the inflection found in iambic or elegiac poetry. I can find no cause for Herodotos' adoption of Homeric inflections in the fact that the elegy of the fifth century shows a marked increase, as contrasted with the elegy of Kallinos and Mimnermos or that of Tyrtaios and Solon, in respect of the appearance of Homeric forms. It might well be asked whether there was any tie connecting the elegy with the other Ionic prosaists whose MSS. display the same forms as those of Herodotos. And it should be noted that in these elegists there is scarcely a trace of pseudo-Ionisms, of which the MSS. of Hdt. are full.

Though as regards the contraction of  $-\epsilon\omega$  verbs the evidence points in but one direction, there are several other cases where

we are unable to bring into court harmonious testimony to affect the evidence of Herodoteian MSS. Here the degree of certainty attainable is of necessity reduced, and each case must stand upon its own merits.

Thus where there is a direct conflict between the Herodoteian form and that of the inscriptions, as in the case of the specifically Ionic κ forms (κῶς, κότερος), Archilochos and Simonides of Amorgos show that such forms existed in their day. Conversely the inscriptions often vouch for the validity of a form in Herodotos which is absent from the Ionic poets.

Where Herodotos has a form which is unattested both by inscriptions and lyric poets, its spuriousness is not thereby proven, unless it is diametrically opposed to known laws of Greek morphology, and is beyond the recognized influence of analogy. Thus ἐωστῶν may readily be defended.

### 93.]

Though this treatise does not propose to lay down the principles governing the construction of a genuine Herodoteian text beyond those already stated, it is appropriate in this connection to quote the words of the eminent editor Stein in reference to the use of inscriptional testimony:—*'In the first place the extent of these inscriptional texts, including those of late date, and their evidence as to language is so fragmentary and scanty, that they can make no reply when questioned as to many of the points in doubt. The pronunciation and the age of these inscriptions are quite different, the language in which they are couched, far from uniform (even agreeing with the well-attested division into sub-dialects) and full of all sorts of uncertainties. This lack of uniformity is visible in the monuments of one and the same locality and period, and often in one and the same inscription.'* Whether Stein would apply these words, written in 1885, to the present corpus of Ionic inscriptions, I am unable to say. But since they express a wide-spread view as to the applicability of the Ionic inscriptions in questions of Herodoteian criticism, it is appropriate to state here that it has been found impossible to draw distinct lines between sub-dialects of Asiatic Ionic; that variations from an Ionic norm are traceable either in the direction of adventitious Aiolisms or Atticisms; that the differences in form within the confines of Ionic are differences of time, one locality having preserved an ancient form longer than another, and that this 'lack of uniformity in one and the same inscription' is nothing more than a casual variation in orthography ταῖτα, ταῦτα. It is difficult to discover an actual contradiction upon the same inscription, or upon inscriptions of the same locality and of the same period<sup>1</sup>.

### *The Dialect of Hippokrates.*

94.] There is no satisfactory treatise on the dialect of the Hippokratic and pseudo-Hippocratic treatises. Observations more or less fragmentary will be found in:—

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Fritsch *V. D. H.* p. 4.



GOMPERZ : *Die Apologie der Heilkunst*, 1890.

ILBERG : *Studia Pseudippocratea* 1883, p. 32 ff. ; and *Zur Ueberlieferung des hippokratischen Corpus*, *R. M.* XLII 436, 1889.

KUEHLEWIK : *Observationes de usu particularum in libris qui vulgo Hippocratis nomine circumferuntur*, 1870. *Die Textesueberlieferung der angeblich hippokratischen Schrift ueber die alte Heilkunde in Hermes XXII 179-193*, 1887.

LINDEMANN : *De dialecto Ionica recentiore*, 1889.

LITTRÉ : in his edition, vol. I 479 ff., 1839.

C. F. LOBECK : *Beitraege zur Kenntniss des Dialekts des H.* in *Philologus*, vol. VIII 19 ff., 1853 (on the genitive plural of ā stems).

RENNER : *De dialecto antiquioris Graecorum poesis elegiacae et iambicae*, in *Curtius' Studien* I 1, 133 ff., I 2, 1 ff. 1868.

95.] Though a native of the island of Kos and hence of Doric stock<sup>1</sup>, Hippokrates adopted the dialect which had been handed down as the recognized instrument of scientific thought. It was in Ionic that the speculations of Parmenides, Anaxagoras, Demokritos (the inferior of Aristotle alone in his encyclopaedic grasp of science), Melissos, and Diogenes of Apollonia found expression. But apart from the despotism exercised by literary tradition, it should not be forgotten that the Dorians had not wrought out a literature of their own in the middle of the fifth century. A Dorian prose scarcely existed. Furthermore upon Kos itself the influence of the neighbouring Ionic speech may have made itself felt as early as the time of Hippokrates. In the third century at least we find adventitious Ionisms in the dialect of the island<sup>2</sup>.

The dialect of Hippokrates did not receive any very widespread attention in ancient times. Gregory of Corinth rarely cites him<sup>3</sup>. Some of the lesser commentators commented upon

<sup>1</sup> Ailian, *V. H.* IV 20 : λέγουσι δὲ Δωριέα ὄντα τὸν Ἱππ. ἀλλ' οὖν καὶ τοῦ Δημοκρίτου χάριν τῇ Ἰάδῃ φωνῇ συγγράψαι τὰ συγγράμματα. This was making a virtue of necessity. A letter of the pseudo-Hippokr. says : τῷ γένει μὲν οὖν ἐστὶ Δωριεύς, πόλεις δὲ Κω.

<sup>2</sup> [ἀπο]δεξάμενος in No. 260 of Newton's *Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* : κνέσσα *J. H. S.* IX 334, l. 56, 61 (κνεῦσα p. 327, l. 2). See Bechtel *Gött. Nachr.* 1890, p. 31 ff. On the similarity of the Koan dialect of Hippokrates to Asiatic Greek in the use of certain words, cf. Galen XVII A 929, XVIII A 438, 469 (σῆτες), also XV 554. XVIII B 590. Naturally the forger of the response of the Koans to Artaxerxes did not scruple to put Ionic in the mouth of a Doric speaking people. In a late epigram from Kos (first or second century A. D. according to Kaibel *Epigr.* No. 202) we find *λατρῶν* of the vulgar dialect in the first part of the inscription. In the last part (*ἐς αὐτόν*) the physician Melanthios, of Kos, is called *λητήρα*. 'Αἶδας, in l. 3, is due to a Doric stone cutter. In Kaibel 254 from Paphos, third or fourth century B. C., we find Doric forms. Doric forms are not infrequent upon late epigrams in relation to medical matters. As a rule, however, Ionic was the dialect appropriate to the commemoration of physician or poet. On the other hand the form *ἀπερὶ* shows that there existed a tendency to emphasize this conception as Doric.

<sup>3</sup> ὁρίαν, τῇσι χρονίησι λειοντερήσιν . . . σημείον, φθίσιος, τέρμειν are quoted by Gregory.

the Hippocratic use of words, in researches devoted more particularly to the investigation of his vocabulary<sup>1</sup>. Galen is, so far as we know, the only ancient who devoted himself to the study of the dialect of Hippokrates, having written a special treatise<sup>2</sup> containing in part his views upon the subject. Though Galen was doubtless no critical dialectologist, the loss of this tractate is greatly to be deplored, for Galen knew of readings in the possession of the ancient commentators<sup>3</sup>; he sometimes calls attention to the fact that Sabinus and Rufus<sup>4</sup>, who on his view was a conservative critic, mention the oldest readings; and is himself acquainted with MS. tradition antedating his own period by three or four hundred years<sup>5</sup>. As a compensation for the loss of this dialectological study we have side-lights thrown out in the course of the commentary, most of which are illustrative of the indifference displayed by his predecessors<sup>6</sup> and contemporaries to the general form of the dialect of the great Asklepiad.

Galen says that some write ὄσησι, others ὀκόσησι, others ὀπόσησι with π instead of κ, which is the procedure of Capito in all similar cases. Then, as if to belie that philological zeal which incited him to an investigation of the dialect of Hippokrates, he adds that it makes no difference to science which spelling one may adopt, that he had devoted himself to showing up only those lapses in form which were destructive of the sense; and as for those changes which were merely verbal, he bids every one write as he pleases<sup>7</sup>. Galen was himself not above giving credence to hyper-Ionic formations, as is shown in § 116.

It has been widely held, and last of all by Christ, in his *History of Greek Literature*, that some at least of the Atticisms of Hippokrates are due to the influence exercised by the editions of Dioskorides and Artemidorus Capito under Hadrian. The latter

<sup>1</sup> Bacchios in his *Λέξεις* noticed that *παραλνία* in Ionic denoted everything given for food or drink. The first glossator of Hippokrates, Xenokritos, a compatriot of the physician, called attention to the fact that the locution *ἀλλοφάσσω* *Progn.* 44 referred, not to language, but to intelligence delirium.

<sup>2</sup> ἐνίων μὲν γραφόντων ἔχον τὸν ἰητρὸν, ἐνίων δὲ χωρὶς τοῦ κατ' ἀρχὴν ε' χρῆν τὸν ἰητρὸν. ἔστι γὰρ ἀμέλει καὶ τοῦτο σύνηθες τοῖς Ἀττικαῖς, ὡν τῇ διαλεκτῇ χρῆται κατὰ τι καὶ δ' ἰππ., ὡς ἀποφῆνασθαί τινες αὐτὴν ἀρχαίαν Ἀτθίδα. ἐμοὶ δὲ καθ' ἕτερον ἰδίᾳ γράμμα μικρὸν ἔφρονῶ περὶ τῆς ἰππ. διαλεκτοῦ δεδῆλωται, XVIII B 322. There is no period of Old Attic which presents a dialect like that of Hippokrates.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. XVII A 1005.

<sup>4</sup> Of Rufus he says, ἀσὴρ φυλάσσειν . . . ἀεὶ πειρώμενος τὰς παλαιὰς γραφάς: cf. XVI 474, 636.

<sup>5</sup> XV 21-22 (*Peripatetics*), XVIII B 630.

<sup>6</sup> Rufus and Sabinus, XVI 474, XV 22, XVIII B 631.

<sup>7</sup> XVII A 798; cf. also XVI 474.

edition is censured by Galen as deliberately setting aside the ancient readings. The recent researches of Ilberg have, however, shown that these Atticizing editions have left no trace of their influence upon the vulgate. Whatever the source of the Atticisms which have supplanted the Ionic element in the Hippokratic corpus, their presence testifies to a deterioration of the dialectological conscience of early transcribers and editors.

As if there were not already sufficient provocation for Atticizing texts, whose subject-matter, not whose external form, had ensured their renown, an additional reason for the displacement of the original Ionic may have been found by the ancients in the belief to which Galen gives expression when he states that Hippokrates made use of the Attic dialect up to a certain point. Some even regarded his dialect as the ἀρχαία Ἀρχαία. The existence of such an opinion in scientific circles only added force to the movement which obscured the original form of the dialect.

96.] A thoroughgoing examination of the dialect of Hippokrates is not attempted in this work, for the reason that the avenues of approach are barred by the uncritical character of our editions. Though Littré has the honour of recognizing for the first time the value of the Paris codex 2253 (*A*) of the eleventh or, as Ilberg thinks, of the tenth century, he did not make it the sole basis for his text. He merely utilized its readings for the correction of the vulgate of the more recent MSS. and of the edition by Cornarius. The edition of Ermerins, though adhering more closely to *A* than that of Littré, labours under the disadvantage of having had recourse only spasmodically to the Marcianus (*M* of the eleventh century). The projected edition of Ilberg and Kuehlewein will be based upon a more careful examination of *A* and *θ* (the Vienna MS. of the tenth century), upon a collation of *M*, the Vaticanus 276, and several Paris codices (*E*, *D*, *H*, *F*, *J*), and upon researches in the indifferently edited or still unpublished treatises of Galen<sup>1</sup>.

Until this edition appears I deem it unadvisable to venture upon so elaborate a study of Hippokrates' dialect as has been thought proper in the case of Herodotos, where full and exact MS. testimony is in our hands. The Ionic forms as found in *A* have nevertheless been given with some detail, especially in respect of the contract verbs in -εω and other crucial points. So far as I have followed the recent researches into the history of the transmission of the Hippokratic text, I conclude that it will be

<sup>1</sup> Ilberg has already shown, upon the basis of a collation of some Venetian MSS., that the text of Hippokrates in the hands of Galen was less dissimilar to the best traditional text than scholars are wont to imagine.

unlikely that a complete collation of *M* will necessitate other readings of the Ionisms than those found in *A* and *θ*. It must be borne in mind throughout that even *A* is not free from the constantly recurring inconsistencies presented by the *recentiores*, of whose variants Gomperz says that they are worth not a whit more than a series of modern conjectures. Like *M*, *A* contains not only a very considerable number of Atticisms which have obscured the original Ionisms, but also many pseudo-Ionisms, such as the open *εε* in forms of the *-εω* verbs, where *A* and *M* are often no better than the *recentiores*. The Vienna MS. *θ* often adopts the contracted, where the *recentiores* have the open, forms; *A* has even such hyper-Ionic forms as αὐτέω, τουτέω, though much less frequently than the inferior MSS.<sup>1</sup>

## 97.]

Ilberg has shown (*R. M.* XLII 443) that *θ* and *A* agree in opposition to most of the other MSS. in the following cases νόσημα but νοῦσος; often δταν, δπόταν, δπότε, δθεν &c., together with the *κ* forms; αἷς and αἴθις; πυριᾶν, διαιτᾶσθαι where the Vulgate has πυριῆν, διαιτῆσθαι διαιρεῖσθαι; χρῆσθαι like contracted forms generally; often κεῖται not κέεται; ἰδεῖν not ἰδέειν; ἀρκεῖ, δυσσεβεῖν, κρατῆ, καλοῦσι; ἀσθενῆ, ξυνεχῶς; -οι and -αις in dat. plural.

98.] The mint-marks of the Hippocratic dialect are not confined to the genuine writings, but are spread over the entire Hippocratic corpus. The criterion of dialect does not enable us to detect traces of spuriousness, nor does it display any considerable diminution in the amount of Ionisms in those treatises which diplomatic criticism has referred to the period following that of the founder of Greek medicine. Since several of these treatises are contemporaneous with, or slightly older than, Ktesias or Aristotle, it is idle to expect any thorough-going difference in the use of Ionic forms between these later treatises and those proceeding directly from Hippocrates himself.

99.] The chief mint-marks of Hippocrates' Ionism are as follows:—

## I. Vowels.

η for *ā* after *ε*, *ι*, *ρ*, as in νενήσκος, καρδίη, ἰητρός, πρηῖς, ἀκρητος.

ε for *ει* in ἐς, ἔσω.

ου for *ο* in μοῖνος, νοῦσος (but νοσέω); οὔνομα is not to be adopted, though frequently occurring in the MSS.

ω and not αυ in τρωμα.

ῶν has generally been displaced in favour of Attic οὖν.

ων for αυ in ἐωντοῦ.

<sup>1</sup> See below, § 116.

ι is expelled in δελ. The ει forms in πλείον, &c., outweigh, as in Herodotos, those without the ι.

ηι for ει in suffixes is extremely rare. σημήϊον is claimed as a certain case of ηϊ.

ο + η is uncontracted (as in Herodotos) in βοηθέω. In *De Arte*, νοῆσαι occurs despite the νω- form in Herodotos, Theognis, and, according to Philodemos in Demokritos.

In the forms of the -εω verbs, the *recentiores* have almost invariably the open forms which appear to a very considerable extent in *A* and *M*. θ often has the contracted forms where the *recentiores* adopt εε, εει. Littré holds to the non-contraction, while admitting the presence of ευ in present and participle. Second aorists such as ἰδέειν have gained a position in the MSS. Adjectives in -υς have open εε (ὀξέες, πρηέες), adverbs in -εως are uncontracted; ἦρ is more frequently attested than ξαρ.

## 2. Consonants.

Littré decides in favour of the κ forms in δκοῖος, &c.; while Gomperz (*Apologie der Heilkunst* p. 87) holds that the interrelation of *A* and the *recentiores*, notably in the case of *De Flatibus* and *De Natura Hom.*, makes for the conclusion that the κ forms were smuggled in through a belief that the π forms were not Ionic. Cf. Galen XVIII B 669.

In respect of the adoption of ξύν or σύν, Littré argues in favour of the former, Gomperz in favour of the latter form. The *recentiores* prefer the Attic form, *A* has both with a preference for σύν, which is the only genuine Ionic form.

Traces of Ionic ψίλωσις are rare, having been obliterated by conjecture at an early period. Gomperz restores ἀπ' ὅτεων in II 74, cf. *De Natura Hominis* 2 (VI 34), *De Flatibus* (VI 98). αὔτις is found *De Flatibus* (VI 92), μετεωῦτοῦ in *M* (VI 114), ἀπικνέεται *De Sacro Morbo* 16 (VI 390), ἐπόδοισι in *De Diaeta* A 32 (VI 508), ἀπίκηται in *H* in *De Morbis* 1 (VII 8), ὠυτός *De Carnibus* (VIII 588).

## 3. Declension.

The genitive plural of the *Ā* declension ends in -εων, the dative plural in -ησι or sometimes in -αισι; in the *O* declension -οισι, but τοῖς according to Littré. Most of the cases of -οις occur before a vowel. The *iota* stems preserve the *iota* throughout. Neuters in -ος and -ης have uncontracted εο, εα, εω. In respect of the variation between εῖ and εῖ in the MSS., the former is to be adopted.

## 4. Conjugation.

On -εω verbs, see under 1. The participle of εἰμί is always ἔών. -εσται appears in the perfect (εἰρέσται for εἰρήνται) and -οιαιο in the optative (γενόοιαιο for γένουιντο).

For other features, see § 97.



100.] The attitude of scholars towards the question of the original dialect of Hippokrates has been far from uniform. Heringa, holding that Herodoteian usage was that of Hippokrates, demanded that the texts of both Herodotos and Hippokrates should be so emended as to present the picture of one and the same dialect. Koraës recognised the desirability of assimilating Hippokratic to Herodoteian usage, though at the same time he adopted Homeric<sup>1</sup> and other forms. Struve first called attention to the existence of differences between the language of Herodotos and Hippokrates. Eight of these differences, as formulated by Littré (together with the testimony of the pseudo-Ionists which I have added), are as follows:—

1. δέκομαι in Hdt. Luk. (Arr. doubtful) = δέχομαι Hipp. Aret.
2. Hdt. and imitators frequently show traces of the Ionic ψ(λωσις (ἀπικνέομαι, οὐκ οἶος); neither Hipp. nor his imitators follow Herodoteian usage herein.
3. ἱερός and ἱρός in Hdt. Luk. Arr. = ἱερός Hipp. Aret.
4. θῶμα<sup>2</sup> Hdt. Arr. = θαῦμα Hipp.
5. ἀπόδεξις Hdt. = ἀπόδειξις Hipp. The words are in reality from different roots.
6. σύν Hdt. and imitators = ξύν Hipp. and imitators.
7. -ηϊ- in Hdt. and imitators occurs far more frequently than in Hipp. The imitators of Hipp. follow their model herein.
8. The demonstrative pronoun (article) is used by Hdt. in place of the pure relative. Hipp. and imitators adopt the Attic usage. Lukian has many exceptions to the Herodoteian use.

In addition to these marks of divergence we may add the following:—

9. μέγαθος Hdt. and imit. = μέγεθος Hipp. and Aretaios.
10. πολλός Hdt. and imit. = πουλός or πολός Hipp. and Aretaios. Hdt. has but few cases of πολός.
11. Hdt. and his imitators have ἐνειακ-, Hipp. and Aretaios ἐνεγκ-.
12. Hdt. has ἔρσην, Hipp. (Lukian and Arrian) have ἄρσην.
13. Hdt. has ἀρρωδέω, Aretaios (and Lukian) have ὀρρωδέω.
14. Hdt. ὦν (Luk. Arrian), Hipp. οὦν, Aret. both.

The Hippokratic Ionic<sup>3</sup> is, if these differences are valid, a much milder form of the dialect than that used either by the iambographers or historians, that is, a dialect which is essentially

<sup>1</sup> That Hippokrates is often in touch with Homer affords no support for this view: cf. for example, ἔπειν τὸ ἔλαος ἀλθαίνειται with Θ 405 Leaf.

<sup>2</sup> According to Littré θαῦμα was the preferable reading. But of §§ 205, 258. Lukian inclines to θωῦμα.

<sup>3</sup> Under the head of word formation it may be noted that Hdt. has far fewer cases of -ηεις, -οεις than Hippokrates.



Ionic but admits numerous Attic forms. A parallel picture is presented by those inscriptions from Ionic territory which have adopted some Attic forms.

101.] Basing his position upon the fact that the dialect of the treatises current under the name of Hippokrates, but not emanating from the master himself, is practically the same as that of those free from all suspicion of spuriousness, Gomperz<sup>1</sup> argues that, of the eight marks of differentiation between the Hippokratic and the Herodoteian dialect, six can be shown not to exist, that in the case of -ηϊ- and -ει- the difference is gradual, as it is in that of ξύν and σύν; and that in one point only—Hippokratic δέχομαι, Herodoteian δέκομαι—is Littré substantially correct. Of the six additional marks of difference brought forward Gomperz is ignorant, as was Littré.

In his attack upon Littré's position, which has been conceded by later scholars (though doubtless without personal examination of the question), Gomperz admits that the presence of an isolated Herodoteian Ionism, even though it has been obscured in the course of transmission to the time of our best MSS. (the tenth and eleventh centuries), may justify us in holding that originally the area of its extension was much wider. Thus in § 11 of the tract *De Arte* he reads ἐπεὶ τί θῶμα<sup>2</sup> for the ἐπιτίθεται of *A*, in § 10 he upholds δέδεκται of *M*; ἰρός he finds in *De Sacro Morbo*, *De Diaeta*, and in *De Flatibus*; in *De Diaeta* 5 (VI 476) τὰ used as a relative, *De Prisca Medicina* 8 (I 586) τῶν. So in regard to the Ionic *psilosis*, and the use of ξύν and σύν, of which mention has been made above § 99, 2.

102.] So intricate is the problem of the complexion of the Hippokratic dialect and of its place in the history of Ionic, that we may well apply to it the words of Hippokrates himself—ἡ κρίσις χαλεπή. Two of the conclusions reached by Littré must not pass unchallenged, though no positive advance toward the solution of the main question is gained by their overthrow.

1. The dialect of the undoubtedly spurious writings of Hippokrates is nearly, if not quite, the same as that of the genuine treatises and of those whose spuriousness is still unproven. This fact, in Littré's view, can be understood solely upon the supposition that the dialect was a living idiom. The minor variations which come to light reflect, he argues, the spoken language; for if the dialect existed solely for literary or scientific purposes, the Ionisms of the genuine Hippokrates would have been copied with

<sup>1</sup> *Apologie der Heilkunst*, 1890, p. 82.

<sup>2</sup> This form is generally adopted by editors of Hdt.

rigorous precision by his successors, none of whom is later than the age of Aristotle<sup>1</sup>. These minor variations, it should be noted, are almost invariably in the direction of the adoption of the Attic forms.

2. This actual dialect made use of by Hippokrates and his successors was one of the four sub-dialects of Ionic recognised by Herodotos, a sub-dialect in fact closely allied to Old Attic<sup>2</sup>. One of these sub-dialects was according to Littré the 'pure' Ionic of Hekataios, another, the 'variegated,' that of Herodotos, the third, that of Hippokrates.

It is evident that the overthrow of the second does not carry with it the abandonment of the first proposition.

In answer to these hypotheses of Littré, I hold that it nowise follows in the first instance that, because the successors of Hippokrates, his sons, his sons-in-law<sup>3</sup> or other upholders of his school, made use of the same dialect, this dialect was a living idiom intact till the age of Aristotle<sup>4</sup>. If literary tradition enforced in the fifth century the writing in Ionic by those who were not of Ionic stock, for example, Diogenes of Apollonia; if literary imitation at a much later date among the pseudo-Ionizers enforced a reproduction of Hippokratic Ionic; if the 'minor variations' make more and more in the direction of Attic, which by the year 400 had largely checked the production of Ionic literature and in the middle of the fourth century rendered impossible all creativeness in Ionic: it is, in view of these considerations, well-nigh incredible that a sub-dialect should have lived on, a *Sprachinsel* untouched by the waves which in the fourth century washed away so many of the landmarks of Ionic speech.

Littré's comparison of Ktesias<sup>5</sup> with Hippokrates, on the ground that both admit only a partial Ionism, is vicious. The language of Ktesias is not that of a living sub-dialect.

Still more destructive to the conclusions of Littré is the impossibility of localizing this sub-dialect of the Asklepiads. In the island of Kos, despite occasional Ionic ingressions, Doric

<sup>1</sup> This *terminus ante quem* may readily be disputed.

<sup>2</sup> Herein Littré follows in the wake of certain unknown ancient students of the Hippokratic diction; cf. § 95.

<sup>3</sup> Aristotle quotes the *περὶ φύσιος ἀρρώρων* under the name of Polybos, Hippokrates' son-in-law.

<sup>4</sup> Hoc veri similitudinem videbitur originem collectionis consideranti, non conscriptam eam fuisse dialecto prorsus eadem, sed eos æquiorum temporum medicos, qui H. sibi proposuissent imitandum, non semper exemplar assuetas formas adhibuisse interdum, quas aut apud alios Iadici scriptores legissent aut Ionicas esse falsa sibi persuaserunt, quæ re concessum esset fortasse, temporum nisi nocuisset invidia, ut non solum scripta vere Hippokratæ multa facilius secerneremus a spuris, verum etiam pseudépigraphorum auctores diversos dignosceremus; Iliberg, *Pseudippocr.* p. 33.

<sup>5</sup> Ktesias used fewer Ionisms in his *Periæka* than in his *Indika*; see § 79.

held its ground at least to the second century B.C. Hippokrates' dialect shows no trace of the Doric of his native speech.

It is of course no wonder that Littré failed to find the fourth sub-dialect of Herodotos' quadrilateral division. The Herodoteian sub-dialects are neither artificial variations of a 'normal' Ionic constructed for the purpose of giving diversity to literary expression, nor are they living sub-dialects ennobled and transfigured by Hekataios, Herodotos and Hippokrates. The application by the ancients of the term 'unmixed' Ionic to the dialect of both Hekataios and Hippokrates cannot be tortured into a proof of the existence of two sub-dialects. The phonetics and inflections of Hekataios are practically identical with those of Hippokrates (except the Atticisms referred to § 100), as they are with those of Herodotos. If 'pure' Ionic, on the ancients' view, referred to matters of sound and inflection, and these Atticisms are a genuine survival of Hippokratic usage, it is difficult to discover how the dialects of Hekataios and Hippokrates are both 'pure,' in opposition to Herodotos' 'mixed' Ionic. And if these Atticisms should ultimately prove to be adventitious (as the epithet 'pure' Ionic does not prove them to be), we can then discover in the MSS. no difference between the dialects of the three prosaists so far as morphology is concerned. The close interrelation between the dialects of Hekataios, Herodotos and Hippokrates makes for the conclusion reached above § 79, that the terms 'mixed' and 'pure' Ionic refer to stylistic differences, and that, emanating from the later rhetorical study of Ionic prose, they are useless as guides in the search for actual dialectal differentiation.

103.] On the basis of an actual count of occurrences of the forms in question, there is in the Hippokratic MSS. a not inconsiderable number of phenomena of Attic rather than Ionic mould. That the list given in § 100 is to be reduced on the lines of attack followed by Gomperz is not probable, despite the temptation to assimilate the Hippokratic to the Herodoteian dialect, and thus establish one literary dialect of Ionic, varying widely as to style but essentially the same in matters of phonetics and inflections. I do not think the existence of Attic element can be said to be imperilled until the following questions are decided:—

1. Is the presence of an isolated Ionism in the best MSS., or even in the *recentiores*, to be accounted for as a chance survival of an original wider extension, or as a form that has been smuggled in under the cover of a mistaken attempt to restore the original?

2. Does the entire absence of an Ionic form in *A* or *M* in

the case of a pseudo-Hippocratic treatise indicate that it was not Hippocratic, when this Ionic form occurs to any extent whatsoever in the same MSS. of a genuine treatise?

3. Is the critical principle to be applied in the case of the genuine, different from that to be applied in the case of the spurious, treatises?

### *Pseudo-Ionism.*

ALLINSON, *Pseudo-Ionism in the Second Century, A.D.*, A. J. P. VII 203, 1886.

LINDEMANN, *De dialecto Ionica recentiore*, 1889.

104.] The conflict between the Asianic and the Attic rhetoric in the first century before Christ not only led to a purification of contemporary ideals of style, but drew attention to the charm and grace of the history of Herodotos, whose fame, already imperilled in the fourth century, had suffered eclipse on the advent of that tasteless artificiality which dominated the period intervening between the death of Aristotle and the appearance of Dionysios of Halikarnassos. In calling Herodotos the 'best canon' of Ionic Dionysios at once represented the clarified stylistic sense of his age, and lent an impetus to that appreciative study of the historian which bore its own peculiar and engrafted fruit in the Hadrianic period.

The first tokens of the revival of interest in Ionic are, in general, synchronous with the regeneration of Aiolic. The literature of the declining days of the Roman Republic led the way to a deeper study of the style and linguistic apparatus of the two dialects in which were preserved some of the most splendid achievements of Greek genius, dialects whose actual life was now tarnished and outworn. The Sophistic Renaissance under Hadrian presupposes the existence of the pseudo-Ionic movement, which, having won for itself a recognised place in the literature of the early Empire, advanced with such rapid strides that writing in Ionic became a reproach by the time of Lukian<sup>1</sup>; who was, however, not above displaying his talents at the occupation he vilipended.

105.] The date of the first traces of the Ionic Revival and the aspect presented by the rehabilitated dialect are matters of no

<sup>1</sup> An interesting statement in reference to the Ionic of the doctors is found in πῶς δεῖ ἰστ. συγγρ. 16 τοῦτο ἡτiasμένην αὐτοῖς, ὅτι ἀρχαῖοι ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ γράφειν οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι δοῖαν αὐτίκα μάλα ἐπὶ τὴν κοινὴν μετῆλθεν, ἰητρῆιν μὲν λέγω καὶ πείρην καὶ ὁκόσα καὶ νοῖσαι, τὰ δ' ἄλλα ὁμοδίατα τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα οἷα ἐκ τριῶν. Late epigrams upon inscriptions confirm the judgment of Lukian in selecting νοῖσας and ἰητρῆιν as sample words.

little uncertainty. Nikander's imitations of the logographers are lost, otherwise we might gain an insight into the complexion of Ionic prose in the period of Attalos III. Whether the Xanthian Menekrates, quoted by Dionysios of Halikarnassos, was a predecessor or contemporary of the rhetorician, I have been unable to determine. Of the pseudo-Herakleiteian letters, which contain a slight admixture of Ionism, some at least (the eighth and ninth) may be referred to the closing years of the first century before Christ, though the remainder belong to the following century<sup>1</sup>. Whether the *Periplus* of Menippos (under Augustus) was written in Ionic is uncertain. In this period of Ionic writing hyper-Ionisms do not occur. The open forms  $\epsilon\epsilon$  and  $\epsilon\epsilon\iota$  in  $-\epsilon\omega$  verbs do not come to light in Dionysios, who has  $-\epsilon\omicron$ -side by side with  $-\epsilon\iota$ -. Significant for the date of medical Ionism is the fact that of all the epigrams containing laudations of successful treatment of disease, &c., scarcely one that is tinged with such Ionisms as  $\nu\omicron\upsilon\sigma\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\iota\eta\tau\eta\rho$  is antecedent to the time of Christ.

106.] The character of certain portions of the inflectional system of the old Ionic prose writers as found in the MSS. is due, in part, to the gradual divorcement of the traditional from the original form incidental to the transmission through centuries of dialect texts, and partly to a  $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\chi\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\tau\eta\rho\iota\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$  which has left distinct traces of its existence in the peculiar complexion assumed by Ionic under the hands of Lukian, Arrian, Aretaios, and their contemporaries and successors.

The term  $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\chi\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\tau\eta\rho\iota\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$ , as applied to certain mutations of form undergone by words upon passing from the orthography of the Attic to that of the Ionic alphabet, does not concern us here. The Ionic poets<sup>2</sup> (perhaps some of the elegists and lyrists not of Ionic birth), Hekataios, Herodotos and Hippokrates<sup>3</sup> made use of the Ionic alphabet, doubtless in its Milesian form<sup>4</sup>. All Ionic literature was in fact free from the possibility of the depravation which threatened to impair the purity of that of Attika in its passage from the old to the new alphabet<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See Bernays' *Die pseudo-heraklitischen Briefe*, Pfeiderer, R. M. XLII 153, Bywater p. vii.

<sup>2</sup> Mimnermos may have made use of the signs  $\text{H}$  and  $\Omega$  to represent  $\epsilon$  and  $\delta$ .

<sup>3</sup> The distinction between the Ionic alphabet of the islands and Euboia, and that of the Asiatic mainland is of no importance as regards the transmission of early Ionic literature.

<sup>4</sup> In his commentary on the  $\kappa\alpha\tau'$   $\iota\eta\tau\eta\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ , when speaking of the old alphabet (II 23), Galen does not cite any example of MS. corruption due to this species of  $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\chi\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\tau\eta\rho\iota\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$ .

<sup>5</sup> On this point, see Wilamowitz-Moellendorff's chapter on the  $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\acute{\epsilon}\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha$  in his *Homeriche Untersuchungen*.



There is, however, another species of μεταχαρκτηρισμός which is less a transformation of the isolated word than of the entire dialectal spirit. It proceeds on two lines: (1) either in the direction of the Atticizing of the dialect texts, a fact patent to every student of Greek dialectal literature, and of itself probable enough, since to a later age the matter, not the form, was of supreme interest. This is vouched for as regards Hippokrates by Galen himself. The Athenians were accustomed at a very early period to have a copy in Attic, sometimes on the same stone, of a document in another dialect. For example, the stelè of Sigeion. The Atticizing of dialect authors in the form of paraphrases which we meet in Plato, Aristotle, Theophrastos and others, was precedent enough for the later generations of a people whose standard in matters of quotation was not so exacting as that of modern times. This Atticization is not confined to those authors who quote a passage merely for the sake of the matter it contains. It attacks professed scientific treatises or grammatical commentaries<sup>1</sup>. A ὡδέ πως did not disturb the ancient conscience.

(2) This μεταχαρκτηρισμός proceeded in the direction of the substitution of forms of the same dialect in the light of contemporaneous dialectological theories. Thus in Bechtel's collection, No. 108 B, we find an attempt at renewing the dialect of an Ionic inscription (108 A) at least five hundred years older. The texts of Homer, Alkman<sup>2</sup>, Korinna, Pindar, Epicharmos and others bear testimony to the activity of the modernizing μεταγραψόμενοι. This second kind of μεταχαρκτηρισμός leads either to the substitution of forms of a much later, for those of an earlier, date (as witness σιός in Alkman, οὐμές, κή in Korinna) or to the reverse process, which imparts an archaic colouring to texts which were originally composed in the dialect of the writer's own time.

The investigation of the vagaries of the MSS. of early Ionic prosaists affords ample evidence that this second type of μεταχαρκτηρισμός has left its unpress upon the transmission of the texts of the logographers, of Herodotos and Hippokrates, as well as upon those of some of the monuments of Ionic poetry. The Ionic of these texts has either been Atticized outright, or it has been transformed in a greater or less degree under the influence of grammarians' speculation and copyists' ignorance.

<sup>1</sup> The schol. Ven. A is sometimes guilty of Atticizing, e.g. on IX 7, where ἔθρου is quoted as Herodotean. The Ionic contributors to the *Diogenes*, prepared by Cassianus Bassus at the command of Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, all appeared in Attic dress.

<sup>2</sup> A text of Alkman in a late Lakonian form must have been the only avenue of approach to the study of the poet.



The study of this *μεταχαρακτηρισμός* points in the direction of the view that it had its commencement probably in the first century before Christ and that its influence grew apace, until after the third century it resulted in producing a chasm between what was genuine Ionic and that which was thought to be Ionic by successive generations till the sixth century A. D. Finally, when the depravation from the hand of antiquity had done its work, the last blow to the text of Herodotos was dealt by the Aldine edition, which gave the widest scope to hyper-Ionisms. The result was that, as some one has said, the History of Herodotos is as perverse a mixture as a compound of Middle High German and Low German, created by a New High German writer.

107.] The writers of the Empire, and chiefly those of the age of Hadrian, received the full shock of that wave of speculation concerning the original form of the Herodoteian and Hippokratic dialect which was set in motion by the revival of interest in Ionic and its monuments. The pseudo-Ionists, whether they wrote entirely in Ionic or merely applied enough of Ionic colour to indicate their sympathy with the literary canons of the day, intended that their reproductions of the language of Herodotos or of Hippokrates should conform to the dialect of their exemplars. But from the point of view of higher criticism many of the pseudo-Ionisms of Lukian, Arrian and Aretaios are on a different footing from the identical forms adopted in Stein's or Holder's text. In the one case they are the result of a generous impulse to reproduce what was deemed Herodoteian or Hippokratic; in the other, they never existed in the original text of Herodotos or Hippokrates, but are the result of *μεταχαρακτηρισμός*, the coinage of a period far later than that of the historian and physician, and yet about two centuries antecedent to Lukian. This fact alone is sufficient to neutralize what little value the texts of the pseudo-Ionists might possess in the attempt to reorganize the disordered monuments of early Ionic prose. Struve saw long ago that recourse to Lukian and Arrian was unproductive of result for the student of Herodotos' dialect. We might almost say that the Ionisms of the pseudo-Ionic literature, so far from enhancing, tend rather to obscure our knowledge of the Ionic of the fifth century B. C.

108.] The endeavour, which we observe in the pseudo-Ionists, to present a correct picture of Herodoteian Ionism failed because of the uncertainty attendant upon the reconstruction of a dialect which had been corrupted by the turbid current of tradition. The Homeric Ionisms in Lukian and Arrian attest the fact of a confusion, persistent in the MSS. of Herodotos, between two species of Ionic widely separated in point of time; and the presence

of hyper-Ionic malformation is evidence that the Ionism of the Hadrianic age rests upon an insecure speculation as to the original form of the literary Ionic of the fifth century. This speculation vented itself in such forms as masculine and neuter *τουτέων, αἰτέων, τουτέου, έωυτέου, αἰτέω, τουτέοισιν* (Lukian and Aretaios), *ώυτέου, ώυτέοισιν, ώυτή, ώυτά, ή ώυτή, ή ώυτή, ή έωυτή, ταυτέης, αὔτη* (Aretaios), *δεσπότεια, μηνέων* (Lukian), *ήμερέη* (Abydenos), *μοίρη, θηλέην* (Lukian), *βαθέη* (Arrian).

In these forms the essential feature is either the misapplication of the specifically Ionic diphthong *ου*, or the insertion of an *ε* before a vowel or diphthong with which it is not contracted, a characteristic of hyper-Ionism which at times outdoes that of the most lax MSS. of Herodotos. A feminine *τουτέων* was correct enough, but, its origin being misunderstood, the *μεταγραψάμενοι* conceived the erroneous notion that this *ε*, which in this case distinguished the Ionic from the Attic form, was a special peculiarity of the dialect which had gradually been abandoned. Hence they not only inserted an *ε* in *αὔρέω*, in *ρίνέων*, &c., which are purely hyper-Ionic forms, but they demanded the visible presence of an *ε* in *-εεις, -εει, -εεσθαι*, &c., which are anachronistic, though not historically impossible. Uncontracted forms were the shibboleth of the pseudo-Ionic sciolists who gave to Herodotos the form which served Arrian and Lukian for purposes of imitation. Their cardinal error was the foisting of such forms upon the MSS. of Herodotos, Hippokrates and other early Ionians. Confused by an inability to distinguish between Homeric and the Later Ionic; ignorant of the fact that some vocalic combinations normally remained uncontracted, while others had suffered contraction by the fifth century; unable to recognize the phonetic value of the conjunction of certain vowels which, though written apart, had nevertheless been fused as early as the seventh century, the *μεταγραψάμενοι* reached the conclusion that vowels of the same vocal line had the same claim to be kept separated as those of a different vocal line. Hence they wrote *εε<sup>1</sup>, εη, εει, &c.*, without compunction. Even *ερείχεε* Hdt. I 118 (in all MSS.) was ventured. It is not impossible that the earliest MSS. of Herodotos preserved an orthographical system of non-contraction of similar vowels which may have descended from the conservative literary circles of the fifth century, though in actual speech the contraction actually ensued. Be this as it may, the pseudo-Ionists accepted as genuine a scheme of inflections that can scarcely be claimed to be Herodoteian, and certainly cannot be claimed to be Ionic of

<sup>1</sup> In this connection it may be noticed that a Demetrios, not Ixion or γυνέωσας, did not scruple to write *γυνέεσθαι* in II 221.

the fifth century. The principle once established, and the rage after dialect colouring growing apace, ἐωντέου, ῥινέων, αὐτέω, and all their kinsmen of monstrous birth, come into existence. Some of these hyper-Ionisms that out-Herod Herod are too frequent and too well established to be ascribed solely to the copyists of the Middle Ages or of the Renaissance, though we have actual proof that they are responsible for many a case of uncontracted ε and for ηῖ in sigmatic stems.

One of the hyper-Ionisms that occurs chiefly in the MSS. of Hippokrates is η for ε in such forms as ἡται, υποθυμήσθω, ὀρην, where the blunder was caused by the stupid comparison of ἡτρός &c.

### *List of Pseudo-Ionic Writers.*

109.] The fact of having been born in a locality once Ionic seems to have had no weight in determining whether a writer should adopt Ionic or the κοινή. The Ephesians Rufus and Soranos made use of the latter, while the Kappadokian Aretaios and the Bithynian Arrian preferred the former. That the contiguity to Ionia of the birthplaces of Aretaios and Arrian had, as was formerly believed, any influence in determining their choice of a vehicle of expression may confidently be denied.

The subjoined list falls into two divisions, (1) those pseudo-Ionists whose date is certain or at least may be determined with tolerable accuracy, (2) those whose period is quite unknown.

110.] **Pseudo-Ionists, whose date may be approximately fixed:—**

1. Apollonios of Tyana (under Nero and Domitian), of whom Philostratos says: Ἀπολλώνιος δὲ τὰς μὲν διαθήκας τὰς ἑαυτοῦ τὸν Ἰώνιον ἐρμηνεύει τρόπον, ἐπιστολῇ δὲ ἰαστὶ ζυγκειμένη οὐπω Ἀπολλωνίου προσέτυχον, καίτοι ζυνειλοχῶς αὐτοῦ πλείστας.

2. Aretaios of Kappadokia is placed by some as early as Nero<sup>1</sup>, while others regard him as belonging to the following century. His works περὶ αἰτιῶν καὶ σημείων ὀξέων παθῶν, περὶ αἰτιῶν καὶ σημείων χρονίων παθῶν, Χρονίων παθῶν σημειωτικόν and ὀξέων νούσων θεραπευτικόν are composed in imitation of Hippokrates. They are quoted from the pages of Kühn.

It is to be noticed that medical writers who lived in the first half of the second century A. D., e.g. Rufus and Soranos, both of Ephesos, wrote in the κοινή.

<sup>1</sup> That the Ionic fashion had set in by the time of Nero may be learned from the fact that Pamphila epitomized Ktesias' Περσικά.

3. Arrian of Nikomedia (under Hadrian): the *Ἰνδική* alone imitates the dialect of Herodotos; it is quoted from the edition of Hercher-Eberhard<sup>1</sup>.

4. Under Lukian's name we have preserved the *περὶ ἀστρολογίας*, *περὶ Συρίας θεοῦ*, and the genuine *βίων πρᾶσις*, in which Pythagoras, Demokritos and Herakleitos converse in Ionic. For the study of pseudo-Ionism it is almost a matter of indifference whether these first two treatises are supposititious works of Lukian or not. For a comparison of the Ionism of the first two treatises see Dr. Allinson's paper in *A. J. P.* VII 203 ff. (1886), where the conclusion is reached that the *Astrology* is the work of some third-class writer, while the *Syrian Goddess* may be genuine. Christ pronounces against the genuineness of both.

5. Kephalion (under Hadrian), author of *παντοδαπαλῶν ιστορίαι*; Müller *F. H. G.* III 625 631.

To Foerster's essay on Polemon I have not had access. There seems no evidence that the rhetor used Ionic.

6. Abydenos, author of a history of Assyria and Media, is placed by Müller *F. H. G.* IV 279 in the second or third century, though Kastor made him a contemporary of Apis. The Ionic of the fragment of Megasthenes (Müller No. 9) quoted by Eusebios *Pr. Er.* IX p. 456 D is due to Abydenos.

7. Uranios' Treatise on Arabia, Müller *F. H. G.* IV 523, belongs to the third century. Frag. 12 has *χώρη, ποίην, κοχλίω*, but *πορφύρην* and *γεωργούσι*.

8. Asinius Quadratus (third century), author of a Roman history (*Χιλιετηρίς*, *Χιλιαρχία* or *Χιλιάς*) from the foundation of the city to 248 A. D. See Müller *F. H. G.* III 659. Traces of Ionic are found in frag. 23 (*ἰβήροισι, πολεμέοντες*).

9. Eusebios (fourth century) affected Ionic style in his history, beginning with Octavianus and continuing to 283 A. D. The two fragments extant—on the siege of Thessalonika—are found in Müller *F. H. G.* V 21-23.

10. Of Praxagoras (fourth century) Photios relates that he wrote in Ionic a treatise in two books *περὶ τῶν Ἀθήνησι βασιλευσάτων*, and one in six books *εἰς τὸν τῶν Μακεδόνων βασιλεῖα Ἀλέξανδρον*. See Dindorf *Hist. Graeci Min.* I pp. 438-440. No fragments of these works are preserved.

11. Eusebios of Myndos in Karia (fourth century), the neo-Platonist. His fragments, preserved in Stobaios, are collected in Mullach *P. P. G.* III 5.

<sup>1</sup> See Bochner *de Arriani dicendi genere* in vol. IV of the *Acta* of the Erlangen Seminary) for the relation of Arrian to Herodotos.

**111.] Pseudo-Ionists of Uncertain Date.** In the case of several of the authors here mentioned only a minute study of the literature of the Hellenistic age can discover whether they may be classed as the direct successors of Herodotos, and preservers of the continuity of literary tradition, or simply as forerunners of the Ionic Revival.

1. On an inscription<sup>1</sup> from Epidauros we find a Doric epigram in honour of Philip of Pergamum, the son of Aristeides, an historian otherwise unknown to fame. Underneath this epigram is placed the following passage in Ionic from his work:—

Ἐγὼ παντοίων παθέων καὶ ξυνεχέος ἀλληλοφονίης ἀνά τε τὴν Ἀσίην καὶ τὴν Εὐρώπην καὶ τὰ Λιβύων ἔθνεα καὶ Νησιωτέων πόλιος καθ' ἡμέας γεγενημένων ὁσὴ χειρὶ τὴν περὶ τῶν καινῶν πρήξεων ἱστορίην ἐξήνεγκα ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ὅπως καὶ δι' ἡμέων μαυθάνοντες ὅκοσα δημοκοπία καὶ κερδέων ἀμ[ετρίη] καὶ στάσιες ἐμφύλιοι καὶ πιστίων καταλύσεις γεννῶσιν κακά, παρατηρήσει παθέων ἀλλοτρίων, ἀπενθή(τους) ποιέωνται τὰς τοῦ βίου διορθώσιος.

The fragment is interesting in showing a recurrence to Ionic as the dialect first employed in historical writing. The proclamation of Philip as *θείας κόρανον ἱστορίας* betokens a late origin. From the character of the alphabet the inscription cannot well be older than the first century B. C., if indeed it may be placed before the birth of Christ.

2. The author of the *Vita Homeri* ascribed to Herodotos was, strangely enough, placed by Bergk as early as the end of the classical period, though § 20 betrays acquaintance with Strabo p. 596. Christ holds that none of the *Lives of Homer* antedate the reign of Augustus. The late date finds an additional support in the sparse occurrence of Ionisms. Hyper-Ionic formations are very rare.

3. To Philteas, author of the *Ναξιακά*, are attributed by Herakleides of Miletos in Eustath. p. 1885 the hyper-Ionic *πεποιέανται*, *γεγενέανται* and *ἔγειντο*. It is at least as probable that Herakleides was deceived by pseudo-Ionic texts, as that Philteas (who is called Philetas in Eustathios) was guilty of such grammatical obliquity. The argumentation by which Herakleides introduces these perverse formations is not calculated to prejudice us in his favour. Cf. Frye *De Heraclidæ Milesii studiis Homericis* p. 127.

4. Menekrates the Xanthian, quoted by Dionysios of Halikarnassos I p. 76 (Jacoby) has *ἀνίη*, *στρατιῆς*, *βίη*, *Αἰνείης*, *Αἰνείεω*, *ἐδόκεον*, *ἐπολέμεον*, *ἐγεγόνει*, *ἔων*.

5. Agathokles the Babylonian, the same as Agathokles of Kyzikos, wrote *περὶ Κυζίκου*. Cf. Müller *F. H. G.* IV 288.

<sup>1</sup> B. C. II. II 273.



6. Demokrates' γνῶμαι χροναῖ are found in *Opuscula Graec. veterum sententiosa et moralia* (180-89) of Orelli, who is inclined to refer the author to an earlier date than is at all probable: 65 out of the 86 fragments collected by Orelli are adopted as Demokriteian by Mullach.

7. The spurious letters of Anaximenes, Bias, Demokritos<sup>1</sup>, Pherekydes of Syros, Pythagoras, Thrasybulos, Hippokrates<sup>1</sup>, Thessalos, son of Hippokrates.

8. Certainly before Lukian (cf. his πῶς δεῖ ἴστ. συγγρ.) are to be placed Kallimorphos, author of ἱστορίαι Παρθικαί (Muller *F. H. G.* III 649, 3), and an anonymous pseudo-Ionist (*ibid.* p. 650, 5) whose tractate on Parthia began: ἔρχομαι ἐρέων περὶ Ῥωμαίων καὶ Περσέων, and contained the following sentences: ἔδεε γὰρ Πέρσῃσι γενέσθαι κακῶς; ἦν Ὀρσόης, τὸν οἱ Ἕλληνες Ὀξυρόην ὀνυμέουσι (cf. *Hdt.* I 7).

9. Alexander of Ephesos wrote under the early emperors a *Bellum Marseicum*, perhaps in Ionic. See Steph. Byz. s.v. Χαορία.

10. Chariton of Aphrodisias, the novelist of uncertain date, but probably of the fifth century (see Rohde *Griech. Roman* p. 488), interspersed his tale of the adventures of Chaireas and Kallirhoë with Ionisms borrowed from Herodotos. See Cobet *Mnem.* VIII 236.

*The Pseudo-Ioniam of Lukian, Arrian, and Aretaioi.*

112.] Cases of absolute divergence between the dialect of Aretaioi and Hippokrates on the one hand, and that of Lukian, Arrian<sup>2</sup> and Herodotos on the other, are tabulated in § 100. Points of contact are noticed in the course of the detailed examination of the sounds and inflections of the dialect.

The three Lukianic pieces present in the main a uniform dialect, which, save for the occasional lapses in the direction of Attic and of Homeric Ionic, agrees with that of Herodotos as found in his MSS. Well marked and salient differences between Herodotos and Lukian are difficult to discover. Such minor, but persistent cases of divergence as ἔρσην, ἀρρωδέω (*Hdt.*), ἄρσην, ὀρρωδέω (*Luk.*), where the satirist shows a predilection in favour of the Attic form, are very infrequent. As a rule the MSS. of Lukian do not consistently reproduce the Ionic forms, the movement in the direction of Ionism being continually checked by Attic forms<sup>3</sup>, most of which are doubtless errors

<sup>1</sup> Mullach thought that the supposititious letters of Demokritos and of Hippokrates were composed in the third century of our era.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Grundmann *Quid in elocutione Arriani Herodoti debeat*, in *Berl. Stud.* 1. class. Philol. 1885.

<sup>3</sup> For example, *Dea Syr.* Ἀχιλλέως 40, Νιόβης 40, κινήσεως Ἀντ. 5, Ἑρμοκλέους *Syr.* 26, νεώ 39.



of transmission, though there is no reason for believing that Lukian intended his imitation to be pervasive. Thus, for example, we find *κατενεχθῆναι*, -γεως *d. S.* 8, *οὔσι Astr.* 5.

The Ionism of Arrian is more consistent than that of Lukian and approximates more closely to that of his exemplar. His MSS. refuse to admit some of the most uncouth hyper-Ionic creations which appear in those of Lukian. Arrian's divergences from Herodotos do not proceed on the same lines as those of Lukian, though, like the latter, they are in the direction of Attic. He has the *π*, not the *κ*, form; he uses only the relative, not the demonstrative and the relative, as does Herodotos; his use of the temporal augment is that of the *κοινή*. Other differences are less positive: Arrian *γίνομαι*, *σμικρός*, *αὐθις*, where Lukian has *γίγνομαι*, *μικρός*, *αὐτις*.

In certain cases the rage for Ionisms has extended beyond those adopted by prose literature; as in certain MSS. of Herodotos there is an ever present tendency to adopt Homeric forms. That both Lukian and Arrian draw to a limited extent upon the Homeric dialect shows how ineradicably fixed in the minds even of the cultured was the confusion between Homeric and Herodoteian Ionic.

In Lukian we find *εἶλος d. S.* 49, *ἡέλιος d. S.* 29, *Astr.* 3, 5 (*Ἡελίου τὰς βόας Astr.* 22, like *ὀπρήκτοιο d. S.* 22, is an epic reminiscence or quotation). *βόας* occurs also *d. S.* 54. *γούνων* is admitted by Dindorf, *d. S.* 22, though he strangely enough expels the genitive in -οιο. In the *d. S.* 25 we find *ἔσσεται* (*Hdt. ἔσεται*), *d. S.* 31 *εἴταται* (*Hdt. ἔαται*); Arrian has *πόληες* 8, -*ηας* 11. Perhaps the reason that *ἔμμεναι* was not excluded (*Astr.* 26), was its occurrence in the oracle *Hdt. I* 85. Arrian refrains from adopting a form the non-Ionic character of which did not trouble Aretaios (pp. 10, 270, 332).

*The Transmission of Early Ionic Texts in its Relation  
to Pseudo-Ionism.*

113.] An examination of the form presented by the quotations made from the Ionic logographers and philosophers by later writers yields some conclusions as regards pseudo-Ionisms and hyper-Ionisms which, though tentative, may not be wholly without foundation. First it appears that in the first century before Christ no hyper-Ionic form, except *ὑμέες* in Parthenios, was admitted into the Ionic texts; secondly, the grotesque and misshapen forms occurring in the MSS. of Lukian, Arrian and Aretaios do not come to light in citations made from the early Ionic prosaists by any writer who is anterior to Lukian, Arrian and Aretaios. The MSS. of these writers, the flower

of the Ionic Revival, display the rage for hyper-Ionism in its most pronounced form.

The examination of the channels through which fragments of the Old Ionic philosophy and logography have reached us is not merely hampered by the lack of editions of many of the later writers so constructed as to enable the scholar to obtain a survey of the exact state of MS. tradition; it is confronted with the treachery of MS. tradition in general towards the transmission of such volatile phenomena as dialect forms; and embarrassed by the difficulty of determining whether the MS. form is an Attic equivalent or whether it is the genuine Ionic form of the fifth century, which, by some fortuity, has held to its moorings against the flood of dialectological speculation which swept away the very foundation-stones of parts of the Herodoteian inflectional system. It is only in comparatively recent times that scholars are awaking to the fact that much that has heretofore been cast aside as Attic is in reality pure Ionic.

Thus, for example, in § 9 (12) of the tractate *περὶ ἐρμηνείας* (generally ascribed to Demetrios of Phaleron, but the work either of Demetrios of Alexandria under Hadrian, or, and more probably, that of Demetrios Syros, an older contemporary of Cicero) we find quoted the beginning of Hekataios' *Genealogies*: *Ἐκαταῖος Μιλήσιος ὧδε μυθεῖται· τὰ δὲ γράφω, ὥς μοι δοκεῖ ἀληθέα εἶναι κτλ.* Despite the MSS. which have here *δοκεῖ* as well as *μυθεῖται*, Muller changes the former to *δοκέει*, though it is inconceivable that *εε* should have contracted in *μυθεῖται*, while *εει* remained open in *δοκέει*. Are these forms, as they stand in the MSS., nothing more than *μυθέεται* and *δοκέει* Atticized? Are they survivals of the genuine Ionic of the fifth century, one of which has been displaced by the editor of the *Fragm. Histor. Graec.* under the stress of current views as to the nature of the Ionic dialect?

In the following section attention has been directed to the light thrown by our sources on the question of the transmission of the *-εω* verbs, and to the date of the appearance of hyper-Ionic forms, notably those with parasitic *ε*. Sometimes an author, drawing upon early Ionic history or philosophy, may Atticize, sometimes he may endeavour to reproduce in dialect the very words of his source; at other times the veil of the dialect is only partially cast aside.

#### 114.] The Logographers:—

1. Hekataios: *μυθεῖται* and *δοκεῖ* (332) in Demetrios *περὶ ἐρμην.* §§ 5 (2), 9 (12); and elsewhere, wherever the authorities

quoting the logographer have preserved a form of an -εω verb, εε and εει are invariably contracted. κινέεται in frag. 284, quoted by Müller from Steph. Byz., should be κινεῖται. Hyper-Ionisms do not occur.

2. In Pherekydes of Leros we find ποιεῖται in the same fragment with δοκέοντες (44): so too in 85, καλέοντες (twice), ολκέοντες together with καλεῖται, γαμεί. Wherever καλεῖται occurs it appears in the contracted form (here, in 16 and in 89 and 114 A).

### 115.] The Philosophers:—

1. Herakleitos has come down to us with a text remarkably free from hyper-Ionic forms. By the time of Clemens Alexandrinus and Origenes a τουτέοισι (126) had engrafted itself upon tradition<sup>1</sup>; and in Hippolytos, who is slightly later than Clemens, we discover τοιουτέων (2) where Sextus Empiricus has τοιούτων. In 7 of the 21 instances in Bywater's edition of the concurrence of ε + ε or ε + ει in the contract verbs, Bywater edits the contracted form. In the 14 remaining instances where Bywater adopts the open forms, these have MS. support but 3 times: Clemens διαχέεται, μετρέεται in 23; for ὠνέεται in 105, Iamblichos is the authority; Plutarch has ὠνεῖται. In all other cases Bywater adopts conjectures which desert the vulgate. Obviously there is no probability that Herakleitos used both φιλέει and φιλεῖ; which appear in the text (117 and 10). Though Plutarch does not appear to have possessed MSS. of Herakleitos, his source was not affected by the vagaries of the pseudo-Ionic movement. All cases of ε + ει are contracted in his citations of Herakleitos.

2. For the study of Demokritos' *Morals* we have to rely to a large extent upon their citation by Stobaios, whose text, as it appears in Gaisford's<sup>2</sup> edition, presents a distorted picture of the original.

The greatest irregularity exists in reference to the treatment of those forms of -εω verbs in which, after disappearance of γοδ, εε and εει came into conjunction. The majority of instances is on the side of the contracted forms. In Stobaios there are 5 cases of -έει, 16 of -εῖ in the present indicative; 7 of -έειν, 16 of -εῖν in the present infinitive active; in the inf. mid. 3 cases of εε, 9 of ει, while there are 2 cases each of εε and ει in the present indic. middle. In Orelli's edition of Demokrates, of whose 86 fragments 65 have been claimed as Demokriteian by Mullach, only the open forms are read in the text, and these are not contradicted by any citation of MS. evidence on the part of

<sup>1</sup> Found also in the Justinian MS. formerly in Strassburg.

<sup>2</sup> Wachsmuth's second volume has not yet appeared.

Orelli. These are: present indic. -εε 3 cases, including δέει, which Stobaios invariably presents in the contracted form; present inf. active 4 cases; present inf. mid. 2 cases; and one case of the imper. act. (fr. 177).

Stobaios is furthermore authority for ἐπιθυμέης fr. 24, though in 188 (twice) and in 213 his text has -η in the subjunctive.

Parasitic ε appears in αὐτέων 20<sub>13</sub>, in ἐρπετέων 208, and in the second aorist 20<sub>14</sub>, 135, 164 (Demokrates). There is no authority for Mullach's -έειν in 70, 188, 213. Parasitic ε in the reflexive pronouns I have not observed.

3. Anaxagoras appears in Simplicius with only the contracted forms of the -εω verbs, for which Mullach has everywhere substituted the open forms. In frag. 6 (Simpl. 156<sub>r</sub>) Diels reads περιχωρέει. The presentation of the fragments by Simplicius is not free from the suspicion of having been partially Atticized. οὐδεμίν in 4 is shown to be incorrect.

4. Melissos has been handed down by Simplicius in nearly the same state as Anaxagoras; -εε and -εει are invariably contracted. -εοι is, however, retained as well as εο. Mullach's text of Melissos and Anaxagoras has admitted ὀρέομεν, ὀρέομετος without MS. support.

5. Diogenes of Apollonia in Simplicius has no case of -εε, εε, though Mullach's text has δοκέει, ἐννοέεσθαι. The hyper-Ionic τούτέων in Mullach (frag. 2) is due to conjecture.

116.] **Galen's Relation to Hippokrates.** Though Galen excoriates Capito and Dioskorides for their depravation of genuine Hippokratic form, he cannot himself be freed from a similar charge. Both in the genuine and the spurious works of Hippokrates we find that Galen was not offended at πηχέει IV 202, βηχέων III 334, IV 540, ῥιγέων I 614, VIII 84, IX 278, 286, χειρέων III 420, 462, ἐπερβαλλέειν IV 92, ἀειρέειν VIII 236, and such monstrosities as αὐτέη, αὐτέοι, τοιουτέον, ἐωυτέον. In the *De Placitis Hippocr. et Plat.* of Muller we read, furthermore, as masc. or neuter τούτέων 698<sub>12</sub>, 691<sub>4</sub>, 700<sub>8</sub>, 702<sub>1</sub>, αὐτέων 690<sub>11</sub>, 692<sub>9</sub>, 781<sub>1</sub>. It may well be doubted whether Galen himself had access to an uncontaminated source.

Littré's text has adopted (on the authority of the vulgate) a very large number of pseudo-Ionisms, which are but rarely found in the oldest MSS. θ and Α. This is specially the case in respect of the parasitic ε in the pronominal forms. In the pseudo-Hippokratic περί ιερῆς νόσου the other MSS. agree with θ and Α in rejecting the hyper-Ionic ε (θ has, however, ταυτέους VI 354, τούτέω 384, the other MSS. τούτέων 394).

117.] **Ionic Poetry.** A pseudo-Ionizing of Archilochos is scarcely noticeable. φιλέειν in 81 is due to Hephaestion; for κερ-

τομέειν in 64, wherein Bergk follows Clemens Alex. and the schol. χ 412, Stobaios has the closed form. The unnecessary longer form is quoted by Clemens of Alexandria from Aristobulos. Hephaestion is also answerable for Anakreon's φιλέει (70), and Herakleides Pontikos for δοκέεις (75<sub>2</sub>). Hyper-Ionic forms have not found admission to the texts of the early Ionic poets. In Herodas we observe χειρέων 6<sub>11</sub> (changed from χειρῶν) and 7<sub>3</sub>; χασκεύση 4<sub>42</sub>, τεμεῦσα 4<sub>29</sub>, δραμεῦσα 5<sub>54</sub>. Uncontracted εε, εει, or εη (from -ειω verbs) do not occur.

*The Ionisms of Theokritos.*

118.] The ancient prolegomena to the poems of Theokritos contain brief statements to the effect that the poet made use of two dialects: (1) that species of Doric called by one commentator ἀνειμένη καὶ χθαμαλή, by another νέα, and (2) Ionic. The discussion of the question as to whether this view refers to the presence of Ionisms in the so-called Doric idylls, may be left to the volume dealing with DORIC, in which the perplexing problem of the dialect of Theokritos, so far as it can be treated in a work of this kind, will receive ampler attention.

In the scholia on I–XVIII each poem, with the exception of XII, is classed as Doric without mention of the co-existence of an Ionic element. Of XIX–XXVII the glosses state that all are Doric, save XXIV and XXVII, concerning the dialect of which we have no tradition, and XXII which is Ionic. In the case of XII, the argument attributed to Eratosthenes as well as the glosses report that this idyll was composed in Ionic. Q, B, M, D, Junt. state with an unusual attempt at exactness that its dialect is the κοινὴ Ἰάς, a unique expression which recurs in the glosses on XXII, but nowhere else in grammatical literature, so far as I am aware. This 'common' Ionic is that usual, almost stereotyped form of the dialect which was borrowed from Homer and became a recognized implement of the poet's art. In no case does it contain features that recall the form of the dialect later than the epic, though occasionally isolated words come to light that were not employed by the epic. The κοινὴ Ἰάς included Homeric forms of Aiolic structure (XII 2, XXII 11, 64, 71, 84, 152, 166, 170; σημαίνουσα XXII 22 must be corrected).

The testimony of the scholia and the MSS. point so strongly to the Ionic character of XII and XXII (which I regard as genuine), that we may easily throw overboard the notice in *r* and *N* (in XII) and that contained in Calliergi (as regards XXII), which make for the Doric character of the two poems. In the case of XII, *r* and *N* have Ἰάδι διαλέκτῳ ἢ Δωρίδι, an uncertainty which has found practical expression in the editions of Ziegler



and Paley. Neither of these scholars has ventured to root out the best attested Dorisms, such as ἀοί 1, μάλον 3, ἄδιον 4, ἀελίου 9, Κρονίδα 17, ἐθέλοντι 23, ἀραιᾶς 24, ὠρασας 26, ἐριδμαλιοντι 31, ἐὰν 33, ἀπῆνθεν 33, which are the only Dorisms found in *k. p. m.* In other cases the Doric form is not supported by a consensus of these three MSS. The restoration of the Ionic forms in the above passages can be accomplished, usually by the adoption of the readings of 6, 16, Υ; but in a few places by recourse to conjecture (εὐφρανas 8, ὅκ' 16). Noteworthy Ionisms are ἐπιβῶται 35, αἵτεω 20.

In XXII the Doric forms are accepted by all MSS. in a very few cases:—*Λήδας* 1, ὑμνέομες 4 (cf. 1 where *K* has ὑμνέομεν, the vulgate -μεν), κολῶν 12, γαλάνα 19. In many passages *D* (Scaliger's MS.) or *K* are our only authorities for the Ionic forms; in *c*, *η* is often superscribed over *a* which is the common reading. There are also several words whose Ionic dress is vouched for by no other authority than the marginal readings of the Juntina. In Ποσειδάωνος 97, τάων 111 the *ā* is Homeric.

## ACCENT.

### 119.] Retention of original accent motion:—

In the proethnic period the suffix part of the genitive and dative of feminine nouns, whose nominative terminates in Skt. in *-i*, in Greek in *-iā*, received the accent, which in the nominative fell upon the radical syllable<sup>1</sup>. It is the peculiar distinction of Ionic to have preserved traces of this accent motion, which is, in fact, the only accent principle characterized as Ionic by the ancients.

In the genitive and dative of barytone words in *-iā*, the Ionic dialect, according to Herodian<sup>2</sup> (who seems to have accepted herein the guidance of Aristarchos<sup>3</sup>), transferred the accent to the suffix syllable. The forms quoted in attestation of this Ionic shifting of the accent are *λα λᾶς λᾶ'*<sup>4</sup>, *μία μίας μιᾶ'*, *ἄγνια ἄγνιας ἄγνια'*, *ὄργνια ὄργνιας ὄρπνια ὄρπνιας* and the two proper names *Πλάταια Πλαταιάς*, *Θέσπια Θεσπιάς*.

The only forms that bear the distinctive mark of the dialect are the Homeric *ἱῆς* Π 173, *ἱῆ* I 319, Σ 251, X 477, *μῆς* O 416 Sim. Amorg 23, *ἀγνῆ* ο 441. *ὄργνια* occurs in Homer only in nominative and accusative, but in

<sup>1</sup> Cf. J. Schmidt, K. Z. XXV 36.

<sup>2</sup> Hdn I 411<sub>8</sub> = Joh. Alex. 10<sub>11</sub>, II 57<sub>22</sub> on Z 422, II 613<sub>21</sub> = An. Ox. I 134<sub>17</sub>, Theod. 37, Hilg., Chour. Dict. 405<sub>10</sub>, Ark. 128<sub>11</sub>, Et. M. 14<sub>21</sub>, 305<sub>20</sub>, 472<sub>46</sub>; cf. Schol. Ven. A on Π 173, Ark. 98<sub>11</sub>, La Roche *Hom. Textkritik* 177. In I 530<sub>20</sub>, II 613<sub>11</sub>, 901<sub>31</sub>, Hdn. calls the accent of *ἀγνῆ*, *ὄργνῆ* Ionic. But cf. I 181<sub>20</sub>.

<sup>3</sup> Eust. 652<sub>15</sub>, Schol. Ven. A on Z 422, Schol. Ven. B on E 502.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *ἱος ἱου*, but *ἱῶ* Et. M. 472<sub>10</sub>.

Hdt. II 149 we find *δργυιῆς*<sup>1</sup>. No form of *ἀργυρία* with Ionic *η* is met with, Homer having *ἀργυρία* and *ἀργυρίαί* (*ἀργυρίαί ἀνηρείψαντο* α 241, υ 77, read by Fick *Ἀρέπνυια ἀναρέψαντο* on the strength of *Ἀρεπνία* upon a vase *Arch. Zeit.* XL, p. 203, pl. 9, and *ἀνερεψάμενοι* Bekk. *Anecd.* I 401). Homer and Hdt. have *Πλάταια*, the latter also *Πλαταιαί*<sup>2</sup>; Homer and Hdt. have *Θέσπια* (*Θέσπειαν*). Thuk., who has *Πλάταια* and *Πλαταιαί*, has the paroxytone accent in the dative singular II 4, Paus. IX 4, 4 in the genitive. I do not find any example of *Θέσπια* in the genitive or dative singular. In regard to these names it is to be noted that the accent of their ordinary forms *Πλαταιαί*, *Θέσπιαί* follows the lines of such deme names as *Κηφισιά*, *Λουσιά*, and *Τραγυαί*, *Κεγχρεαί*, *Πειρεσιαί*, *Ὀλμιαί*, etc. Names of cities ending in *-ειά*, if found in the plural only, are oxytone (*Βρυσεαί*, *Ὀρνειαί*), though in Hdt. I 149 we find *Αἰγαῖαι*.

Some grammarians<sup>3</sup> ventured to claim that this shifting of the accent was not Ionic, but Attic, or more especially Old Attic. Perhaps this divergence in view reflects the broken rays of a tradition that Ionic and Old Attic were one dialect in the preservation of this motion of the accent; as they were identified by the ancients for other reasons.

In the above mentioned words Ionic has allowed scope to the operation of the 'secondary' accent (on which see under AIOIC), though in general less amenable to its influence than Attic. Thus in *δειρή*<sup>4</sup> for Attic *δέρη* and *ῆώς* for Attic *ἔως* the original proethnic accent has been preserved by Ionic. Cf. Skt. *grirá* and *ushás*. Examples of the tendency of the later Ionic to admit the recessive accent will be given below, § 123.

120.] In the following sections are collected the statements of the grammarians in reference to the accent of certain forms of Ionic colouring; and under the same heads are mentioned some forms whose accent, as it appears in the books, deserves note, especially in comparison with that in vogue in Attic. It is obviously impossible to attach authority to all the accents handed down in the MSS. unless supported by a definite tradition of Greek grammar. Oftentimes the utterances of the schools are hopelessly confused. The ancients are uniformly silent as regards the accent of Ionic words identical in form with Attic. Hence

<sup>1</sup> Here R has *δργυιῆς*. In Aratos 196 *δργυιήν*, Nikander *Ther.* 169 *δργυιῆ* (*δργυιῆς* Π).

<sup>2</sup> So *ἀργυρίαί*, *δργυρίαί* Arkad. 98.

<sup>3</sup> Schol. Ven. A on Z 422 = Hdn. II 577. The Et. M. 14, 21 by comparing *Ὀρείθια* seems to take a similar position; but cf. 305, 36. Eust. 1631, 20 (cf. 1653, 3) calls *ἀγυρία* and *δργυρία* Old Attic only. In Attic we find *ἀγυριά*, *δργυριά* (Et. M. 14, 23) though, according to Zonaras 24, some wrote *ἀγυριά*. These oxytones seem to be due rather to the influence of the plural *ἀγυρίαί*, *Πλαταιαί* etc. than of the perispomenon genitive.

<sup>4</sup> *δειρή* is called Ionic, Et. M. 257, 6. The form *δειριά*, referred to Et. M. 256, 11 (cf. Theogn. An. Ox. II 107, 6) can be only North West Greek or late Doric. Earlier Doric, so far as the radical syllable is concerned, is *Δήρη*, Ptol. I 15, 11.

the accenting of Ionic texts in the case of words whose accent varied in Attic is totally uncertain.

Krumbacher has shown *K. Z.* XXVII 521 ff. that, in its passage to the modern form, ancient Greek was forced to struggle against the depravation of the old-time accent. The removal of the classical accent which comes to light in the mediaeval documents is, however, not comparable with that which is such a striking feature of the modern Greek dialects.

Only the differences between Ionic and Attic are considered below. Some of the following words are discussed by Wheeler *Nominal Accent* p. 113 ff.

*Accent of Nouns and Adjectives.*

*First Declension.*

**121.] Masculine.** On the accent of 'Ατρείδεω, 'Ορέστω, Αλφείεω, 'Ασίεω see *Choir. Dict.* 399<sub>2</sub>, 413<sub>11</sub>, *Et. Mag.* 153<sub>51</sub>. In quoting these forms the grammarian in *An. Ox.* I accents -έω. Instead of Θαλέω from Θαλῆς, the ancients accentuated Θάλεω. If, when the genitive in -εω followed a vowel, syncope ensued, the result was the paroxytone, as in 'Ερμείω, Βορέω, 'Ασίω, ἑνυμμελίω (*Choir.*, *Et. Mag.* *l. l.*).

**122.] Feminine.** On ἄγνια, ὄργνια, ἄρπνια, Πλάταια, Θέσπια, δειρή, see above, § 119.

ποῖη is thus accented in *Eust.* 1851<sub>50</sub>, *Hesychios* and *Suidas*, ποιή in *Et. M.* 677<sub>65</sub>. Attic ποιά *Et. M.* 705<sub>2</sub>, 612<sub>42</sub>, 677<sub>56</sub>, but ποία *Et. M.* 770<sub>0</sub>, *Ark.* 100<sub>18</sub>, πόα when the *iota* disappears, Doric ποιά and πόα *Greg. Kor.* 220. The grammarians appear to have set up a difference in meaning between ποία and πόα (*schol. Equites* 603).

ροή in editions of *Homer* and *Hdt.* = Attic ροιά *Eust.* 94<sub>1</sub>, *Et. M.* 705<sub>2</sub>, *Ark.* 100<sub>14</sub> and so written in *Aristotle*. ρόα was accented ροά by *Arkadios l. l.*, which accentuation is adopted by *G. Meyer Gramm.* § 48. Doric ροιά and ρόα *Greg. Kor.* 220. The loss of the *iota* cannot change the accent<sup>1</sup>. Is ρόα due to the desire to differentiate the word from ροή *stream* (a counter suggestion to that made by *L. & S.*), or is ρόα to be classed with χρόα as illustrations of the principle that when the accent precedes *god* is to be expected, but when the accent follows *iota* appears?

χροή *Hom. Theogn.* = Attic χροιά (*Ark.* 100<sub>18</sub>, *Eust.* 94<sub>2</sub>, *Et. M.* 705<sub>2</sub>), but χροία *Et. M.* 679<sub>39</sub>, doubtless to account for

<sup>1</sup> Hence Δαρειος on a Milesian coin in *Mionnet Suppl.* VII 276, should be accented Δαρείος, not Δάρειος with *Pape*.

the usual Attic form *χροά*. Lobeck *Phrynichus* p. 496 shows that later writers used *χροιά* and *χροά* on one and the same page. Doric *χροιά* and *χροά* Greg. Kor. 220.

*φθόη* is thus usually accented, according to the ordinary rules, despite Skt. *kshayá*.

According to the schol. Ven. A on N 212, who follows Herodian: *ἰγνύην* Ἰωνικῶς μετέβαλε τὸν τόνον, ἐπεὶ τὸ ἀκόλουθον *ἰγνύά* (Lentz *ἰγνυά*) ἐστίν. Theogn. (An. Ox. II 106<sub>21</sub>) says that Herodian (I 303<sub>10</sub>) is authority for the statement that Aristarchos (?) by shortening the *a* and lengthening the *v* of *ἰγνύα* accented *ἰγνυα*, thus making an enallage of accent and quantity. Cf. Lentz' note, Hdn. I 303, Chandler § 188. *ἰγνυα* does not occur, nor do I find the proparoxytone accent in any Greek word in *-va* (*Ἐλευθέρνα* is doubtful). Did Aristarchos wish to bring his *ἰγνυα* into line with *ἄγνυα*, *ὄργνυα* &c.?

The Ionians according to Trypho (4) distinguished, as did Athenians and Dorians, between *μισσητή* = ἡ ἀξία μίσους and *μισήτη* = ἡ καταφερῆς πρὸς συνουσίαν. Cf. Eust. 1650<sub>64</sub>. In the scholiast on Arist. *Avex* 1619 we find a verse containing the former form which has been changed to *μισήτη* by Bergk, who thinks that the line is Archilocheian (184).

When Ionic has *η* for Attic *ᾱ* as in *ἔερση* the nom. pl. is proparoxytone (*ἔερσαι*). Ptol. Askalonites proposed to adopt the paroxytone accent (Schol. Ven. A on Ξ 351, Apio and Herodorus in Eust. 991<sub>24</sub>).

There is no trace of Ionic having adopted the proparoxytone in the nom. plur. of words in *-iā*, as was the case in late Attic (*εὐπράξιαι*, *ὁμῶλιαι*, *τραγῳδίαι*, &c., also *ἡμέραι* Choirob. 449<sub>16</sub>, schol. Ven. A on B 339, E 54, Lentz Hdn. I 423 note, Wheeler *Nominal Accent* p. 115).

Some distinguished *Ἐρυθραί* in Ionia from *Ἐρύθραι* in Boiotia (Eust. 267<sub>6</sub>, Choirob. *Ep. on Psalms* 27<sub>10</sub>).

The gen. pl. of *γῆ* is *γέων* in ABR, Hdt. IV 198, where P has *γέων*, C *γεων*. The first reading is that adopted by the most recent editors, the last by L. & S. with the older editions.

### *Second Declension.*

123.] 1. The tendency of the later Ionic to adopt the recessive accent of the later Attic in contrast to the accent of Homer and Old Attic<sup>1</sup>, though nowhere expressly sanctioned by tradition, has been tacitly recognized by more recent editors of Herodotos. This is notably the case as regards the following forms, chiefly adjectival:—

*ὅμοιος* in Hdt. according to Stein and Holder, as in later

<sup>1</sup> Ailios Dionys. apud Eust. 205<sub>11</sub>.



Attic (Eust. 341<sup>17</sup>, 531<sup>35</sup>, 799<sup>40</sup>, 1817<sup>15</sup>, Theogn. An. Ox. II 54<sup>7</sup>), ὁμοῖος Homeric and Old Attic (Eust. 206<sup>1</sup>), adopted by Schweighauser as Herodoteian. ὁμοῖος is stated to be Doric, Greg. Kor. p. 318.

ἐρημος in Hdt. and in New Attic, ἐρήμος Old Attic and Homeric (Et. M. 373<sup>14</sup>, Ark. 61<sup>6</sup>, Hdn. π. μ. λ. 331<sup>1</sup>, Eust. 217<sup>45</sup>, 341<sup>12</sup>, 531<sup>32</sup>, 41<sup>1</sup>, 822<sup>5</sup>).

ἑτοιμος Hdt. and in New Attic, ἐτοιμος Old Attic and Homeric (Eust. 206<sup>1</sup>, 217<sup>45</sup>, 341<sup>12</sup>, 531<sup>41</sup>, 822<sup>5</sup>, Hdn. π. μ. λ. 331<sup>6</sup>. In Anakr. 43<sup>6</sup> the MSS. have ἑτοιμον, Bergk ἐτοιμον.

The accent of ἑταῖρος (Hom., Archil., Sim. Amorg., Theog., Hdt.), the by-form of Hom. ἑταρος, is due to the influence of ἑταῖρα from ἑταρία < gen. ἑταρίας. Cf. ἱα λᾶς above. Homeric ἑτάρη is the parallel fem. of ἑταρος. See Wheeler *Nom. Accent* p. 59. Hippon. 1<sub>3</sub> has ἑταιρε, now read ἑταῖρε.

γελοῖος Archil. 79. Of γελοῖος Apoll. *De Pron.* 63 B says: οὐκ ἐξωμάλισται τὰ τῶν διαλέκτων, μάλιστα δὲ τὰ τῶν Ἀττικῶν. The later Attic seems to have accented γέλοιος, the κοινή, γελοῖος Moiris 109, schol. *Ranae* 6; and so Old Attic, Eust. 206<sup>1</sup>. See Chandler § 385.

ἄχρεῖος in Homer, Attic ἄχρειος according to Eust. 217<sup>39</sup>, An. Ox. II 284<sup>10</sup>, Hdn. I 135<sup>25</sup> = Schol. Ven. A on B 269. Arkadios 87<sup>6</sup> says that ἄχρεῖος is Attic, ἄχρειος is τὸ κοινόν. From Choïrob. *Ἐρ.* 123<sup>25</sup> we learn nothing. The Herodoteian form is ἀχρήσιος. On Ionic -ήσιος = Attic -ειος, see § 231.

πῆρός Homer, Sim. Amorg., Hippokr., πῆρος Attic according to Schol. Ven. A on B 599.

μῶρος Sim. 57. μῶρος is called Attic by Arkad. 69<sup>17</sup>. Eust. 245<sup>37</sup>, 1749<sup>37</sup> ascribes μῶρος to the Attics, μωρός to the ὕστεροι.

στρουθός Hdt., Attic στρουθός Hdn. I 144<sup>17</sup>, cf. Schol. Ven. A on B 311.

2. If the Ionic texts are accentuated correctly, and the following is the correct tradition in reference to Attic, the latter dialect preferred an accent nearer the end in μέδιμνος Hdt., μεδίμνος Attic according to Thom. Mag. p. 602.

κουφότης Hippokr., κουφοτής Attic (Choïrob. 352<sup>11</sup>).

ἴνυκος Hdt. VI 24 is oxytone in Plato's *Πινηας Maj.* 282 E.

ἀπτελεβός Hdt. IV 172, ἀπτελαβός Attic, 'παραλόγως' Ark. 46<sup>4</sup> = Hdn. I 139<sup>2</sup>. Cf. γέμιος = Attic γυρίνος, Eust. 186<sup>46</sup>.

Ionic ὀλιζον = Attic ὀλίγον, Herakleides *αῖναι* Eust. 164<sup>31</sup>.

Attic φαρμακός degenerated, according to Photios 640<sup>8</sup> (cf. Eust. 1935<sup>15</sup>), into Ion. φάρμακος, the proximity of the barbarians having caused the Ionians to corrupt the ancestral element of their dialect (§ 23). In the fragments of Hipponax (5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 37, 43) the MSS. have uniformly φαρμακός, cf. Hesych. *s. v.* Didymos' proposal to write φαρμάκος failed to receive recognition in ancient



times. In fact Hase and Dindorf suggest that he did not write *φαρμάκος* at all, but that the *προπερισπᾶν* of Harpokrat. p. 180 should be read *προπαροξύνειν*. Herodian seems not to have known of any difference between the Ionic and Attic accent, if we may judge from Arkadios' statement (51<sub>9</sub>): *φαρμακός, ὁ ἐπὶ καθαρῷ τῆς πόλεως τελευτῶν, φαρμακεὺς δὲ ὁ γόης*. For the word *φαρμακεύς*, however, most scholars substitute *φάρμακος*. *Φάρμακος* is a suspicious personality although referred to by Istros in Et. M. 787<sub>85</sub>. The above quoted statements are all that can be adduced in support of *φάρμακος*<sup>1</sup>, other ancient testimony (e.g. Et. M. 802<sub>5</sub>, Schol. Ven. A on Ω 566) making for *φαρμακός*. With the interrelation between *φαρμακός* and this supposed *Φάρμακος* cf. that between *φυλακός* Ω 566 and *Φύλακος* Z 35, ο 231. *φυλακός* was thus accented by Aristarchos and Herodian (Eust. 1365<sub>45</sub>, Et. M. 802<sub>3</sub>, Ark. 51<sub>8</sub>), *φύλακος* Hdt. II 121 (γ), schol. Apoll. Rh. I 132, Philem. Lex. § 269, schol. Theokr. 8, and so Chandler § 261.

3. It is not impossible that an Ionic *ῥστεον* (cf. Schol. Ven. A on Ω 793, Doric *ῥστιον*) could acquire the perispomenon accent upon contraction into *ῥστεῦν*, as did the Attic *ῥστοῦν*. But instances parallel to the Attic *ἀργυροῦς*, *χαλκοῦς* are wanting in Ionic, since that dialect kept *eo* open in adjectives of material till the latest period of its existence. It is probable that the uncontracted form of Ionic nominative was *ῥστέον*.

*θεύς* apparently an Ionic form for *θεός* (Hdn. π. μ. λ. 6, 8) is perispomenon in Eust. 775<sub>48</sub>, Ark. 130<sub>20</sub>.

In cases of variation between *-eos* and *-os* in adjectival formations, the accent of the longer form is identical with that of the shorter. Thus *δαφωινεός* = *δαφωινός* (Schol. Ven. A on Σ 538, Eust. 1160<sub>81</sub>), *κενεός* = *κενός*, *ἡλεός* = *ἡλός*.

*εὐγῆροι* Hippokr. and Aristotle, deserves notice. See Chandler § 546.

4. According to the accentuation of the MSS. Ionic Greek distinguished *ἐξαιρετός* Hdt. II 121 (α) from *ἐξαίρετος*; adopted such ordinary uses as that of the fem. in *νῆσος διαβατός* Hdt. IV 195; and differentiated words of the same form by means of the accent as did Attic. No definite statement to the contrary exists in the grammarians.

5. Accent of some proper names:—

*Καρησός*, name of the Mysian river M 20, was thus accentuated by the inhabitants of Kyzikos, and by Tyrannio (Schol. Ven. A on M 20). Aristarchos wrote *Κάρησος*, others *Κάρησος*.

<sup>1</sup> Bergk's *φάρμακος* in Hipponax is the less defensible, because the custom alluded to by the poet was Attic. See ten Brink in *Philologus* VI 60. A trace of *φαρμακός* with *δ* is thought to exist in Demosth. XXV 80, though *φαρμακός* can have yielded only *φαρμάκος* in that dialect.

Ἄστακός Hdt. V 67, Ἄστακος Thuk. II 30, Steph. Byz.

Τιτακός Hdt. IX 73, whereas trisyllables in -ᾱκος are generally proparoxytone. Steph. Byz. has Τίτακος. For other oxytones in -ακος, see Chandler § 270.

Ἰλλυριοί Hdt. I 196 and elsewhere is not in accordance with the usual accentuation of proper names in -ιος.

Ἀρτισκός Hdt. IV 92, whereas proper names in -ισκος are usually paroxytone.

Why Φαρσαλικός, Δροπικοί in Hdt. should be oxytone, but Ὀρικός proparoxytone, is not clear. See Chandler § 266 for similar inconsistencies.

6. 'Attic' declension:—

On Τυνδάρειω (Hdt. II 112) see Eust. 1686<sub>23</sub>, schol. on λ 299; on λαγός Trypho 13.

### Third Declension.

124.] Choireboskos *Dictata* 353<sub>21</sub> makes the remark that, while the Aiolians form the accusative in -ν (κνήμιν—read κνᾶμιν—σφράγιν, ἄψιν), the Ionians in the genitive of oxytones in -ις do not cast aside the δ (κνημίδος, ἀσπίδος) as they do in the declensions of Πάρις and Θέτις. For φαεινολίς Hymn Dem. 51 we should expect the accent of μαιόλις.

Adjectives in -υς, which in the feminine lose their ιολα, do not change their accent as Chandler § 689 opines: ἡμίσεια Hdt. V 111, not ἡμισέα. In the plural perispomenon is correct even when ι has disappeared: ταχε(ι)ῶν, θηλε(ι)ῶν often in the MSS. of Hdt (cf. II 18, 46, 66) which has been changed to θηλέων. On ταρφεύς, ταρφεῖα see Nauck, *Odysse*, p. x.

The gen. plur. of χιλιάς in Hdt. VII 28 is χιλιάδων, not χιλιαδέων; and thus does not support the peculiar later Attic χιλιαδῶν. See Choireb. *Dict.* 458<sub>6</sub>, Ark. 136<sub>3</sub> and § 74. The form in the Common dialect was similar to that in Hdt.

ὀπέων, Ionic for ὀπάων, is noteworthy, since nouns in -εων are oxytone; cf. Theogn. An. Ox. II 28<sub>22</sub>.

Homeric πρόοιες (Schol. Ven. Θ 557), despite πρών; cf. Hesiod's πρηών. Nouns in -ηων are usually paroxytone (Theogn. An. Ox. II 29<sub>6</sub>, Ark. 11<sub>2</sub>).

Ethnica in -ων are usually oxytone, but Hdt. VII 110 has Βίστορες, Κίκορες, V 15 Παίορες (Παιόρες An. Ox. I 276<sub>9</sub>), Σιριοπαίορες, cf. Καύκωρες, Κύδωρες in Homer. Chandler § 615.

Names in -ᾱς (Βοιβᾱς, Βιττᾱς, Κιρᾱς) are Ionic according to Choireb. *Dict.* 42<sub>23</sub>, Joh. Alex. 8<sub>13</sub>). Why the gen. should be -ᾱδος is not clear, unless we regard -ᾱς as due to 'nominative-lengthening.'

On the accent of *νηῦς* 'resolved' see Chandler § 566.

**125.] Adverbs.** The ancients accentuated *παρέξ* or *πὰρ ἔξ* in Homer, *πάρεξ* in Hdt. (Hdn. π. μ. λ. 25, 20, Schol. Ven. A on IX 7). See La Roche *Hom. Textkritik* p. 333. The *κοινή* adopted the Herodoteian accent.

*πρῶϊ* in Homer, *πρωί* in Hdt. and Attic (Et. M. 607<sub>21</sub>, 692<sub>12</sub>, Theogn. An. Ox. II 159<sub>26</sub>). Joh. Alex. 32<sub>7</sub> writes *πρώ*, and this form is generally used in our texts.

*κῆγχος* Apollonios *De Adv.* 596<sub>29</sub> thought should be *κηγχός*.

**126.] Verbs.** *φή* Ionic for *φησί* is an enclitic, Anakr. 40. *πιθέσθε*, *λαβέσθε* were written thus by Tyrannio, but belong according to the Schol. Ven. B on *Il.* XVIII 266 only to the later Ionic.

The recessive accent in the contract forms is preserved in *πύθειν* Hdt. III 68<sup>1</sup>, whereas Attic generally has the perispomenon (Aischines *πυθοῦ*). Cf. *ἔλεν* Hsd. *Theog.* 549, *ἀμβάλεν* Theokr. X 22. Does this indicate that the Attic contraction of *εο* to *ου* is of different phonetic quality from that of the Ionic *ευ*?

In the case of syncopated forms, *-εο* for *-εεο*, *-εαι* for *-εεαι* were generally regarded as paroxytone (Eust. 1441<sub>35</sub>) though there is evidence that some of the ancients (cf. Schol. Ven. A on *Ω* 202, Eust. 1518<sub>64</sub>) admitted the proparoxytone. Thus Herodian in *ἐκλε'* *Ω* 202. The MSS. of Hdt. have *φοβέο*, &c., in Theog. 1331 we find *αἰδέο*.

The so-called Doric future in Ionic: *ἔσσειται* B 393, Hdt. VII 168 *πείσεται*.

*ἔξεληλαμένα* Hdt. VII 84 seems to be correct, though *ἐληλάμενος* is enjoined by Apoll. *De Conj.* 500<sub>19</sub>, *De Adv.* 545<sub>8</sub>, cf. 549<sub>7</sub>, Et. M. 46<sub>4</sub>.

## VOWEL SYSTEM.

### *The Short Vowels.*

#### A.

**127.]** Anaptyctic *a* occurs in conjunction with *ρ* in *βάραγχος* Hipponax 106 = *βράγχος* Attic and in Hippokr. I 616. Cf. Hesychios: *βάραγχια* τὰ βραγχία τῶν ἰχθύων. The Et. M. 188, says that the Attics used *βαραγχιᾶν*, whereas Moiris states merely that *βραγχιᾶν*, not *βραγχιᾶν*, was Attic.

<sup>1</sup> Hdt. has *βαλεῖν* VII 51 in *A P*, *βάλειν* *C* corr. *B*<sup>2</sup> *d*.

## 128.] Ionic A in conjunction with P.

The forms with *ερ* or *ρε* are here morphologically older than those in *αρ* or *ρα*. It is more probable that *κράτος*, *θράσος* are due to the analogy of *κρατύς*, *θρασύς* than to a levelling process (within the noun itself) which operated as follows.

κρέτος  
|  
κῆτεσός whence κράτος, κρέτεος and κράτος, κράτεος.  
|  
κράτεος

The latter view is current, rather than well-considered. In Skt. and Greek there is no shifting of the accent in the inflection of these stems in *s*.

The Ionic dialect here presents no features sharp enough to separate it from allied dialects except Aiolic.

*κράτος* = Aiolic *κρέτος*. *κράτος* Hdt. VIII 2, with *κάρτος* in *A B d*; cf. *καρτερή* VIII 12, with *καρερή* in most MSS.<sup>1</sup> Archil. 26 has *καρτερός*, a form that comes to light in Aretaios 9 and upon inscriptions: Halik. *καρτερούς* 238<sub>23</sub>, and so in Attic and Kretan (Gortyna); *κράτιστος* appears in *Κρατιστόλεως* Thasos (Louvre) 12 B, but was not used by Hdt.; Epic *κάρτος* and *κράτος*. *καρερός*<sup>2</sup> and *καρερόθυμος*, *κάρτιστος*. The Ionic dialect alone possesses the strong form of the adjective (*κρέσσων*). In the inscriptions names in *καρτ-* and *κρατ-* occur: *Ε[ι]φ[ι]καρτίδης*, or *Εὐθυκαρτίδης* Naxos, *B. C. II.* XII p. 463 ff.; *Μησικάρτ(η)ς*, Styra 19<sub>202</sub>; *Καρτῆς* 19<sub>317</sub>; *Ἐπικράτης* 19<sub>309</sub>; *Λυσι-* 19<sub>247</sub>; *Λεωκρατίδης* Styra 19<sub>21</sub>; *Κράτιος* Keos 44 A 8.

*θάρσος* Hdt. VII 9 γ (*θράσος* in *R*); Homeric and Attic *θάρσος* and *θράσος*. *θαρσύνων* Chios, Pasp. 42, *θρασ-* e.g. in *Θρασωρίδ[εω]* Thasos, *J. H. S. VIII* 402<sub>22</sub>. Traces of the strong form *θερσος* (cf. Aiolic) appear in *...θέρσης* upon an Erythraian inscription (no. 200), and in *Θερσίτρου* Iasos (*J. H. S. IX* 341, no. 2, late). Names in *-θερσης* occur elsewhere in dialects that show no predilection in favour of the *ερ* forms. See Pape's *Lexicon*. Doubtless the Homeric names in *-θερσ-* did much to popularize this form in such dialects.

The prefix *ἀρι-* seems to be Ionic as contrasted with Aiolic *ἐρι-* (Hinrich, *H. E. F. A.* p. 64). *Ἀρίων* upon a coin of Erythrai, Mionnet *Suppl.* VI 217, cf. *I. F.* I 166. Hence *κάρμπρεπής* Sim. Am. 7<sub>88</sub> from *ἀρι-*. *Ἀρίμνηστος* occurs upon a Keian inscription, no. 44, B 11, but *ἐρίθρομον* in Anakr. 11.

<sup>1</sup> Ionic *κάρτα* Greg. Kor § 58.

<sup>2</sup> Joh. Gr. 241 B.

βάραθρον Hdt. VII 133, as in Attic; Homeric βέρεθρον Θ 14 (called Ionic by Et. M. 188<sub>6</sub>); Arkad. ζέρεθρον.

χάραδρα in Hdt., cf. Delphic χάροδρος (Wescher, *Monum. bilingue de Delphes*, l. 23, 25). Homer has χέραδος, a form that is found as a proper name C. D. I. 1352.

τρασιή (MS. -ά), Sim. Amorg. 39, from Et. Mag. 764<sub>25</sub>; cf. Hesychios τρασιήν · τὴν τρασιάν. Et. Gud. 256 quotes from an elegiac poet τρασιῆς; cf. τερσήναι in Homer. τερσιά is a very late formation (Julian). τρασ- is morphologically older than τρασ-. A variation between αρ and ρα, apparently in order to lighten consonantal weight, is seen in a Karian name, Halik. 240<sub>57</sub>, Ἰμβράσσιδος (Ἰμβρασος Head, *H. N.* 518); 240<sub>58</sub> Ἰμβάρσιδος.

The Ionic dialect does not evince the preference of Doric<sup>1</sup> for the weak α before or after ρ in verbal forms (from original ρε). Thus, Herodotos adopts τρέχω, τρέψω, στρέψω, agreeing herein with Homer, while he accepts τράπω in the present for Attic-epic τρέπω, if we are to believe Bredow, Stein and Holder, who do not scruple to reject the testimony of all the MSS. I 63, 105, III 21 and in very many other places. In the middle there are few cases of the α form. The imperfect or second aorist forms can scarcely be allowed to influence the decision. I regard τρέπω as the correct form<sup>2</sup>. In the future and first aorist the ε-forms hold their ground in Ionic, whereas in Kretan we have ἐπιτραψῶ. On the variation between τρέπω and τράπω, cf. Bredow, p. 145. In employing τρέπω, not τράπω, Lukian follows in the wake of Hdt. (*l. d. S.* 7, 39, *Astr.* 3). Aretaios has but one sure example of τράπω, and Hippokrates inclines in favour of the Ionic-Attic form.

When other dialects, notably Aiolic or those allied to Aiolic, have ρο or ορ, Ionic almost invariably adopts ρα or αρ. See below on βρόταχος, πορδακός § 147. Hdt. III 86 has ἀστραπή, with which may be compared Homeric στεροπή and ἀστεροπή. Kyprian has στροπά (Hesychios στροπά). In verbal inflection whenever ορ occurs it is the *ablaut* of ερ, not = the Aiolic form of αρ.

καρδίη Hdt. III 35, Demokr. *Mor.* 18, Arch. ep. 103, a form not unknown to Homer (B 452, A 12), though the poet generally adopts κραδίη<sup>3</sup>. Ionic, Attic, and Aiolic are here on a plane. The Kyprian form is κόρζα (κορζία according to Meister).

Homer has Κράπαθος (B 676), Archil. 152 has Καπάθιος.

<sup>1</sup> τρέπω, τρέψω, στρέψω, τρέχω (Pindar), cf. Et. M. 114<sub>20</sub> φάρω, τρέπω.

<sup>2</sup> Greg. Kor. quotes τρέπουσι from Hdt. III 21 (p. 480).

<sup>3</sup> Joh. Gr. 240, 241 B, Greg. Kor. p. 434, Gram. Vat. 696, Birnb. 677<sub>20</sub>, cite this as the Ionic form.



Κάρπαθος occurs in the Hymn to Apoll. 43. Homer has both ἀτραπιτός and ἀτραπιτός, τέτρατος<sup>1</sup> and τέταρτος.

Hipp. 1<sub>3</sub> has σκαπαρδεύσαι = συμμαχήσαι, with which compare the game σκαπέρδα and the Hesychian gloss σκαπερδεύσαι· λαιδορῆσαι.

The variation between σρ and ρα, for which no definite reason can invariably be assigned, is not a mint-mark of dialect differentiation.

**129.] Other forms with A parallel to E :**

τάμνω occurs in Hdt. (Greg. Kor. 67), though not without variation in favour of τέμνω, and is a present formed from the aorist of τέμω (*Iliad*, N 707) (ταμών < τημ-οντ-). Whether τάμνω, which occurs as early as Homer (Γ 105) and Hesiod, and is found in Pindar, Kretan, and the Herakleian tablets, is more ancient than τέμνω (which seems to be derived from a τέμω by the infixing of ν), is not certain. τέμνω is in fact no stranger to Homer (γ 175), and is the regular form in Attic. The inscriptions indicate the preference of Ionic and Attic most clearly. In the former we have ἔταμον (Halik. 238<sub>44</sub>; Kyzikos, 108, B 8), in the latter ἔτεμον without exception. τεμῆν in Delos B. C. H. VI 54 (250) is due to Attic influence; so Arrian, 2<sub>20</sub>. The ε of ἔτεμον is due to that of τέμνω<sup>2</sup>.

Hippokrates (Greg. Kor. 67) and the pseudo-Ionist Aretaïos use τάμνω; Lukian has τέμνω S 15, τάμνω S 51, 60; Arrian τέμνω 2<sub>3</sub>, 11<sub>10</sub>, 13<sub>12</sub>; Demokr., *Mor.* 194, has τάμνων.

μεγάθος, ὑπερμεγάθης in Hdt., e.g. IV 52, 191, μέγαθος in Anaxag. 1, and Meliss. 8 (Simpl. μέγεθος). Cf. Greg. Kor. § 59. In Attic μέγεθος the variation between α and ε is due perhaps to the influence of ε in the initial syllable. The statement that the Doric dialect possessed the form μέγαθος is not beyond suspicion, since Philoxenos, who has the form with α in II 19, either contradicts himself, V 21, where he uses ὑπερμέγεθες, or at least shows that both forms were known to Doric. Lukian has μέγαθος *l.* S 27, 30, according to Jacobitz, though A has the ε form everywhere. In Arrian. μέγεθος is the only reading in seven out of eleven cases, and this is the form used by Abydenos 5. Both Hippokrates and Aretaïos adopt the Attic form.

On the forms ἔπειτα, εἵνεκα, see under *Adverbs*, &c. On -αιᾶ, -ειᾶ, -οιᾶ, see below under H. §§ 174-179.

ψακάς Hdt. III 10, according to Stein, though ψεκάς is

<sup>1</sup> τέτρατος was held to be Ionic, Joh. G. 241 B.

<sup>2</sup> G. Meyer in his review of the *Vowel System of the Ionic Dialect* A. P. A. XX 5 138 in *Deut. Litt.-Zeit.*, 1890 p. 1335 disposes of the relation of τάμνω and τέμνω as follows: τάμνω is from ἔταμον, the aor. of τέμω; its ν is due to the influence of δάκνω (δακον ἔταμον). τέμνω, again, is a contamination of τέμω and τάμνω. τάμνω is called Doric by Et. M. 114a, 745a.

supported by MS. authority and by Eustathios. Moiris, p. 419, held that ψεκάς was Attic, but not so acceptable a form. Cf. ψῶχος < ψῦκ.

Ἀγβάτανα is the form used by Hdt., Ktesias (and Aischylos) for Ἐκβάτανα. The MSS. of Hdt. show constant fluctuation between these two forms, though Steph. Byz. distinctly states that Ἀγβάτανα is Herodoteian.

ἀπαλλάζειν (*sic*) Hesych. = ἐκκλησιάζειν. Ἴωνες recalls the Lakonian ἀπέλλαι, ἀπελλάζειν, but is of doubtful explanation.

The ancients adduce other forms in support of a τροπή of ε to α. These examples are either based upon incorrect etymologies or deal with pan-Hellenic by-forms.

### 130.] Ionic ᾶ = Attic H.

μεσαμβρίη Hdt. and Arrian, 3, 25, 39 (elsewhere the Attic form). Cf. Eustathios on the Odyssey 1714<sub>85</sub>, Greg. Kor. p. 444, 654, Schmidt, *Voc.* I 119.

ἀμφισβατέω Zeleia 113<sub>18</sub> (after 334 B. C.) and in Hdt. IV 14<sup>1</sup>, IX 74<sup>2</sup>. This form is not confined to Ionic unless the α of Rhodian ἀμφισβασίας C. I. G. 2905 B 6, ἀμφεσβάτει C. I. G. 2905 A 3, Aiolic ἀμφισβατημένων C. D. I. 214<sub>25</sub>, can be shown to be long. Herakleitos 9 has ἀγχιβασίην, cf. Suidas ἀμφισβατεῖν, ἔνιοι τὸ ἀμφισβητεῖν. Ἴωνες δὲ καὶ ἀγχιβατεῖν καὶ ἀγχιβασίην (see also *s.v.* ἀγχιβατεῖν). Hesychios' gloss is on ἀμφισβητεῖν, not on ἀμφισβατεῖν. In Diog. Apoll. I the MSS. have the Attic ἀναμφισβήτητον, cf. -βητήσεος Latyshev, II 53. Hellanikos 177 has ἀμφίσβαρα (see Hesychios *s.v.*).

If the non-Ionic forms have ᾶ, weight might, at first glance, be attached to Brugmann's suggestion that an Ionic ἀμφισβᾶτέω is due to the ignorance of scribes who connected the latter part with βαίνω, βάσις, βατός; *Morph. Unter.* I 22. But there is at least no proof that the α of the Aiolic and Rhodian forms is not short; and, even if it is long, the inscriptional form from Zeleia proves conclusively that an Herodoteian ἀμφισβᾶτέω is not due to blundering ignorance. Perhaps the forms in η stood in an ablaut relation to those in ᾶ<sup>3</sup>.

λάξεσθαι Hdt. VII 144, λάξιν IV 21 (cf. Greg. Kor. 139, Ἡροδ. λέξεις Stein II 467), have their ᾶ from the present stem as

<sup>1</sup> The MSS. here agree as to the penultimate α of ἀμφισβασίας (cf. VIII 81), but K and the rest have in the same chapter ἀμφισβητ-.

<sup>2</sup> P R have ἀμφισβητέων.

<sup>3</sup> Osthoff, *Perfect* p. 331, thought to set matters straight by deriving ἀμφισβατέω from an unheard-of participle βᾶτός, the kinsman of the regular βᾶτός. These two forms he opined would yield -βᾶτέω (-βητέω) and -βᾶτέω. Brugmann's derivation from √σβη ignores ἀγχιβατεῖν, which however may have been formed by analogy.

λάψεται Miletos, 100<sub>4</sub>. The converse procedure appears in the New Test. λήμψομαι, a form found on Lykian inscript. C. I. G. 4244<sub>0</sub>, 4247<sub>20</sub>, 4253<sub>15</sub>, and in the *Papyr. du Louvre*, 14, 17<sup>1</sup>. It is due to a confusion between λήψομαι and λάμψομαι. Cf. Attic ἤνευκα by contamination of the regular Attic ἤνευκα and Ionic ἤνεικα.

Forms without a nasal come to light upon Attic vases (Λά(μ)πων, Λά(μ)πος in Kretschmer's collection, *K. Z.* XXIX, p. 436), though here the comparison of λάψεται is not so pertinent as Kretschmer supposes. It is better to class Λά(μ)πων, &c., with Νύ(μ)φη (§ 336), than to regard λάψεται as derived from λά(μ)ψεται, despite the Herodoteian λάμψομαι, ἐλάμφθην, λαμπτέος. We have κατελάφθη Zeleia, 113<sub>7</sub>, and λελαβηκα, καταλελαβήκει in Hdt. (IV 79, III 42), λέλαμμαι in Hdt. and Hippokr., ἀναλελάφθαι in Hippokr. III 308, according to Littré, with ample MS. support<sup>2</sup>. I cannot follow Beehtel in branding as spurious the Herodoteian λάμψεαι I 191, λόμεψεσθαι IX 108, λαμφθείσαι VI 92, merely on the ground that λάψεται is a well attested Milesian form, and that Herodotos may have made use of the Milesian dialect as is claimed e.g. by Wilamowitz, *Zeitschr. für Gymn.-wiss.* XXXI 645. The parallelism between the Herodoteian forms and the inscriptional λάψεται from Miletos proves nothing as to the original character of the historian's dialect. The Chian ἀποδεκνύντες 174 B 14 would lead, on this reasoning, to a different conclusion as to the nature of the Herodoteian diction. If λήψομαι and λήμψομαι could be formed, why not λάμψομαι? λάμψεσθαι in fact occurs upon the great inscription from Andania, Ditt. *Syll.* 388<sub>7</sub>, though the genuine Doric was λαψοῦμαι Epicharmos 18, Theokr. I 4. Cf. also the late aorist ἐξέλαμψα Diog. Laert. I 85. λάμψομαι is now generally banished from Hdt.'s text, and παραλήψηται in Hippokrates VI 326 rests upon conjecture.

Proper names in 'Aγε- or 'Aγε-, which run parallel to those in 'Hγε-, are from ἄγω, the *asper* being borrowed from ἡγέομαι (> sāg). Cf. Lokrian ἄγειν. The Doric 'Aγησίλαος (Perinthos, 234 B 5) has the *lenis* from ἄγω.

Ionic ᾱ from η in the grammarians (e.g. Et. Gud. 106<sub>11</sub>, 121<sub>7</sub>, 10, An. Par. III 295<sub>1</sub>) is based upon a misconception of the interrelation of the first and second perfect. In μεμακνῖα, λελασμένοι &c. the ancients discovered an Ionic change of η to α (Joh. Or. 240 B, Greg. Kor. 444, Meerm. 654, Aug. 668, Vat. 699, Birnb. 678<sub>20</sub>, Et. Mag. 501<sub>5</sub>, Eust. 1714<sub>12</sub>, 13, 32 cf. 1700<sub>10</sub>, An. Ox. I 282<sub>20</sub>, An. Par. III 478<sub>24</sub>).

<sup>1</sup> λήμψη is a probable conjecture of Sterrett's, *Papers of the Am. School*, II 56, VI; cf. 58, XIX.

<sup>2</sup> Veitch, however, supports ἀναλελάμφθαι. Cf. Schmidt, *Voc.* I 118.

In the view that all epic forms are Ionic we find in Eust. 393<sub>10</sub> (cf. Schol. Ven. A on Γ 130) *νύμφα* called Ionic by a *τροπή* of *η* to *α*. *κᾶρός* also is said to be Ionic for *κηρός*, Schol. Ven. A on I 378.

### 131.] Interrelation of A and O.

In a few instances *a* and *o* seem to be interrelated sounds, though the law governing their interrelation has not been formulated in all cases (cf. § 147). So far as Ionic is concerned, we have the following form where Ionic *a* = *o* of other dialects: *ἄρρωδέω* Hdt. I 9, 111, 156, III 119, &c., *ἄρρωδίη* IV 140, &c., and attested by the Et. Mag. p. 632<sub>43</sub> (cf. Bek. An. I 446<sub>16</sub>). Lukian has the Attic *ἄρρωδέω* (Hesychios *ἄρρωδία*, *ἄρρωδέως*, &c.) and so too Hippokrates and Aretaios. Probably assimilation of *a* to *o* has here been caused by the influence of the *ω* of the following syllable (Schmidt, *K. Z.* XXV 112). Etymologists are generally silent as to the derivation of this word. *Horrere* is probably related to *φρίσσω*, and cannot be connected with *ἄρρωδέω* as *L. S.* think. The Ionic form deserves special note, since it is only very rarely that Ionic differs from Attic in its use of *a* and *o*.

The question as to the interrelation of *a* and *o* assumes a different form in the case of proper names. In the MSS. of Hdt. there is a constant fluctuation between the readings *Ἀραξέρξης* and *Ἀροξέρξης*, the latter obtaining in Ktesias and Plutarch, though Plutarch, in the *de malign. Herod.*, ascribes the form in *a* to the historian. Cf. also Steph. Byz. s.v. *Ἀραῖα*. *Ἀραξέρξης* occurs upon the inscription from Mylasa, 248, ABC, and would seem to be a closer reproduction of Arta-khshathra than *Ἀροξέρξης*, which Stein adopts, VI 98<sup>1</sup>, VII 106, 151, 152, though the form in *a* is not unsupported. In other names Stein does not hesitate to read *Ἀρο-*, e.g. *Ἀροβαζάνης* VII 2, *Ἀροζώσπη* VI 43, though in the case of the former name Thom. Mag. 299<sub>10</sub>, testifies to the form in *Ἀρα-*. Nor is Stein consistent, since we find *Ἀράβαρος* IV 83, VII 10, 11, 17, 47; *Ἀράβαζος* VII 66, &c.; *Ἀραβάτης* VII 65; *Ἀραφρένης* V 25, and other names in *Ἀρα-*. He adopts *Ἀστροβάκου* VI 69, where *R* has *Ἀσπρα-*.

In any event no Ionic change of *a* to *o* may be deduced from the uncertainty attendant upon the MS. fluctuations. The Persian names in *Ἀρτυ-* (*Ἀρτύβιος*, *Ἀρτύπιος*, *Ἀρτυστώνη*) are not to be held to be instances of the final effort of a phonetic movement which began with *Ἀρα-* and reached *Ἀρτυ-* through *Ἀρο-*, as has been held to be the case with *κατά*, *κατό*, and *κατύ* (§ 132). The forms in *Ἀρο-* are due, not to an interchange of *a* and *o* (§ 147), but to the fondness for *o-* stems in composition.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. his note on this passage in his annotated edition, Fick, *Spracheinheit*, p. 406, and Schmidt, *Urheimath d. Indogermanen*, p. 5.



## 132.] A in relation to Υ.

ἐκαλινδέετο Hdt. III 52, compared with κυλινδεται Sim. Amorg. VII 4, κατακυλισθῆ Hdt. V 16, must not be regarded as an instance of the interchange of *a* and *υ*<sup>1</sup>, and much less as a proof of the greater age of καλινδέω (Curtius, *Etyim.*<sup>5</sup>, p. 715). With κυψέλη, κάμψα, capsula, and κύλιξ, calix, are to be classed καλινδέω, κυλινδέω, Germ. *quellen*. Both καλ- and κυλ- are weak forms of √κελ = *gel*.

The non-Ionic (Arkadian) form κατύ does not invalidate the above explanation, since it is derived from \*κατό (κατόπερ Halikarn. 238<sub>43</sub> is from ὅπερ), which in turn is an analogue of ὑπό; \*κατό becomes κατύ, as ὑπό becomes ὑτύ (Kyme, 3 A). This is better than to assume, on the strength of Lettic-Lith. *sa* and Lith. *su*, Lith. *ga*, *gu*, that the forms in *a* and *υ* are proethnic.

## 133.] A and ΑΙ.

ἔταρος, ἐτάρη, &c., the variant forms of ἔταιρ- < ἔταρι-, occur in the epos only. Archil., Sim. Am., Theog., Hdt. have ἔταιρ-.

## E.

On the *ε* of ἐκεῖ, ἐκεῖνος, ἐχθές see § 564, on that of ἐορτή § 287. 1, note, on ἐθέλω § 588; on hyper-Ionic *ε* in pronouns, §§ 562, 563.

## 134.] Ionic EP for AP of other dialects.

The Ionic dialect in a few cases has made use of the strong forms in *ερ*, though not to the same extent as Aiolic.

ἔρσην: ἔρσερος Hdt. I 109, ἔρσερες I 193, ἔρσένων I 192, ἔρσενας I 193. The MSS., notably *R*, have the Attic form, which must have been Ionic also, since it comes to light upon the very old Thasian inscription (Bechtel, no. 68, ἄρσεν). Herakl. 43 ἄρρειος (Attic). Homer has ἄρσην Θ 7, which is doubtless Ionic, since ἔρσην is Aiolic (C. D. I. 293<sub>6</sub>). That both the strong and the weak form should co-exist in one and the same dialect need not surprise us. Thessalian and Boiotian (perhaps even Ionic, see on θάρσος, above § 128) have both θερσ- and θαρσ-, two forms living together. The only other dialects which have ἔρσην are, I believe, Kretan (Gortyna Tables, X 52 ἔρσερες, X 49 ἔρσένων) and Epidaurian (Baunack's *Studien* 80<sub>12</sub>). In the other dialects ἄρσην: Attic ἄρρ[ε]ρος C. I. A. II 678, B 55-378 B.C., Eleian φάρρενος = ἄρρενος C. D. I. 1152, Lakon. ἄρσης C. I. G.

<sup>1</sup> The change of *υ* to *α* in κυλινδοῦμαι, καλινδοῦμαι was held to be Aiolic by Et. Mag 486.



1464, (first cent. B.C.). See Fick, *G. G. A.* 1883, p. 117; Schmidt, *K. Z.* XXV 23. Hippokrates, Lukian (*Astr.* 11 ἄρρενα, ἄρρενες), and Arrian 8<sub>6</sub> (ἄρσενας) have the *a* form.

τέσσερες: τέσσερες, τεσσερεσκαίδεκα, τεσσερεκαιδεκάτη, τεσσεράκοντα, τεσσερακοντόργυιος, are found in Hdt. with occasional lapses in favour of the Attic forms, as Herodas, 7<sub>102</sub>. Lukian, *V. A.* 4 has τέσσερα, Arrian § 9<sub>8</sub>, 22<sub>9</sub> τεσσαράκοντα, 13<sub>2</sub>, 21<sub>13</sub> τέσσαρες. Upon inscriptions we meet with τέσσερες 148<sub>91</sub>, a comparatively late document from Ephesos, τεσσέρων 104, B 66, Thasos, middle of the fourth century, with τεσσάρων on the same inscription, lines 62 and 63; τεσσάρων occurs also in no. 114, F (Zeleia), which dates shortly after the battle of Granikos; τέσσερα Teos, 157<sub>18</sub> (the stone has TEZEPA); τέσ(σ)αρες 159<sub>9</sub>, Teos, with but one Σ upon the stone. τεσσεράκοντα 104<sub>52</sub>, Thasos, 111<sub>11</sub>, Kyzikos;<sup>1</sup> τεσσ[ερα]κ[ό]ντων 174, C 16, Chios, and τεσσ[ερα]καίεβδο[μ]η[ρον]τούτης 58, Paros. Only Arkadian and Ionic have ερ: Arkad. τεσσεράκοντα Foucart, 352 n. (late). Cf. Schmidt, *K. Z.* XXV 44.

Ἀραφρένης is adopted as the genuine reading by Stein in every instance, though the MSS. of Hdt. constantly vary between the form in -φρένης and that in -φέρνης (*V* 25, 30, 31, 32, 35, 73, &c.). Aischylos, *Persai*, 21, 776, has Ἀραφρένης. In like manner Stein reads Ἰνταφρένης III 70, 78, 118, 119. Upon an Attic inscription, C. I. A. I 64, B 14 (410–405 B.C.), we find Τισ]σαφρένην, which ensures the correctness of the form in -φρένης (cf. Old Persian -*franā*), and stamps that in -φέρνης, so popular in later Greek, as a folk-etymology in the direction of φέρω; e.g. Ὀροφέρνης Priene, *Anc. Gr. Inscr.* 3, no. 424, 6<sub>4</sub>. G. Meyer, *Gr. Gr.* § 175, note 1. The above quoted Attic inscription is important evidence that the form used in the treaty, Thukydides, VIII 27, is incorrect. See Kirchhoff in *Sitzungsberichte d. Berliner Akad.*, 1884, p. 399.

On θερσ-, see above § 128, under θάρσος. On κρέσσων, cf. below § 142.

χλιερός is said to be Ionic for χλιαρός in *Liddell and Scott*, but in Hdt. and Hippokr. we find only the latter form. χλιερός in fact occurs in Kratinos 143 K, in *Athen. A.* The ε form does not occur in Nikander, *Al.* 360, as *L. S.* state.

The grammarians held to an Ionic change of *a* to *ε* in διερός (*Et. Gud.* 144<sub>34</sub>, *Orion* 48<sub>1</sub>). So the κοινή form μιερός (*Phryn.* 363 R) was once regarded as Ionic. So too ψίεθος.

ιαρός does not occur in Ionic. On ιερός and ιρός see § 300.

ἕτερος = ἄτερος in Doric, Boiotian, Attic (in θάτερον, ἄτερος),

<sup>1</sup> τέσσερα held its ground till late. Upon an Egyptian papyrus (189 A. D.) we find it still preserved. Cf. *Trans. Berlin Acad.* 1883, pp. 916, 919.

though Attic has generally ἕτερος<sup>1</sup>. In Aiolic we have conflicting testimony; ἕτερος Sappho, 106, and C. D. I 279<sub>n</sub>, but Herodian, I 507<sub>c</sub>, opines that ἀτέρυι is Aiolic. ἕτερος is, morphologically considered, the later form, its initial ε being due to the influence of the ε of the following syllable. ἔρσην and τέσσερες might be explained after the same fashion. See Schmidt, K. Z. XXV 92 note. Cf. ὀβολός ὀβελός, and ἡμῖσιν ἡμῖσυν (but ἡμῖσεος) upon Attic inscriptions after 378, and in the modern language of Amorgos (and Kalymna) ὄτοιμος, and ὄξω in modern Kretan. Cf. also ἀττέλεβος Hdt. IV 172, for ἀττέλαβος. Herodas, 7<sub>51</sub> has ἕτερον χᾶτερον.

Roberts, I no. 167, contains τήτέρη TETEPEI) (Cf Roberts, I pp 196, 200, 374, Cauer, 557. The inscription cannot be Eleian, as Wilamowitz thinks, since that dialect loves α in preference to η. Does not the absence of the *asper* indicate an Asiatic-Ionic origin? We find τήτέρη in Phoinix in Athen 495 E. Cf. η + ε, § 264.

### 135.] Interrelation of EA and AΛ.

Forms in -ελος in the κοινή were once held to be Ionic, perhaps because of Hom. πύελος μυελός, later πύαλος μυαλός. Thus ἔελος was thought by Bredow to have been adopted from Ionic by Theophrastos, whereas in Hdt. III 24, Stein's ἔελου is not above doubt. The pseudo-Phrynichos (R. p. 363) enjoins ἔαλος as Attic. There is no reason why φιέλη, for Attic φιάλη, should belong to Ionic. In Hippokr. σίελος often occurs as a variant for σίαλος (VI 160, 196, 214, 370 in θ). In many of these forms Attic too had ε: πύελος, μυελός, σίελος (Phryn. 364).

### 136.] Other examples of Ionic E = A of other dialects.

ὄτε, πότε, ἄλλοτε, Ionic-Attic = Dor. ὄκα, πόκα, ἄλλοκα, = Aiolic ὄτα, πότα, ἄλλοτα. Both the Ionic and Doric forms are equally original, an I.E. palatal sound becoming *tan* before ε, *karra* before α. The Aiolic forms are contaminations.

On εἵκεν, εἵτεν, εἵπειν, see under Adverbs. -θεν, -θε, not -θα, are the Ionic forms. γέ Ionic-Attic = Doric γά, Epeiroi. γέν.

γέμμα was the Ionic form used especially by Demokritos<sup>3</sup> according to the unsupported testimony of Eustathios, 370<sub>15</sub>.

<sup>1</sup> Aristotle's 'Αθ παλ. has even οὐτέρῳ = οἱ ἑτ-. Attic inscriptions have always ἕτερος. Attic θᾶτερον sn, and not θάτερον, except when the article precedes as in Menander 846 Kochl. θάτερα θατέρων Hippokr IX 30. It is impossible that τὸ ἕτερον should become θάτερον, as is commonly stated.

<sup>2</sup> γε may be the Old Slav. ze, Old Lith. y, γά Skt. ha must be dissociated from Skt. ha which is almost always orthotone. ha is = Gr. -χε in οὐχί, Skt. naha. V. Henry, Mem Soc Ling VI 378 ff. The Epeirotic γέν can scarcely be regarded as a survival of an original γέν. Baunack, K. Z. XXV 243 thinks that the ν is the movable letter. Is it perhaps γε + ν, ε? Cf. Thessal. ν.

<sup>3</sup> Demokritos' position in respect of the names of the letters was peculiar. In Bekk Anecd. II 781<sub>2</sub> the gen. θέλτατος and θέτατος are cited from him, and in Eust. 370<sub>15</sub> he is said to have called μῦ, μῶ.

For other variations between  $\epsilon$  and  $\alpha$ ,  $\alpha$  and  $\epsilon$ , occurring in various dialects, and of which no satisfactory explanation has as yet been reached, compare G. Meyer, *Gramm.* § 24.

In the inflection of neuters with stems in  $-\alpha\sigma-$  we encounter in Ionic, in Attic tragedy and comedy (rarely), an  $\epsilon$  in place of the thematic  $\alpha$ . Thus in Homer οὔδεϊ, κῶεσι; in Hdt. γέρεα (κρέεσσιν oracl. I 47), κέρεος, κέρεϊ, κέρεα, κέρεων, perhaps τέρεος, τέρεα, cf. Τειρεσίας; γήρους Hippokr. VII 182 (Hdt. γήραος); in inscriptions γέρεα Miletos 100, cf. § 544. Whether the peculiar nature of this change requires that it be regarded as a survival of a pre-Hellenic stage, or whether it ensued upon Greek soil, is not yet clear. Schmidt, *Neutra* p. 335, holding that  $\alpha\omicron$  became  $\epsilon\omicron$  in primitive Greek save where analogy revived the old form, suggests that the original inflection in Greek was  $-\alpha\varsigma$ ,  $-\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $-\alpha\tilde{\iota}$ ,  $-\alpha\alpha$ ,  $-\epsilon\omega\nu$ ,  $-\alpha\sigma\sigma\iota$ , and that in course of time by a levelling process there arose  $-\alpha\varsigma$ ,  $-\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $-\epsilon\tilde{\iota}$ , &c., and  $-\alpha\varsigma$ ,  $-\alpha\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $-\alpha\tilde{\iota}$ , &c. The literary monuments of Aiolic and Doric<sup>1</sup> are unacquainted with this interrelation of  $\alpha$  and  $\epsilon$  in substantives.

$\epsilon$  apparently takes the place of  $\alpha$  in certain verbs in  $-\epsilon\omega$  (δρέω, τολμέω, οἰδέω, ἐχρέοντο<sup>2</sup>, &c.) and before  $\omicron$ ,  $\omega$ ,  $\omicron\nu$  in inflection. An explanation of the interrelation of the forms is attempted in § 688. On τράπω in Hdt. see § 128.

Before the termination  $-(\sigma)\alpha\iota$ ,  $\alpha$  becomes  $\epsilon$  in Ionic by dissimilation; e.g. ἐπίσται, δύναι. In Attic Ποτειδεᾶται we have a somewhat similar case of dissimilation.

New Ionic ῥέφανος, ῥεφανίς for ῥαφ-, Ammon. 122 (Valck., cf. also 203 on the difference in signification). Hippokr. VIII 250 ῥεφάρου in  $\zeta$  and  $\theta$ ; 308 ῥεφανίδος  $\zeta$  &c., but  $\theta$  &c. have ῥαφ-; VI 558 all MSS. ῥαφ-. Thomas Mag. (323 R) says that ῥέφανος was Ionic for ῥαφανίς. Aretaios 301 has ῥαφ-.

πιέζω Ionic, Attic and Aiolic = Doric πιάζω (Hdn. II 949<sub>21</sub>, An. Ox. I 291<sub>5</sub>, I 367<sub>8</sub>).

### 137.] Ionic E = O of other dialects.

A singular substitution of  $\epsilon$  for  $\omicron$  is found in Διενύσω(ι), Bechtel No. 31, from Amorgos, an inscription of the fifth century; whereas the other Ionic inscriptions have either Διορύσιος or Δεορύς. See below § 138. G. Meyer, *Gramm.* § 26, is inclined to regard this  $\epsilon$  as parallel to that of Ἰππεδάμου (Rhodes) or of ἀνδρεφόνος, called Doric by Herodian,—forms of common speech with an  $\epsilon$  comparable to the toneless  $\epsilon$  of Modern Greek. Bechtel's suggestion is preferable: Διένυσος: Διόνυσος = αἰέλουρος<sup>3</sup>: αἰόλος, or as Lak. ὠμέσθαι (*R. M.* XL 8):

<sup>1</sup> The  $\omicron$  forms δέρος, κῶος (see Schmidt, p. 341) were regarded as either Ionic or Doric, Et. M. 257<sub>9</sub>, An. Par. IV 167<sub>20</sub>, Anecd. Bachm. I 191<sub>17</sub>.

<sup>2</sup> Greg. Kor. 15.

<sup>3</sup> αἰέλουρος for αἰλουρος in Hdt. and comic poets. Cf. Et. M. 31<sub>17</sub>.

ῥμόσαι, or as Herakl. ἐρρηγείας, &c. : nom. in -ως. Cf. *G. G. A.* 1881, p. 1447, Baunack's *Stud.* I 71, and *K. Z.* XXVI 354. Solmsen, *K. Z.* XXIX 89, has no other means of disposing of Διενύσωι than assuming that it is an error of the stone-cutter.

Of the various names taking their rise from the two chief ablaut forms of Apollo ('Απόλλων, 'Απέλλων), there are a few examples upon Ionic soil of the latter, so common among Doric peoples. 'Απελλίωνος 153<sub>5</sub>, Smyrna (names in 'Απολλ-, lines 3, 15, 24, 37, 40, 41), 'Απ]ελλῆς 177 Chios, and in Erythraian inscriptions: 'Απελλίου 206 A 4 (cf. 'Απόλλωνος 206 A 20), 'Απελλίου 206 B 17 (in the same line, 'Απολλώ[ιος]), 'Απελλικῶν *Bull. de Corr. Hel.* III 388. Also in Naukratis (Gardner's *Naukr.* I, pl. XXXII 104), 'Απολ- names are very frequent. In no case does the god bear the name 'Απέλλων among Ionic peoples, though it is a form of as great antiquity as that in vogue in Attic-Ionic. It may be noticed that the form 'Απελ- occurs in Ionic only when the following sound is not ο or ω. See my paper *Trans. Am. Philol. Assoc.* XVIII 97, and especially Prellwitz, *B. B.* IX 327 ff. Baunack in the *Studia Nicolaitana*, p. 54, in his *Studien*, p. 155, Meister *G. D.* II 90, and Jordan, *Krit. Beitr. zur lat. Forment.* 7-23, may also be consulted.

ὀβελός the Homeric, and hence according to Orion 118<sub>13</sub>, the Ionic, form. This form occurs on an Attic inscription, C. I. A. IV 3 C, 5, and διωβελία, ὀβελίσκος, &c., are common in Attic. ὀβελός is also Boiotian; ὀδελός Delphic, Tarantine and Megarian. See Meister II 205. Hippokrates VIII 220, 224, 228 ἡμιωβέλιον and ὀβολός in θ.

Ἰν ἐξαπέδου Hdt. (II 149) has preserved the older form of the termination; cf. Ψ 164 ἐκατόμπεδον (*I en. A*), where the *vulgata* has -ποδον. In Attic (Thuk. and Xen.) the stem ποδ- has supplanted its rival πεδ-.

Τερώναν Terone 7 (before 420), cf. Τορωναῖοι on Attic tribute-lists in the first volume of C. I. A., and Τορωναῖος on an Attic mortuary stelè, *Mith.* X 367 ff. Τορων- is due to assimilation, cf. § 134, end.

The MSS. of Hdt. have ε for ο in -κόντερος, &c. Examples: πεντηκοντέρων, τριηκοντέροισι. In III 41, 124, VI 138, the MSS. vary; but in each case Stein has adopted the -κοντερος form. The Ionic form contains the simple form of the root ἐρ- (ἐρέσσω, ἐρέτης), whereas the Attic πεντηκόντερος, τριακόντερος have the ablaut ὄρ-. Both forms, τριακόντερος and τριακόντερος, occur in Attic inscr., and in the fourth century only; but the former is the more frequent. The ablaut form in ορ is the one to be expected from the composition of the word, but the ε form often makes its way into the second part of a compound. Cf. § 295 on δημοεργός.

## 138.] E in Ionic = I of other dialects.

Names derived from, or connected with, Διόνυσος exhibit a greater elasticity of vowel relations in Ionic than elsewhere.

We have above, § 137, met with the *sui generis* Διένυσος; besides this form we have Δεονῦς, in No. 196, Maroneia, and Δεονῦδος in 198, Erythrai. The ε vowel we have also in Δεουνῦς upon a coin of Imhoof-Blumer's collection (below § 246), in Δεύνυσος Anakreon, 2<sub>11</sub>, 11, (but Διόνυσος 54, 55, 131), and in the abbreviated ΔEO on coin legends of Abdera, Bechtel, 163<sub>1</sub>. Is the ε here due to a confusion with that of θεο-, with which διο- is often interchangeable in proper names? See THESSALIAN, § 28.

In sharp opposition to this ε are the forms with ι, which are very common. Examples are: Διόνυσος Iasos, 104<sub>16</sub>, Eryth. 206 B 24, and often elsewhere; Διονύσιος Smyrna 153<sub>3</sub>, 8, Thasos (L) 15 C 4, Thasos (L) 19 B<sub>4</sub>, 20 B 11, Kyzik. 111<sub>5</sub>, Olbia 131<sub>14</sub>, 261 (of uncertain locality), Halik. 241; Διονυσᾶδος Abdera, 163, 15, *Coins of Brit. Mus.*, Thrace 66, nos. 62, 68, 85, and in almost every other Ionic quarter. Ionic also is Διώνυσος. On the probable connection with Ζεύς by folk-etymology, see Baunack (*Gortyn*, p. 67, note 1), and Solmsen, *K. Z.* XXIX 89. Cf. also *Frogs* 215, *Apoll. Argon.* II 905, IV 1132.

## 139.] E for H.

μέν<sup>1</sup> for μήν in the formulae ἦ μὲν Hdt. I 196; μὴ μὲν I 68, III 66, V 106; γε μὲν VI 129, VII 152, 234; ἀλλὰ-μὲν II 20, 32, IV 77, VII 103; καὶ-μὲν IV 45, VI 98. Cf. Greg. Kor. 62. Hdt. here adopts a usage common to Homer, and not unknown in Attic. Cobet, *Misc. Crit.* 365, is an advocate of the view, with which Kirchhoff agrees, that Homer has only ἦ μὲν, μὴ μὲν, not ἦ μήν, μὴ μήν. Bekker would recognize only μάν, and μέν when called for by the metre. Cf. Monro, *Hom. Gram.* § 342 ff. With μέν are connected the Thessalian, Homeric and Attic μά, as κέν is connected with κά. Homeric μάν and μήν are probably not directly related.

ἄπλετος is said by Bredow, p. 143, to be used by Hdt. for ἄπλητος = ἄπλᾱτος (πελάω). This ἄπλητος occurs first in Hesiod, then in the Hymn to Demeter, and also in Sim. Am. 7<sub>34</sub>. ἄπλετος is, however, to be classed with πλη, πλε (πίμπλημι), and not with any derivative of πελάω. Both ἄπλητος and ἄπλᾱτος are restricted to poetry, while ἄπλετος occurs in poetry and prose. Cf. Siegmund in Curtius *Stud.* V 201. ἄπλᾱτον, *Trach.* 1093 (dialogue) cannot well be Attic.

έσσοῦμαι in Hdt., cf. Attic ἥττάομαι, out of which ἥττα was formed, Wackernagel, *K. Z.* XXX 299. Hdt. has έσσοῦντο I 67; -μέιους I 82; έσωθείς I 207; έσσοῦσθαι III 22, &c. chiefly in

<sup>1</sup> Ἰακῶς Hdn. II 144<sub>10</sub> on Il. V 478.



d. Brugmann conjectures unnecessarily (*Berichte d. sächs. Gesell. d. Wiss.* 1883, p. 193, cf. Osthoff *Perfect.* 449) that ἔσσομαι is from ἔσσω, whose ε represents a mechanical change of η (cf. ἦκα, Attic ἦττων) to ε, in order to bring the comparative into line with κρέσσω, Ionic for κρείσσω. But cf. *šēus* and *šēius* for a like ablaut variation. Stein edits ἦσσω (cf. ἦσπον I 98; ἦσπονες V 86, VIII 113; ἦσσόνων VII 18; ἦσσοσι VIII 83) and is here supported in part by the unanimous voice of the MSS. Elsewhere the MSS. are in a terrible state of confusion. The other prosaists have η, e.g. Demokr., 15, Hippokr. III 190. The superlative has always η. Kruger holds to ἔσσω, *Formenlehre*, § 23, 4, 3.

ε is shortened from η in νέες, νέας (cf. Greg. Kor. 19).

Θαργελέο[ς] for Θαργη- Chios, 174 C 18?

μεδέων Archil. 138, ablaut form of μηδέων; cf. μέζα Hsd. W. D. 512, called Ionic by Greg. Kor. p. 535.

Some of the grammarians of antiquity, chiefly Tzetzes, assumed an Ionic *συστολή* in such words as ξερών in Homer = Messenian and Herakleian ξηρόν (Tzetz. Ex. II. 61<sub>10</sub>, 90<sub>14</sub>), γεραίός (ibid. 90<sub>14</sub>), where we have in reality ablaut forms.

Ἰλαος appears to be the Herodoteian form, IV 94, VI 91. The interrelation of this form, which is also Kretan, with Ἰληφός and Ἰλλαός is a much-vexed question. Ἰλαος represents the mutation Ἰλη-, Ἰλε-, the forms with α an old ablaut form Ἰλᾱ-. Archilochos, 75<sub>2</sub>, has Ἰλαός (-υ-) according to Bergk, for which Fick proposed without justification to read Ἰλεως. Cf. Ἰλᾱός in Theognis 782. Ἰλᾱός is Ionic as well as Attic (which has also Ἰλᾱός). See Pischel, *B. B.* VII 332 and Solmsen, *K. Z.* XXIX 351. The Hesychian εἰλῆς εἰ· Ἰλεως εἰ, has been read εἰλῆς εἰ, and explained as an Asiatic-Ionic perfect.

Whether the form of the adjective is Ἰλαός or Ἰλεός in Ionic, is still a matter of contention, since the ground-form of the word has not been cleared up by the Lakonian *ΒΙΑΦΟ* (Roehl 75 = Rob I No. 261). It is even a matter of dispute what is the genuine Homeric form. Nauck has called for Ἰληός and Ἰλεός in place of Ἰλαός and Ἰλᾱός. Stein's claim that Ἰλαός is the Herodoteian form is supported by the arguments of Wackernagel, *K. Z.* XXVII, p. 204.

140 | Ionic E = Ā of non-Ionic dialects (Aeolic, Doric, &c.).

(1) In this category falls first Ionic -εων = -āων < -āfων or -āiων.

ὀπάων Hom. = ὀπέων Hdt. IX 50.

Ποσειδάfων Korinth., Ποσειδάων Hom. (Aiol.) = Ποσειδέων in Hdt.<sup>1</sup>, Ποσειδῶν Arch. ep. 114, for which we may read Ποσειδέων.

Ποσειδᾶων in the Ionic elegy is due to the pressure exercised upon the elegy by the epic. Cf. Theog. 692. In Archil. 10 Ποσειδᾶωνος ἄνακτος, as given

<sup>1</sup> Ionic Ποσειδων Hdn. I 38<sub>16</sub>, II 917<sub>11</sub>, cf. An. Ox. III 241<sub>10</sub>.

by Bergk, is not supported by MS. evidence, though corresponding to Ποσειδάωνα ἄνακτα Iliad XV 8. The objection that if Archil. may adopt -οιο from Homer, he has an equal right to -ᾶωνος is not cogent, since -οιο is an ancient Ionic termination and not obsolete in old Ionic poetry, while -ᾶων cannot be shown to be the property of any historical period of the Ionic dialect. Fick's substitution, Ποσειδήωνος, is based upon Ποσιδηίων Anakr. 6, Ποσειδέων Archil. 114, πηός 4, παιήονα 76 tetr. (on the peculiar position of παιήων in Homer, see Fick, *Odyssee*, p. 17), and ἀλλήων, Naxos, 23, where ηων seems to be an intermediate stage between -ᾶων and -ῶν.

Ἀμυθάων Hom.=Ἀμυθέων Hdt. Ἀλκμάων, Ἀλκμαίων Hom.=Hdt. and Attic Ἀλκμέων=Doric Ἀλκμάν from Ἀλκμάφων. (Cf. Fritsch, *V. H. D.* 39, Johansson, *B. B.* XV 183, below § 141, Merzdorf, Curtius' *Stud.* IX 238.) With Φιλέων in Φιλεωνίδ[ε]ος Thasos, 73, cf. Φιλάων in Hdt. VIII 11, which is, however, the name of a Kyprian. Μαχέων Thas. (Louvre) 10<sub>11</sub>=Hom. Μαχάων, a form retained by Hrd. 49.

(2) Ionic genitives in -εω=ᾶ(σι)ο, Ἀτρείδεω, &c., see § 425 ff. When *metathesis quantitatis* is involved, as in the genitive, an ε is always the result.

(3) Genitive pl. in -εων=-ᾶων (Boiot., Thessal. (-αουν), Hom.). Homer's gen. in -εων (H 1, φ 191) and -εων, -ῶν are Ionic. Menrad, *De Contract. et Syniz.* p. 41, calls for the restoration of -εων and -εω wherever possible in the text of Homer, despite the fact that -εων is always diphthongal in the Ionic lyric.

(4) λεώς=λαός (cf. § 160), and in proper names: Hdt., Ἀρκεσίλεως, Χαρίλεως, Μενέλεως (Μενέλαος Hdt. IV 169, of a λιμήν), and Ἀναξίλεως, as in Miletos 93, not long after 600 B. C. So in λεωφόρον Anakreon, 157, Chios, 175 (cf. λαοφόρος, of a road, Il. XV 682), Λεωκράτης, Λεωμέδων (Hrd. 47), and many other forms on inscriptions. The MSS. of Hdt. are not consistent (cf. II 124, V 42). Even in the case of Doric names he occasionally uses the Ionic forms; e.g. Λεωπρέπης VI 85, but Λαοδάμας, Λαοδίκη, &c. (§ 158). The latter form is a contamination of Doric Λαοδικᾶ and Ionic Λεωδίκη. Examples of η thus conjoined with Doric ā are rare. Variation in proper names must be expected even upon inscriptions: thus we have, Chios, 177, Λεωσέβεο[s] l. 3, but -τόλαος l. 14. Hekat. had λεώς according to An. Ox. I 265<sub>10</sub>, cf. Zeleia 114 C 6.

With these compounds of λεώς, and Ἀμφιάρεως<sup>1</sup> in Hdt., cf.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Greg. Korinth., p. 42. Ἀμφιαρόου Oropos, 181, a non-Ionic form. Ἀμφιάρεος o 244 Zen., -ἄρ- Aristar., and Ἀμφιάρεως upon vases led Kretschmer (*K. Z.* XXIX 415) to call Ἀμφιάρεος New Ionic. The same scholar, in common with Wackernagel *K. Z.* XXVII 265, regards Ἀμφιάρεος, which is frequent upon Attic vases, as due to a folk-etymology which saw ἀράματα in the verbal part. Pan-Hellenic ηε generally, but not necessarily, becomes εε in later Ionic (§ 287, 288). Ἀμφιάρεος in v. l. Hdt. VIII 134.

the Homeric Ἀγέλεως, Βριάρεως, &c. On the declension of λεώς, see § 477.

(5) Furthermore, in Ionic ἔως, τέως<sup>1</sup> (ἔῶς-ς, τῶς-ς), μετέωρος, γεωπέδιον, &c., § 289, cf. δίμνεως (from διμνῆϊος?, see § 141) = Attic δίμνω, and in verbal forms, χρέωμαι, ἐξαναστέωμεν, ἐπιβεωμεν, μέμνεο Hdt. V 105, τεθνεός I 112, &c.

On θηέομαι — Attic θεᾷόμαι, see § 685.

In almost every instance when primitive *ā* preceded a spirant and a vowel, Ionic attests the presence of *ε* in place of *ā*. The instances where this is not the case deserve to be brought out into clear light. Ληός, in Hipponax, has already been referred to. In Hdt. we do not find νεώς, as might be expected from the analogy of λεώς < Ληός, but νηός, the epic form = Aiolic ναῦος<sup>2</sup>. Herodotos' preservation of νηός is artificial and not in consonance with the genius of the Ionic dialect, which would call for ρεώς; a form which in fact appears in composition: νεωποιήσατες Samos 222. νεω- is the Hellenistic form, and as such is also not foreign to Aiolic monuments; but it may be safely claimed as genuine Ionic, even though the Samian inscription is not old.

#### 141.] Ionic E = A of other dialects.

Ionic γέν, γῆ and epic γαῖα may be regarded as forms phonetically interdependent, though the parallelism of Ἀθηναῖα, adduced by Bechtel (*Ionische Inschr.* No. 62), is faulty, since there is no \*Ἀθηρέη. We have here to do with strong and weak case forms, as is shown on γῆ, under *Declension*.

A further example adduced as cogent is ἀγεόμενοι Hdt. VIII 69, though in Homer, v 16, Hesiod, *W. D.* 333, and Archilochos, 25, the original *αι* cannot be impeached; nor does an \*ἀγέομαι for ἀγαίομαι win our sympathies when ἀγάσσεσθαι, &c., are compared. Fritsch (*F. H. D.* p. 39) is inclined to the view that ἀγεόμενοι can have originated only in a period when *αι* was written *ε* (150 A. D. according to Meisterhans, p. 27). Cf. παρακέεται II 130 (*C. P. d.*) for παρακαίεται. If recourse to this means of accounting for the form ἀγε- be deemed too bold, we may be compelled to dissociate ἀγέομαι from ἀγαίομαι, and to class the former with such verbs as ἀρέομαι. Cf. Hesychios, ἀγῆ παρ' Ἡροδότῳ βασκαρία. We must withdraw beyond the realm of probability any suggestion that ἀγαίομαι was the ground form which, through *ι* passing into the glide and by an Ionic weakening of *α* to *ε*, became ἀγέομαι. Curtius, *Verbum*, I 176, does not mention ἀγέομαι.

<sup>1</sup> Bredow, p. 50. τέως was adopted by Attic prose and poetry.

<sup>2</sup> νηός is derived from a stem νᾱf-, ναῦος from a stem νᾱf-, both stems combining to form the declension. Cf. the intermixture of strong and weak stems in the case of ναῦρ, νηῦς. 'ship.' The stem νᾱf- arose from the locative \*νᾱfεῖ.

'Αλκμέων Hdt., Samos in Imh.-Bl. *G. M.* 401, δέμνεως, Hdt., are not to be derived directly from the αι of 'Αλκμαίων or of μναιαῖος (Wackernagel, *K. Z.* XXVII 267), but from the ā of 'Αλκμάων or of \*μνᾱῖα (Kretschmer, *K. Z.* XXIX 416; Johansson, *B. B.* XV 183 and § 421). 'Αλκμαίων contains a suffix different from that in 'Αλκμάων. In Alkm. 71 the α is probably short.

On κύπερος=κύπαιρος, see § 142.

#### 142.] Ionic E=EI of other dialects.

On antevocalic ε from ει, see § 219.

μέζων in Herakl. and Hdt. < μεγίων, a more original form than μείζων<sup>1</sup>. μείζων is the poetical form (Theog. 338, 517, with no case of μέζων), though μέζων appears upon a metrical inscription from Attika, *B. C. H.* VIII 470<sup>2</sup>. In Anaxag. 6, 16, Simplicius has μείζων, which Mullach has changed to μέζων. So too in all cases where μείζων appears in Ionic writers quoted by Stobaios, e.g. Demokr. 15. The form with ει has not been cleared up despite the efforts of Brugmann (*Ber. d. sächs. Gesell. d. Wiss.* 1883, p. 193, *Grundriss*, I § 639) and of Osthoff (*Jenaer Literaturzeit.* 1878, Art. 476, *Zur Gesch. des Perf.* 449) to refer it to the analogy of χείρων, ἀμείνων. Brugmann adopts the same explanation for κρείσσων=κρέσσων. Cf. also *K. Z.* XXIX 140. The analogy of πλείων, μείων is more obvious, and is less open to objection. μέζων has been imitated by Lukian, *Syr.* 12, 19, 22 (despite μείζων 10 in all MSS., as in *V. A.* 6) and in the *Astr.* 5, 6. In Arrian μεζ- is well attested, but it is absent from the text of Euseb. Mynd. Eusebios 3 has μέζον. Hippokrates and Aretaios adopt the Ionic form in a large majority of instances. Herodas has μέζων 12 times, μείζων once (336).

κρέσσων<sup>3</sup>, formed from the strong base κρετ-, which does not elsewhere appear in Ionic, though well attested in the case of Arkado-Kyprian, and perhaps not foreign to Aiolic. κρέσσων occurs in Hdt., Demokr. *Mor.* 94, 191, 193, 218, Hipponax 79, Anan. 3<sub>3</sub>, Phokyl. 5<sub>2</sub>, though in these poets the reading κρέσσων is disputed by some MSS. Theognis, 218, 618, 631 (*Ο κρείσσων*), 996, has κρέσσων; which is sufficient authority to justify Renner's displacement of κρείσσων, 1074, 1173. The Herakleiteian form is doubtful (47, 109). I hold fast to my assertion (*Diphthong EI*, p. 58) despite the objections urged against it, *A. J. P.* VIII 98, that it is impossible for γοῶ with ται to have become σσ, and at the same time to have changed ε to ει in the preceding syllable. Hippokrates and Aretaios have κρέσσων, a form which recurs in

<sup>1</sup> Greg. Kor. 54; in An. Ox. II 392, μέζων is called Aiolic.

<sup>2</sup> μέζων appears upon a Tegeatic inscription, *B. C. H.* XIII 281. It is also found in Epicharmos 32, Pindar and Theokritos.

<sup>3</sup> Greg. Kor. 54. κρέσσων occurs also in Pindar and Theokritos.



Euseb. Mynd. 10, 62, though the MSS. of the Neo-Platonist have *μείζων*. In the letters of Hippokrates the Ionic form has been carefully imitated (17<sup>22</sup>, 51, 27<sup>14</sup>). In Protagoras we read *κρείσσω*. *κρεσσον* occurs upon an Attic epigram of the fifth century A. D. in Kaibel 170, and upon one from Thebes of the third century B. C. (K. 498).

*εἰς*, *ἐς* < *ἐνς*, see under *Prepositions*. The usual Ionic form appears to be *ἐς*, though *εἰς* is not unknown. *εἰς* in Ionic contains a spurious, in Aiolie a genuine, diphthong.

*κύπερος*, an aromatic plant used by the Skythians for embalming, Hdt. IV 71, Hesych. s. v. *κύπερα*. Whether this is connected with the marsh plant, *κύπειρον* II. XXI 351 (Hesych. s. v.), is doubtful. Eustath. 1239<sub>81</sub> mentions also *κύπαιρον*, which is Doric (969<sub>7</sub>, 1648<sub>7</sub>), cf. *αἰγερος*, *αἰγειρος* Hdn. II 411<sub>31</sub>. The forms with *ει* are from *-ερκ-*, those in *-ερ-* are devoid of the suffix *-αο-*.

*δέκνυμι* (*ἀποδεκνύντες* Chios, 174 B 14, also upon a document from Kos in Newton's *Ancient Greek Inscrip. in the Brit. Mus.* No. 260 (third cent.); *δέξαι*, *δέξασθαι*, *δεχθῆναι*, *δεδέχθαι*, *ἀπόδεξις*<sup>1</sup>, in Hdt.; Hippokrates has *ἀπόδειξις*, and Hdt. himself often has the *ει* in verbal forms, e. g. II 30, IV 79, VI 61, IX 82, which editors remove. In Herodas we find no trace of the form *δεκ-*. *δέδεκται* is read by Gomperz in pseudo-Hippokr. *περὶ τέχνης* § 10; *ἀπόδειξις* Euseb. Mynd. 25, but *ἀναδείξάμενοι* 31. *δέκνυμι* is to be separated from *δείκνυμι* and compared with *docco*<sup>2</sup>. The poets offer no example of *δέκνυμι* (*δείξει* Solon, 10, *ἔδειξε* Theog. 500), nor does Herakl. (cf. 44), or Arrian. G. Meyer's suggestion (*Gramm.* § 115, note) that *δειδέχαται* is connected with *docco* and *δέξαι*, &c., is scarcely to be accepted. Cf. Bechtel, *Gött. Nachr.* 1890, No. 1, p. 31.

*ἔργω* = *εἶργω* (the distinction between *εἶργω* and *εἴργω* is late and fanciful). Hdt. uses *ἔργω* (*ἀπεργμέρον*, *ἀπέρξαι*, *κατέργοιτες*, &c., Bredow, p. 153), and not *εἶργω*<sup>3</sup> or *ἐέργω*. *ἐξείργον* V 22, is due apparently to the variable augment of *ἔργω*, and need not therefore be classed with *κατεργνύσι* IV 69, *ἀπείργουσα* IX 68, where the MSS. agree in demanding a form stamped as un-Herodoteian by all other passages. Since in Homer both *εἶργω* and *ἐέργω*<sup>4</sup> are well established, a change of *τῆλέ με εἶργουσι*

<sup>1</sup> *δέξω* &c. Joh. Gr. 140 B, Greg. Kor. 36, Meerm. 652, Aug. 668, Par. 680, Vat. 698, An. Ox. II 176<sub>2</sub> (Choirob.), II 195<sub>10</sub> Choirob., cf. An. Par. III 57<sub>10</sub>, An. Bachm. II 369<sub>7</sub>. *δελός* = *δειλός* is a fictitious form, Meerm. 651, Vat. 698.

<sup>2</sup> So far as I am aware no scholar has accepted the conclusions of Möller in regard to *δείκνυμι*. K. Z. XXIV 462.

<sup>3</sup> Anan. 3, has *καθείργαι*, a doubtful form. Theognis, 686, 710, 1180, has *εἶργω*, which I would not change with Renner.

<sup>4</sup> *ἰωνικῶς*, An. Ox. IV 186<sub>20</sub>, Choirob. 561<sub>20</sub>.



to τῆλέ μ' ἔργουσι is not advisable. No prose document contains ἔργω. See Schulze, *K. Z.* XXIX 235.

### 143.] *Varia.*

The ε in ἐξαιθραπεύοντος Mylasa, 248<sub>2</sub>, is a prefix to help out ξ as representative of the Old Persian χδ. Wiese, *B. B.* V 90, suggests that ἐξ- is due to a popular etymology which connected the word with the preposition. Cf. ἐξσατραπεύοντος C. I. G. 2919, Tralles; ἐξσατράπης Theopompos, Lobeck, *Ell.* I 144. A parallel example from Attic is Ἐξυπεταιῶν C. I. A. III 1119, for Ξυπεταιῶν C. I. A. I 243. Cf. Benfey, *Kl. Schr.* IV 26 ff.

γέρivos is said to be an Ionic form of γυρίνος, Eust. 1864<sub>6</sub>.

### *The vowel I (short ι).*

#### 144.] Ionic I = E.

1. E + σ + consonant + ι becomes ι<sup>1</sup> in ἰστίη in the Ionic of Homer and of Hdt., as in other dialects. Cf. *Ἰστίαν* Arkad., Ἰσστιαίε[ι]ος Thessal., Ἰσστιαῖδας Boiot. and Doric (Lokrian, Kretan, Syrakusan, Herakleian), Aiolic and Attic alone having preserved the ε vowel here. In Kretan we find also the ε form (Cauer, 116<sub>11</sub>), and ἀνέστιος occurs in Hom. IX 63. In Hdt. we find ἰστίαι I 176, Ἰστίης II 50, ἰστιητορίου IV 35, ἐπίστιος I 35, ἰστιῆσθαι V 20 (cf. the v. l.), ἰστίη VI 86 (δ) for the ἐστίη of all MSS., Ἰστιαίη, Ἰστιαῖος, Ἰστιαιωτίς (§ 194), &c. Greg. Korinth. p. 500, quotes ἐπίστιος. The editors of Hdt. have now removed all cases of εστ- from the text, even Ἰσστιαεύς having been substituted for Ἰσστ-, though attested by Plutarch. Cf. the variation between Homeric Ἰστίαιαν Hdn. I 272<sub>13</sub>, II 512<sub>18</sub>, and Apollodoros' Ἰσστιαίαν (III 7, 3). Hrd. has ἐστίη 4<sub>10</sub>, 7<sub>120</sub>.

In συνεστίη VI 128, the MSS. have -εστ-. For various conjectures, see Stein, *ad loc.* Bechtel *Thas.* (L), 18 B 10, writes Ἰσστιαίου. Hesychios has ἐστιάχος . . . Ζεὺς παρ' Ἰωσιν.

Hekataios' ἐσθι = Attic ἴσθι (Hdn. II 355<sub>6</sub>), so far from being an original formation whose ε had not yet become ι, is a new coinage due to the analogy of forms with ε-. I. E. \*z-dhi, imperat. of √es, became ἴσθι in the proto-Hellenic period.

ε before σ + cons., when the latter is not followed by ι, does not become ι; e.g. εὔεσται Hdt. I 85, ἀπεστοῖ IX 85.

2. Μινδαίων on late coins of Mende for older Μενδαίων, Kirchhoff, *Alph.*<sup>4</sup> 119.

3. The corruption of antevocalic ε to ι, so frequent in Thessalian,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Collitz, *A. J. P.* VIII 216, who suggests that the change is late. It is certainly confined to certain dialects. On ἰστίη see Eust. 280<sub>17</sub>, 1561<sub>10</sub>, 1562<sub>20</sub>, 1579<sub>17</sub>, Et. M. 382<sub>11</sub>, Ἰστίαις Eust. 280<sub>18</sub>.

Boiotian, Doric, Kyprian, &c., is rare in Ionic, if indeed it can be shown to exist at all. Καλλιμένιος 36 (Amorgos) is doubtless a mere slip on the part of the engraver. νιανισκάρχην is a late spelling in Tanais, Latyshev II 447<sup>88</sup>, 448<sup>8</sup>; cf. 451<sup>9</sup>, 454<sup>7</sup>, 455<sup>8</sup>. The nearest approach to ι is the pronunciation of ε as a semivowel in the synizesis εγ. This semivocalic ε may disappear in contract verbs, as in Arkad. ἔλλαν]οδικόντοιν 1257<sup>11</sup>. Cf. νενοσσευμένα Hdt. I 159. Before ο, ε not unfrequently disappears in prose: Θόκλος Styra, 19<sup>206</sup>, Θεοδίων 19<sup>378</sup>, Κλοόεινος 19<sup>221</sup>, Ἐτοκλέ[ης] 19<sup>18</sup>. Cf. Megarian Θεοκλείδα, Θεοκλῆς *Mitth.* VIII 189, 190. Fritsch's paper in Curtius *Stud.* VI (cf. pp. 125-132), is at present scarcely trustworthy as regards Ionic. A reverse process has given us Θε- in Boiot. Θεόςζοτος and Θεόδωρος, perhaps from Θεύδωρος.

4. ἔριγμα, Hippokr. from ἐρείκω; ἔρεγμα Theophr.

A nominative ἰρής = ἐρής (Thessal. is assumed by Baunack, *K. Z.* XXVII 565; and for ἰρένες, ἰρέες is substituted by the same scholar in Hdt. IX 85.

#### 145.] Ionic Ι = ΕΙ.

See under Ι, § 197, for supposed cases of itacism in Ionic.

ἰκελος varies with εἰκελος in the MSS. of Hdt. as in those of Homer. I have shown in *A. J. P.* VI, p. 439, that the ι of the form ἰκελος is not descended from the ει of εἰκελος by the merging of ε + ι into ī, and by the weakening of this ī to ι. ἰκελος is = \*(ε)ἰκελός, and is morphologically the older form, εἰκ- having lost its ε upon the accent originally shifting to the final syllable in ἰκελος. Adjectives in -λος are usually oxytone. With this interrelation of εἰκ- and ἰκ-, cf. ἀφειρος, γῆρας (strong forms) and ἀφ(ε)ρειός, γεραιός (weak forms). εἰκελος owes its ει to the influence of -εικής, εἰκών, &c. Stein reads εἰκελος III 81, εἰκελα VIII 9, προσεἰκελα III 110, προσεἰκέλους IV 61, προσεἰκελος IV 177. Dem. *Mor.* 21 has ἰκέλη. The *Et. Mag.* 297<sup>18</sup>, states that εἰκελος is the correct form, though ἰκελος often occurs; and that in composition only the form with ι is admissible. This testimony is of course not authoritative for the fifth century. In Homer *εἰκελος* occurs 17 times, while *ἰκελος* has the *v. l.* ἰκελος (itacistic) 16 times. Hippokrates, Aretaios, and Uranios prefer the ι form, which is doubtless to be adopted in the *Dea Syria*, 25, 33, 40 (cf. *Astr.* 10, 20), though from the MSS. of Lukian we cannot learn which form the satirist used.

The existence of parallel forms in ει and ι in the name of Poseidon, and in names derived therefrom, does not substantiate the presence of itacism in this word. Hdt. VII 115 has Ποσιδηῖον, III 91 Ποσιδηῖον with Ποσειδηῖον as *v. l.* The Ionic name of the god in Hdt. is Ποσειδέων (12 times)<sup>1</sup>. Cf. also

<sup>1</sup> Hdn. II 917<sup>10</sup>.

Ποσειδωνιήτης I 167, and Ποσειδώνιος IX 71, 85. On the Archilocheian Ποσειδάων, see above, under E, § 140. Archilochos has Ποσειδῶν, or perhaps Ποσειδέων ep. 114.

As regards the inscriptions, which speak with greatest authority in cases similar to this, their testimony is as follows:—

With ει.	With ι.
Ποσειδεωνί(υ) Pantikap., Latysch. II 291, 139 <sup>1</sup> .	Ποσίδειος 234 B 34, Perinthos.
Ποσειδώνιος Ephesos, Imh.-Bl. G. M. 277.	Ποσιδείου <i>Jahrb. für Phil.</i> , Suppl. Vol. V, 487, No. 47, and Vol. X, 29, No. 21.
Ποσειδωνίο[υ] 153 <sub>37</sub> , Smyrna.	Ποσιδέου 153 <sub>32</sub> , Smyrna.
Ποσειδώνιος 131 <sub>16, 17, 18</sub> , Olbia.	„ 177 <sub>17</sub> , Chios.
Ποσειδώνιος 240 <sub>28, 47</sub> , Halik.	Ποσιδηίου 196 <sub>5</sub> , Maroneia. Cf. the form in Hdt.
Ποσίδειος Thasos (Louvre), 10 <sub>10</sub> .	Ποσιδηιών C.I.A. I 283 <sub>17</sub> (Ionic?).
Ποσιδείου Maroneia, Head, <i>H. N.</i> 216.	Ποσιδῶναξ Ephesos, Imh.-Bl. G. M. 279 A.
Ποσειδῶνος 206 B 31, Eryth.	Ποσιδεῶνος 206 A 46, Erythrai.
Ποσειδίππου Thasos (Louvre), 2 <sub>11</sub> , Maroneia, Head, <i>H. N.</i> 216.	

The Attic month Ποσιδεῶν appears in Anakreon 6 as Ποσιδηιών. On Ποσιδέης (Ποσιδῆς), the basis of Ποσιδήιος, &c., see Hdn. II 917<sub>6</sub>.

As regards the age of the inscriptions, the only inscription with ι, dating certainly before 400, is that from Maroneia, 196<sub>5</sub>, the others with ι being later; while those with ει are not older than the bulk of those with ι. Chronological considerations do not therefore make in favour of the origin of the forms with ι from those with ει. Despite the obscurity which attends this word (cf. Prellwitz, *B. B.* IX 331), it is evident that the variation between ει and ι, which is confined to no single dialect, must depend upon stem-gradation. On this view the ει and ι stand in no immediate relation to each other.

The ι of Πισίστρατος Samos, 225, though of uncertain quantity, does not necessitate the assumption of itacism, when compared with Πεισωνεύ(ου) Teos, Imh.-Bl. G. M. 369. Cf. Πισίθεος in Delphic, Πισίας, Πισιδώρα, &c.

To the forms terminating in -ειη from -ες stems, quoted below, § 215, there exist in the MSS. of Herodotos sporadic variants in -ιη, none of which deserves recognition as a genuine Ionism; and much less may they be adduced in evidence for the reduction of ει to ι. There is, however, a small list of forms with no trace of -ειη, where Hdt. has -ιη, Attic -ια. These are derived from κράτος, -ωδης, and τύχη: δημοκρατίη, λοκοκρατίη: εὐωδίη: εὐτυχίη, συντυχίη: and λιπαρίη.

Comparable with these forms is -ια in Attic substantives from

sigmatic stems. This *-iā*, like the Ionic termination *-iη*, represents a transference of the *-iη* (*-iā*), which is in place in O stems, to the *-εσ-* declension. Forms in *-iā* are claimed as the property of the *νεωτέρα ἴλις* by a scholiast on *Elektra*, 996, quoted by Bredow, p. 189, but without foundation. Where the Attic poets have *-iā* (*αἰκία*, &c.), this termination should be classed with the Homeric and Hesiodic *-iη* (11 occurrences in *thesi*, 3 in *arsi*), the explanation of which is still involved in obscurity, despite recent attempts to clear up the nature of the *i*. Cf. Jebb on Sophokles' *Elektra*, 486 (small edition), Smyth, *A. J. P.* VI 435, Danielsson, *Gramm. Ann.* I 42, Johansson, *K. Z.* XXX 401, *B. B.* XV 176, Brugmann, *Grundriss*, II 1, p. 313. Most of the epic words in question are so formed that *-iη* would not permit their insertion into the verse. Whether Ionic *ὠφελίη* = Attic *ὠφελία* has *i* is very doubtful.

#### 146.] *Varia.*

1. *Iota* and *alpha* are not phonetically related; hence *Σινώπη* and *Σαράπη* (Schol. Ap. Rh. II 946) are not connected.

2. *χλαρίδιον* Samos, 220<sub>30</sub>. Teos, *Mitth.* XVI 292<sub>13</sub>, 16, by syncope from *χλαρίδιον*, cf. Euboian *Ἰππώνδης* (Styra, 19<sub>373</sub>, cf. 19<sub>320</sub>) and Boiotian names in *-ωνδας*; Angermann in Curtius' *Stud.* I 1, 20.

### *The Vowel O.*

#### 147.] *Ionic O = A of other dialects.*

1. On *a = o* in forms in *Ἄπρο-*, *ἄπροδέω*, &c., see above § 131; on *ζώω*, § 200. Prosthetic *o* in *ὀτρογηφάγος* Arch. 97, according to Et. M. 167<sub>26</sub>, and Photios. Hesychios has *ἀτρογ-*.

2. Examples of *op*, *po* = *ap*, *pa*, are very rare: *Βροτάχον* 117 *Pantikapaion*, and *Ephesos* (Wood's *Discoveries*, App. 2, No. 2). *βρόταχος* is further supported by the Hesychian gloss (*s. r.*) and by Hdn. II 384<sub>1</sub>, = Et. Mag. 214<sub>44</sub>, where the form is quoted from Xenophanes<sup>1</sup> and Aristophanes. Hippocrates used *βότραχος* for *βρόταχος*, according to Galen. The dialects of Lesbos, Boiotia, and Thessaly are generally held to evince a strong predilection in favour of the weak *op*, *po*, though Brugmann (*Grundriss*, I § 292) makes mention only of Lesbian and Boiotian forms. I have, however, shown *A. P. A.* XVIII 104, 159, that it is inadvisable, if not futile, to attempt to set up such a restriction. *Βρόταχος* was the name of a Gortynian worthy of an epigram by the great Simonides (127), though the substitution of *po* for *pa* is not

<sup>1</sup> *Βρόταχον τὸν βότραχον Ἴωνες καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης καὶ παρὰ Ξενοφάνει.* For this differentiation between Ionians and Xenophanes, cf. above, p. 31, note Bergk<sup>4</sup> does not register the word.

elsewhere attested as a peculiarity of Kretan speech. But at best βρόταχος can have been but partially adopted by Ionic<sup>1</sup>. According to the express testimony of the scholiast on *Iliad*, Δ 243, Eustath. Il. 468<sub>32</sub>, and Greg. Korinthios, p. 414 (cf. An. Par. III 57<sub>11</sub>), the Herodoteian form was βάθρακος, a form not adopted by Stein (IV 131, 132). Cf. Roscher in Curtius' *Studien*, IV 189, whose etymological combinations are somewhat out of date, German *kröte* being the phonetic equivalent. Hesychios reports also βύρθακος, βόρταχος, βράταχος, βρύτιχος.

βρόγχος is Hippokratic; cf. Et. M. 215<sub>29</sub> (211<sub>19</sub>): ἡ μὲν συνήθεια βρόγχον καλεῖ, οἱ δ' ἀρχαῖοι βράγχον. Cf. Hdn. II 284<sub>5</sub>, 483<sub>29</sub>, § 127.

παρδακός Sim. Amorg. 21 = Attic παρδακός. Archilochos 140 has, however, παρδακός. Sim. Am. 14 has πάρδαλις, not the o form which was once thought to be Ionic. πόρδαλις in Ven. A, N 10? (cf. Spitzner), P 20, Φ 573 though Aristarchos read παρδ-. Some of the ancient grammarians attempted to set up a distinction between an Ionic πόρδαλις and Attic πάρδαλις (Et. M. 652<sub>29</sub>, Phot. 383, Apoll. Lex. 133<sub>34</sub>, Eust. 787<sub>39</sub>, 890<sub>10</sub>, 922<sub>63</sub>, &c.). πόρδαλις is Aiolic. This form occurs Arist. *Lysistrata*, 1015 Rav. and frag. 478 K.

The form Καλλίστροτο[s] has been adduced from one of the Styrian lead tablets as proof of the influence of Boiotian vocalism upon the dialect of Styra. In Bechtel, No. 19<sub>210</sub>, we read -στρΑτ clearly enough, Vischer's -στρΟ being incorrect. All other examples of the supposed interdependence of Boiotian and Styrian have in like manner been deprived of their validity upon more careful examination of the evidence, cf. § 157. In Styra we have Στράτων 19<sub>416</sub>.

In διέφθορα Hipp. VIII 246 (cf. Il. XV 128), ἐφθορα Galen, ορ is the ablaut of ερ, as in Ark. ἐφθορκώς C. D. I. 1222<sub>10-11</sub>.

3. Hippokr. VII 356, VIII 156 has μολόχης in θ, vulg. μαλάχης as θ in VIII 380. μολόχης in Antiphanes (158 K), μολόχα Epicharmos (104); μολόχη in a late Kretan inscription, *Mus. Il.* III 723.

4. The inscriptions offer several instances of a preference for the o sound:—

Ὀστακος Delos, 55 I, and B. C. H. VII 11, l. 57, has been identified by Bechtel with ἀστακός, *lobster*. The form ὄστακός comes to light in Aristomenes, Γοητ. 2, and is quoted by Hesychios. It occurs also in Athenaios. Cf. Sturz, *De dialecto Mac. et Alexandr.* p. 70, who held that ὄστακός was Alexandrian.

With Κο]μοσαρύνη Phanagoreia, 167, cf. Καμασαρύνη, a queen of Bithynia, C. I. G. 2855. See Dittenberger, *Syll.* 104<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>1</sup> Modern Greek βροθάκι (Pontos), βερθακός (Crete) are not necessarily survivals of the ancient forms.



Ἐρμώισσα Chios, 174 A<sub>2</sub>, 4, a locality in Chios, suggests a comparison with Ἐρμώνασσα, name of a woman and also of several cities.

5. On Ionic (Attic) -κόσιοι = Doric and Boiot. -κάριοι, Arkadian -κάσιοι, see under Numerals, and cf. Brugmann, *M. U.* V 7 ff.

#### 148.]

A variation between *ā* and *o* exists in the case of χαμᾶθεν Hdt. II 125, where *ds* have χαμόθεν, a form attacked by Cobet *Var. Lect.* 89 and expelled by him from Kratinos, Xen. *Hellen.* VII 1, 7), and Aristotle.

#### 149.] O in Ionic = E.

Κυανοψιών, name of the month in Samos, Kyzikos (Reinach, *Traité*, p. 489), also Attic (*Berichte der Berl. Akad.* 1859, p. 739). Cf. Πυανοψιών in inscriptions after Christ. See Schmidt's *Chronologie*, p. 458, Brugmann's *Gr. Gr.* p. 32 note.

The old ablaut of *Fery* (*Forγ*) occurs in Ἀθηναίης Ὀργάνης Delos, 54. Cf. Hesychios, s. v. Ὀργάνη· ἡ Ἀθηναία, ἣν καὶ Ἐργάνην ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων λέγουσιν. The same form of the name has come to light in Athens, *Bull. dell' instit. di Corr. Arch.* 1874, 107. Cf. ὄργανον and later ἔργαρον with its *ε* from ἔργον. See § 295.

On ὀβολ-, see § 137.

#### 150.] O in Ionic = OΥ.

The Samian inscription, No. 220, has the new forms ἀλοργοῦς l. 23, ἀλοργοῦν 22, 30, ἀλοργήν 15, 16, ἀλοργά 36, ἀλοργάς 28, and παραλοργές 21; with which compare the Attic ἀλουργής and παναλουργία Xenophanes 33. ἀλοργός is from ἀλο(ε)ργός, Bechtel, *ad loc.* Cf. §§ 295, 314.

#### 151.] O in Ionic = OI.

From δεσπόνησιν in Kyzikos, I. G. A. 501, Rob. I 148, = δεσποίναις according to the commentators, we might conclude that Ionic *o* was here = Attic *oi*. No such interrelation of *o* and *oi* is known. It is possible that the *o* is due to that of δεσπότης, but Osthoff's attempt to connect -ποινα and πότνια (\*potnija, \*-ποτνια, \*-ποννια, \*-πονια, -ποινα), does not provide us with the fitting key to explain the appearance of *o* in a δεσπότη. On the dative termination, see § 450, 3.

On anaptyctic *i* in Τροϊζήνιος, see under OI, § 228.

#### 152.] Varia.

The assumption of hyphaeresis of *o* in Hdt. βοηθός is rendered easier if we recall the Homeric ὄγδοον § 287. With βοηθός cf. δορυξός, Πειριθός, &c. No dialectal dividing line can here be established. See G. Meyer, *Gramm.* § 152.

On the change of *o* to *υ* in Euboian Ionic, see under Υ. On the substitution of *o* for the *υ* of αυ, ευ, see under these diphthongs.

*The Vowel Υ (υ).*

153.]

The weak ablaut form of ρεϋ, ροϋ appears in ρύσκειται Archil. 142.

154.] Ionic Υ = Ο.

The change of Ο to Υ is attested to a limited extent in Ionic :—  
Upon a Kymaian inscription (Bechtel, 3 A = Roberts, I 177 A) we find ΗΥΠΥ (ύπύ) twice; from which it is clear that of the Ionians, the Chalkidians<sup>1</sup> at least had not adopted the later ü. Other instances from Euboian Ionic of a similar retention of the I.E. phonetic value of υ as oo do not stand on so sure a footing. Wilamowitz, *Hom. Untersuch.* p. 228, claims that the modern names *Kuma* and *Stura* are living witnesses to a pronunciation which held its ground throughout the Ionic period of the epos, and in fact to the dawn of Attic supremacy in Greece proper; while in Asia Minor υ had become ü before the year 500<sup>2</sup>. The Styrian Μέτυκος 1970, may stand for Μέτοικος; but it is at best a doubtful form which has been illegitimately used to show the connection between Boiotian and Euboian Ionic<sup>3</sup>. Cf. §§ 147, 2, 157. No interrelation of ο and υ need be assumed on the score of Κεφαλότης Styra, 19217, 218 (Κέφαλος 19213-217), or of Φιλύτης 19333, since names in -ύτη, &c., are primitive. Cf. Φιλύτα Kyrene, C. I. G. 5143, Φιλυτώ Delos, C. I. G. 2310. Όλομπος, occurring on a vase, C. I. G. 8412, perhaps of Chalkidian workmanship, is of doubtful validity, as the inscription is not free from errors.

As regards the Ionic of the mainland, we have but slender support for the assumption that the old pronunciation of υ was retained. ρυφείν in Hipponax<sup>4</sup>, 132, cf. ρυφήματος (θ), Hippokr. VI 198<sup>5</sup>, υπέατι Hdt. IV 70, όλονθος Hdt. I 193 (*ABC* and Athen. XIV 651 C), όλόνθων Hippokr. VIII 116 (θ C), VII 366, VIII 192, όλόνθους (θ), όλονθοι VIII 200 (θ), are the only examples from literature of the change of ο to υ<sup>6</sup>. In Phokaia υ was pronounced as oo, if we may judge from Όελητῶν 172<sub>2</sub>, about

<sup>1</sup> Κύμης τῆς ἐν Όπικίῳ, Χαλκιδικῆς πόλεως Thuk. VI 4.

<sup>2</sup> Kirchhoff is inclined to believe that the Ionians adopted the ü pronunciation upon the reception of their alphabet by the other Greeks.

<sup>3</sup> Kyprian Στασίδικος Meister (*G. D.* II. p. 191) is not above suspicion. Hdn. II 368<sub>21</sub> = Choir. 832<sub>23</sub>: "Ιωνες τὸ τετυφνῖα καὶ τὰ ὁμοία λέγουσι διὰ τῆς οἱ διφθόγγου καὶ οὐ διὰ τῆς υἱ. Lobeck, *El.* II 25, note 5, endeavours to parallel this remarkable statement with Theognos. 103<sub>11</sub> τρίττοια ἡ θυσία = τριττώα.

<sup>4</sup> Eust. 1430<sub>25</sub> states that ρυφείν is Doric and Ionic κατὰ τοὺς παλαιούς, and, to judge from what precedes, also Aiolic.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. v. l. VII 20, 26.

<sup>6</sup> Hipponax has also κροκύδειλος (Eust. 855<sub>33</sub>) or κροκόδειλος (Et. Gud. 348<sub>17</sub>). μῦθται or better μῦθῃται. in Anakr. 16, is connected by L. S. with μῦθος and classed as one of the Aiolisms of the Teian bard.

350 B. C. Hyele = Velia, the Oscan name being spelled with V, which the colonists reproduced by their Υ (Hdt. I 167).

Other forms from Hippokr. are *ὀξόβαφον* VIII 184 (θ), and so VII 366, 368, 372, and perhaps *Στυμάργεω* V 84 (cf. *στύμα* Theokr. XXIX 25).

That *o* became *υ* in *αλου[μ]νήτη* Teos, 156 B 4, is not proven. Cf. Megarian *ασιμνάτα[s]* C. D. I. 3016. Cases of *ι* arising from an *υ*, which is itself from *o*, are rare.

There is no change of *o* to *υ* in *ὄνυμα*, found in *Κλεώνυμος* Smyrna, 153<sup>o</sup>, *Ἐκατώνυμος* Eryth. 206 A 15, Chios, Pasp. 2, *Κλειτώνυμος* Thasos (L.), 8<sup>g</sup>, *Πυθώνυμος* Thas. (L), 10 B 12. *υ* occurs in this word in Pindar, Aiolic, Boiot., Thessal., Phokian, Delphic, Aitolian, Megarian, Korinthian, Rhodian, in Aigina and Selinus, and is pan-Hellenic in *ἀνώνυμος*, *εἰώνυμος* (Ephesos 145), and *δυσώνυμος* (Hippon. 14). The extensive geographical reach of the forms with *υ*, and the undeviating writing *ἀνώνυμος*, &c., render the assumption not improbable that the forms in *υ* are original, those in *o* later. If the *o* forms are original, there can be no doubt that the vowel interposed between the nasals was in a pre-historic period a closed vowel, the first *o* remaining open.

On the substitution of *o* for the *υ* of *av*, *ev*, see under the head of these diphthongs.

#### 155.] Ionic Υ = Ι.

*Συκεεύων*, on the stelè of Sigeion, Bechtel, 103 = Roberts, I 42 A 10. In the Attic part of the inscription we find *Σιγεευῶσι*. The *υ* is doubtless older since it is found on the epichoric document. The two forms are then interrelated as *βυβλίον* *βιβλίον*, *Τυνδαριδᾶν* *Τυνδαριδᾶν* I. G. A., 62 A, and *Κυνδύης* and *Κυνδύης* on the Attic tribute lists. Iota does not pass into *υ* in any Greek word.

Hdt. has *βύβλος*, *βύβλιος*, *βυβλίον* (Hrd. 3<sup>10</sup>). A mustering of the occurrences of these words in Stein's edition shows that the chief support of the forms with *ι* is derived from MSS. *P. R.*, while in one-seventh of all passages there is no variant. I conclude, therefore, that Bredow's distinction between *βιβλίον*, *βιβλος* (*notione chartae scriptoriae, libelli*) and *βύβλος* (*notione libri, corticis papyri*) must fall to the ground, and that the Ionic of the fifth century preferred, if it did not recognize exclusively, the forms with *υ*. The variants in favour of *ι* are due to the scribes rather than to the influence of such actual forms in *ι* as we find as early as 400 B. C. in Attic (C. I. A. II, Add. 1 B 25; *Mith.* VII 368, concerning the Attic cleruchs in Samos, 346 B. C.). The forms in *ι* continue in Attic inscriptions until the second century B. C., after which *βυβλίον* is the normal form. See Birt's *Buchwesen*, p. 12.

*μόλυβδος* Hdt. I 186, III 56, has the variation *μόλιβδος*, a

form that does not find any support in the Attic  $\mu\omicron\lambda\upsilon\beta[\delta\omega\nu]$ , C. I. A. II 476<sub>43</sub>, or in any other inscriptional form<sup>1</sup>. That the  $\iota$  form elsewhere forced an entrance at an early period should not mislead us as regards Ionic. Homer has  $\mu\omicron\lambda\upsilon\beta\delta\alpha\iota\nu\alpha$  and  $\mu\omicron\lambda\iota\beta\omicron\varsigma$ .

In an Halikarnassian inscription (Bechtel, No. 241) we read HMYΣK, which Bechtel transcribes  $\eta\mu(\iota)\sigma(\upsilon)$ . This is possible, though the occurrence of  $\eta\mu\upsilon\sigma\upsilon$  upon Attic inscriptions (C. I. A. II 17<sub>45</sub>) and elsewhere, *e.g.* Delos (B. C. H. II 580), renders the attempt to rescue this form for Ionic not overbold. Cf. Meisterhans, p. 22, Blass, *Aussprache*<sup>3</sup>, p. 40.  $\eta\mu\iota\sigma\upsilon$  occurs upon a late Chian coin, Head, *H. N.* 514, on a late inscription from Thasos, 72<sub>16</sub>, upon one from Teos, 158<sub>24</sub>, and in Sterrett, *Papers of the American School*, III 335. The forms in *iota* are primitive, those in *upsilon* being due to an assimilation which could take place only at a period when the inherited tendency to avoid a succession of  $\upsilon$ 's was no longer felt<sup>2</sup>.

On  $\alpha\lambda\upsilon\mu\nu\eta\tau\eta\varsigma$  see above, § 154. Ionic here preserves the original  $\upsilon$  in the Teian  $\alpha\lambda\upsilon\upsilon[\mu]\nu\eta\tau\eta\iota$  156 B 4; and it is to the influence of Ionic that is due  $-\alpha\iota\sigma\upsilon\mu\nu\omega\tau\omicron\varsigma$  in Cherson. Taur. C. D. I. 3087<sub>57</sub>, whereas  $\alpha\iota\sigma\iota\mu\nu\acute{\alpha}\tau\alpha\varsigma$  is the Megarian orthography (Megara 3016, Selinus 3045 A 5, Chalkadon 3053<sub>1</sub>, Salymbria 3068). Bechtel, C.D.I. 3016, conjectures that the change between the weak vowels  $\upsilon$  and  $\iota$  ensues when  $F$  originally preceded the strong vowel ( $\acute{\alpha}\phi\epsilon\tau\mu\alpha$ ,  $\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\mu\acute{\eta}$ ,  $\acute{\alpha}\iota\sigma\theta\omega$ ). But cf.  $\text{'}\alpha\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}\mu\alpha\chi\omicron\varsigma$  from  $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\upsilon$ , *R. M.* XXV 358.

The interchange of  $\upsilon$  and  $\iota$  is at best but sporadic, *e.g.*  $\text{'}\alpha\mu\phi\iota\kappa\tau\acute{\upsilon}\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\varsigma$ <sup>3</sup>,  $-\kappa\tau\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\varsigma$ ;  $\kappa\upsilon\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\chi\eta\iota\omicron\upsilon$ ,  $\kappa\upsilon\nu\theta\upsilon\kappa\omega\iota$ ,  $\chi\omicron\iota\rho\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  Delos;  $\tau\iota\nu\delta\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\delta\alpha\iota$ ,  $\text{'}\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\breve{\nu}\nu\iota\alpha$  Lakonia,  $\text{'}\iota\alpha\kappa\upsilon\nu\theta\omicron\tau\rho\acute{\omicron}\phi\omicron\varsigma$  Knidos,  $\text{'}\gamma\acute{\alpha}\kappa\iota\nu\theta\omicron\varsigma$  Lakonia.

On a supposed change of  $\alpha$  to  $\upsilon$ , see above, § 132. An. Ox. I 442<sub>2</sub> cites as Chian  $\theta\upsilon\omicron\upsilon\varsigma = \theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ ,  $\eta\delta\acute{\upsilon}\omega\varsigma = \eta\delta\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$ ,  $\text{Ν}\upsilon\alpha\pi\omicron\lambda\acute{\iota}\tau\eta\varsigma = \text{Ν}\epsilon\alpha\pi\omicron\lambda\acute{\iota}\tau\eta\varsigma$ . Cf. Lentz' Herodian I, p. xxv, 19. No such interrelation of  $\epsilon$  and  $\upsilon$  can be admitted.

### The Long Vowels.

#### 156.] $\hat{\alpha}$ .

The three subdivisions of Ionic uniformly present H in place of that  $\hat{\alpha}$  which is specifically Attic. No instances of the retention

<sup>1</sup>  $\mu\omicron\lambda\upsilon\beta\omicron\varsigma$  Ionic-Attic, Eust. 1340<sub>29</sub>; cf. 841<sub>17</sub>, cf. Hdn. II 551.

<sup>2</sup> In Attic the *iota* held its ground in those forms which show no  $\upsilon$  in the endings.

<sup>3</sup> So Hdt., Attic inscriptions, C. I. A. II 54 A 24, Ditt. *Syll.* 70<sub>1</sub>, cf. 71<sub>10</sub>, &c., Delphic, *l. l.* 186<sub>4</sub>, &c., Boiot., C. D. I. 485<sub>7</sub>, Aitol. C. D. I. 1410<sub>9</sub>.  $\text{'}\alpha\mu\phi\iota\kappa\tau\acute{\upsilon}\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\varsigma$  Hdt., Attic, C. I. A. I 449<sub>7</sub>, Delphic, Ditt. 206<sub>1</sub>, Boiot., C. D. I. 502<sub>9</sub>; cf. Hom.  $\pi\epsilon\pi\upsilon\tau\tau\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\varsigma$ . The interrelation of the words has not been cleared up despite Kretschmer (*K. Z.* XXXI 429 ff.), whose  $\sqrt{\kappa\iota\upsilon}$  does not exist.



in Ionic of I. E.  $\bar{a}$  are found. Wheresoever  $\bar{a}$  occurs, it is the result of literary tendencies or of special laws operating within the dialect. The following categories of Ionic  $\bar{a}$  may be noticed:

1.  $\bar{a}\varsigma < \bar{a}\nu\varsigma$  as in  $\pi\bar{a}\sigma\alpha$ ,  $\tau\bar{a}\varsigma$ : § 161.
2.  $\bar{a}\nu$ ,  $\bar{a}\rho$ ,  $\bar{a}\kappa < \bar{a}\nu f$ ,  $\bar{a}\rho f$ ,  $\bar{a}\kappa f$  as in  $\phi\theta\bar{a}\nu\omega$ ,  $\bar{a}\rho\eta$ ,  $\phi\bar{a}\rho\mu\alpha\kappa\omicron\varsigma$ : § 162.
3. By influence of analogous forms ( $\mu\bar{a}\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu$ :  $\mu\bar{a}\lambda\alpha$ ): § 163.
4.  $\bar{a}\lambda < \bar{a}\lambda\epsilon$  when the accent does not fall upon the  $\bar{a}$ : § 164.
5.  $\bar{a}$  from  $a$  before  $a$ ,  $\epsilon$ ,  $\eta$ ,  $\iota$ : § 208.
6.  $\bar{a}$  by contraction of  $a + a$  ( $\theta\bar{a}\kappa\omicron\varsigma$ ),  $a + \text{spur. } \epsilon$  ( $\nu\bar{\iota}\kappa\bar{a}\nu$ ),  $a + \epsilon$  ( $\theta\bar{a}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\tau\bar{\iota}\mu\bar{a}\tau\epsilon$ ),  $a + \eta$  ( $\Delta\bar{a}\nu\bar{a}$ ). See under Contraction.
7. By crasis of  $a + a$  ( $\tau\bar{a}\lambda\lambda\alpha$  § 261); by crasis of  $a + \epsilon$  ( $\tau\bar{a}\mu\bar{a}$  § 272, 4).

Some instances of Ionic  $\bar{a}$ , which still baffle investigators, do not militate against the overwhelming mass of testimony making for the conclusion that Ionic  $\eta$  has been substituted for every I. E.  $\bar{a}$  transmitted to the dialects.

Names in 'Ονησ- do not disprove an Ionic-Attic 'Ονᾶσίωv C. I. G. 2386 Paros, &c.

In some cases a slight correction of the traditional reading shows that the assumption of Ionic  $\bar{a}$  is baseless. Thus in Hipponax 13, Bergk reads  $\bar{a}\gamma\epsilon\bar{\iota}$  *accursed*, where  $\bar{a}\gamma\epsilon\bar{\iota}$  or, better,  $\bar{e}\nu\bar{a}\gamma\epsilon\bar{\iota}$  will remove the apparent difficulty. Cf. § 532. Both  $\bar{a}\gamma\eta\varsigma$  and  $\bar{e}\nu\bar{a}\gamma\eta\varsigma$  contain the weak ablaut form of Skt.  $\bar{a}g\bar{u}a$ .  $\bar{e}\nu\bar{a}\gamma\eta\varsigma$  in Parmenides has a different root.

On  $\bar{a}$  in Homer, see AIOIC § 18.

A variation between  $\bar{a}$  and  $\eta$  in the same word, as in Arch.  $\bar{a}\rho\alpha$ , Herodas  $\eta\rho\alpha$ , is due to the different origin of the forms in question, cf. on  $\eta + a$ .

157.] The dialect of Styra, it has been alleged, offers instances of an original Hellenic  $\bar{A}$ , due to the influence of the speech of Boiotia<sup>1</sup>. While names of Ionians may assume, it is true, a form inconsistent with the laws of Ionic, this happens solely when a special reason exists. Compare for example the names of the children of Kimon, where political preferences have dictated a nomenclature alien to Attic. So the Makedonians by their Πτολεμαῖος testify to the influence of the Homeric epos. In all other cases it must be denied that Ionic can admit a thoroughgoing contamination of its phonetics from the influence of a neighbouring speech-centre. The examples from the lead tablets are worthy of registration. Cf. Fick, *G. G. A.* 1883, p. 125, Bechtel, *Ion. Insch.* p. 36, and above §§ 147, 2, 154.

Σκοπάνωv 19<sub>306</sub>, to be read Σκόπανδρος.

<sup>1</sup> The view that the names in § 157 are instances of the retention of a primitive Ionic  $\bar{a}$ , parallel to Attic  $\bar{a}$ , and not yet changed to  $\eta$ , does not call for refutation. Kirchhoff's view that the  $\bar{a}$  of Παμφόνης (Rob. I 191 C) is Chalkidian Ionic is indefensible. See *Alph.* 126.



-αντίδα[s] 19<sub>100</sub>, to be read Ἀντιᾶ[ρης].

Λυσαγόρας 19<sub>244</sub>, an uncertain reading.

Λαοκράτης 19<sub>391</sub>, to be read Λ(ε)ωκράτης, since E and A are not infrequently confused in the tablets.

Χαρίλαος 19<sub>424</sub>, to be read Χαρίλ(ε)ως, unless the man is a Dorian.

Λοχᾶγός 19<sub>126</sub> is based upon the Lakonian λοχᾶγός, which is in Attic, too, a loan form. Hdt. uses λοχηγέω(√ᾶγ).

Ἑσνέας 19<sub>191</sub> is no name at all; which may be said of Lenormant's Εἰνέας. In Roberts, I 189 F, upon a vase from a colony of Chalkis, we read Αἰνέης, and upon a Thasian inscription in the Louvre (35), Αἰνησίης. Bechtel, 12, has Αἰνετῶν, from Ainea.

Δᾶμάρετος, cited by Karsten, p. 18, is in reality Δημάρητος, and is so read by Bechtel, 15<sub>180</sub>.

Ηηγαιμονεύς 19<sub>200</sub> is read by Bechtel Ηηγαιμονεύς. This and Δαμάρετος are due to Lenormant.

158.] The retention of *ā* in Hdt. occurs in the names of non-Ionic personages and places which are of Doric source. So the Athenians retained Πριήνη, &c., § 73. Gramm. Meerm. (649): τὰ εἰς *ās* λήγοντα ὀνόματα, εἰ μὴ ᾧσι Δωρικά, εἰς *ῆς* τρέπουσιν (Ἴωνες). The following are instances of proper names with *ā* in Hdt.:—

Ἄγης VI 65, the Spartan, the clip-name of Ἠγησίλεως, which occurs VII 2c4. It is noteworthy that Hdt. uses the Ionic form of the adj. Σπαρτιήτης.

Ἀέροπος VIII 137, an Argive, VIII 139, a Makedonian; but Ἠέροπος IX 26, a Tegeate.

Ἀκαρνάν I 62; Ἀκαρνανίη II 10.

Ἀπιδανός, the Thessalian river, VII 129; but Ἠπιδανός VII 196.

Ἀρίσβα I 151, a city in the Troad = Ἀρίσβη B 836. The proper form may, however, be Ἀρισβα: so Strabo, XIV 635. Eustathios distinguishes between two cities, Ἀρίσβη and Ἀρίσβα: Hdn. I 308<sub>13</sub>, says that Hdt. used Ἀρίσβαν (ιάζων).

Ἀριστέας VII 137, a Corinthian. Cf. Ἀριστέης IV 13, the Prokonnesian epic poet.

Γυγάδας (χρυσός) I 14. This apparently irregular form (Γύγης elsewhere) is explained by the statement of the historian: ὑπὸ Δελφῶν καλέεται Γυγάδας ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀναθείτος ἐπωνυμίην.

Δυμανᾶται V 68, a Doric tribe.

Κράθις I 145, a river in Achaia and also a river near Sybaris, V 45.

Names in -λαος. Μενέλαος of a λιμήν IV 169, and Μενελάου VII 169; Ἀρχέλαοι V 68; Λαοδάμας, a Phokaian, IV 138, an Aiginetan, IV 152. Hdt., however, is not consistent in writing

Νικόλεως VII 134, and Νικόλας VII 137, though a Spartan is referred to. Furthermore, we have Λακρίνης, a Lakedaimonian, I 152; Λαφάνης, an Arkadian, VI 127; Λαδίκη, a woman of Kyrene, II 181.

Cf. the forms of λαός §§ 140, 160. A perfect dichotomy of the dialects as regards names in -λαος is clearly impossible, in view of the fact that even Attic citizens before the year 500 B.C. have names formed from this form of the word, the right to use Λαός having been confined to the tribe *Leontis*. That -λαος was also in use among the Ionians is clear from its occurrence upon a Chian inscription, 177, -τόλαος l. 14 (Λεωσέβεο[s] in l. 3).

Ὀρνέεται VII 73.

Παρωρεᾶται IV 148, but VIII 73 Παρωρεῆται.

Προναίη I 92. Cf. also Προνηή.

Τιθορέα VIII 32, a peak of Parnassos.

Ῥᾶται V 68, from Sikyon.

Φιλάονα VIII 11, though -αων generally becomes -εων in Hdt. Cf. Μαχάων in Homer = Μαχέων, Thasos (Louvre), 1011. Cf. Φιλεωνίδ[ε]ος Thasos, 73. Hdt. has ὀπάων V 111.

Χαράδρα, in Phokis, VIII 33. So Stein, Bredow Χαράδρην. So also χαράδραν IX 102. Cf. § 128.

Χοιρέεται V 68, from Sikyon.

Besides these names we have several which show -ās in the nominative case preceded by a consonant (Ἀριάτας, Σίκας, Αὔρας, Δύρας) which are inflected -α, -α, -αν. Proper names in -εης and -ιης are the rule, with but few exceptions (Ἀριστέας VII 117).

Herodotos' treatment of the names of non-Ionic persons and places is tolerably elective. In a considerable number of instances where we might expect a thoroughgoing Dorization he surprises us by such Ionisms as:—

Λεωνίδης, Λεωβάτης, Λευτυχίδης (a form that occurs in Timokreon, 1). Μενέλεως he occasionally uses despite Μενελάος VII 169, Ἀηρισαῖος IX 1, whereas Homer has Ἀρίσση B 841, P 301. By a reverse process we have Ἀριστολαίδεω I 59, an Athenian.

Again, the island is called Θήρη, its founder, Θήρας. The leader of the colony never occurs in any writer in the form Θήρης. Ἀζήν VI 127, is the inhabitant of the Arkadian Ἀζανία; Ἐπιήρες VII 132, &c., despite the frequent names in -άνες; Τεγέη, Σικελίην, Σικανίην VII 170. Μηλῖδα VII 198 (η also in the lyric parts of tragedy).

ναύκραροι V 71, is the Attic form, because the ναύκραροι were peculiar to Attika.

159.] Retention of ā in proper names occurring outside of Herodotos. In poetry, see on Ποσειδάων under the vowel E, § 140.

Upon an Halikarnassian inscription ἈλικαρναΤ[έω]ν 238<sub>2</sub>, and in 240<sub>23</sub> we read Ἰάσονος: Ἀετίωνος Iasos, 104<sub>16</sub>, Ποιᾶσσίων Keos, 47<sub>2</sub>, Ποιᾶσαν 47<sub>11</sub>. Cf. Ποιήσσιοι Ditt. *Syll.* 638<sub>2</sub>, time of the second maritime league; Δημαινέτης Amorg. 29, but Εὐθύδαμος Klazom. Le Bas, *Voy. Archéol.* III 1, No. 186. Naῖς Roberts, I 190, II F, Χώρα 190, I K, Γαρυφύνης 191, on Chalkidian vases. See *K. Z.* XXIX 390.

The usage of Attic prose inscriptions may here be noted. In the fifth century we find both the epichoric and the Attic names of tributary states (*Hermes*, V 52). In the fourth century the tendency to permit the adoption of the epichoric name seems to be stronger.

160.]  $\hat{A} < \bar{a}f$ .

λαός < \*λαῤός (cf. § 140, 4).

Homer has λαός<sup>1</sup>, λαοσσός, and in proper names, Λαοδάμεια, &c.; λεώς in Ἀγέλεως and perhaps Πηνέλεως<sup>2</sup>; and ληός, incorrectly transcribed in Λειώκριτος (Ληόκριτος) and Λειώδης (Ληώδης < λαῤο + φαδης). Of these, the first form has found an echo in Ionic poetry: Archil. Χαρίλαε 79 (paroemiacus and ithyphallicus). The reading is not perfectly certain, Ailian having Χαρίδαν. Cf. Χαριδαιτίδης, a Thasian name, Bechtel's *Thas. Inschr.* p. 8. Ἰόλαος 119<sub>3</sub> (a hymn of uncertain metrical reconstruction)<sup>3</sup>; Kallinos, λαῶ 1<sub>18</sub>; Tyrt. λαόν 11<sub>13</sub>, λαούς 12<sub>24</sub>; Xenoph. λαοῖσι 2<sub>18</sub>; Theog. λαοί 53, 776, λαοφθόρον 781. These forms are not Ionic<sup>4</sup>. Genuine Ionic is ληός, the oldest Ionic form of the word known to us, preserved in Hipponax 88, and in Hdt. λήϊτον VII 197 (λήϊτον καλέουσι τὸ πρυτανήϊον οἱ Ἀχαιοί)<sup>5</sup>. Cf. Λήϊτος in

<sup>1</sup> It is clear that any explanation of the ᾶ of Homer must not lose sight of the history of the words in question. Thus θεᾶ has been claimed to be Archaic Ionic, retained because it had passed out of use in the later language. This explanation, even if true, would not suit in the case of λαός. The presence of the morphologically later λεώς in passages of Homer, which even Bergk cannot attribute to his diasceuaists, shows that the change of pan-Hellenic ᾶ to Ionic η must have ensued centuries previous to the final composition of the Homeric poems. A feature of minor importance is that λαός may have been felt to be more easily disposable in the verse than λεώς.

<sup>2</sup> See *K. Z.* XXVII 266, Monro, *Hom. Gr.* 390.

<sup>3</sup> Pick proposed Ἰόληος. We find however Ἰόλαος, *Acharn.* 867; Eurip. uses both Ἰόλαος and Ἰόλεως. Ἰόλαος on a vase (Klein, *Vasen*,<sup>2</sup> 206, 1), which shows mixed dialect (Ἰόλαος Μανία by the side of Μεγάλη Ἀλκμήνη). Cf. *K. Z.* XXIX 400.

<sup>4</sup> This is not disputed by the Chian, -τολαος 177<sub>14</sub>, as has been shown, § 140, 4: cf. Μενέλαος Smyrna, *Imh.-Bl. G. M.* 344; Ἀγησίλαος Perinthos, 234 B 5; Χαρίλας Miletos, *Imh.-Bl. G. M.* 329. Pherekydes 34 has Ἀρκεσιλάου. Κριτόλαος on a late document from Amorgos (*Μίλλ.* IX 102, No. 6, l. 10), Νικόλαον, *ibid.* p. 83, l. 11 recall the many names in -λαος and -λας, names of Doric residents of Attika. Kretschmer, *K. Z.* XXXI 290 in fact contends that λαός is an importation from Doric in exchange for θεᾶός which migrated from Ionic-Attic into Doric countries. It is noteworthy that λαός does not occur in the iambs of Archilochos.

<sup>5</sup> *Et. Mag.* 562<sub>25</sub>.

Homer, XIII 91, and Pott, *K. Z.* VII 324. With ληός, cf. νηός in Hdt. (§ 170) and παιήονα Archil. 76.

This ληός became λεώς in later Ionic; in Miletos, at least, shortly after the year 600 B.C. (Ἀναξίλεως Becht. No. 93); λεώς is the form in Hdt., though we find ληός V 42 and even λαόν IV 148, which Stein refuses to accept. λαοφόρων is found I 187, despite λεωφόρον Anakr. 157, λεωσφέτερον IX 33 and the other forms in λεω-. The testimony is so strong on the side of λεώς that a fair view will not regard harshly the attempt to make Herodotos uniform in his adoption of this form. Renner, Dindorf and Nauck (*Mélanges gr.-rom.* III 268) claim that the Herodoteian form is ληός, cf. §§ 158, 170.

When *f* disappeared after *ā*, its disappearance was not signaled by the lengthening of the vowel (ἀείναος Hdt. I 93, 145, Herakl. III, cf. Attic νᾶω = Aiolic ναύω). Hence, when in Ionic *ā* appears, it is clear that we are dealing with a poetical form such as ἀείσω Theog. 4, cf. Od. 17, 519, and that such a prose form as Ἀἶδην as commonly read in Hdt. II 122, has the *a* short. In Ionic poetry the short *a* appears in Ἀἶδω Theog. 244, 427, 906, Ἀἶδεω 703, 726, 802, 1014, 1124, Solon 248, Anakr. 438; Ἀἶδην Tyrt. 1238 = Mimn. 214. Ἀἶδος Theog. 914, has *ā*. In but two iambic passages (Simon. Amorg. 114, 717) do we find traces of Ἀἶδης. Homer has Ἀἶδος (Iliad nine times, Od. four times), elsewhere *ā* (so Ἀἶδης V 395, IX 158, &c.). Hesiod always has *ā*, and so the Homeric Hymns, except in one passage, IV 348, where Ἀἶδη is read by Gemoll. Hdt. and Herakl. 127 (but cf. ᾄδην 38) have Ἀἶδης according to the MSS., though there is no evidence to support the correctness of the tradition in favour of the open form. In Aiolic and Doric the *a* is invariably short. So, too, in words derived from the same base. See § 275. Ἀἶδης is rare in tragedy, e.g. Eurip. *El.* 142, *Suppl.* 921, *H. F.* 116, frag. 930.

It is widely held<sup>1</sup> that Ἀἶδης is derived from *a* + *f*ιδ-, and that the passages in Homer where the *a* is long represent *av*, *f* having been vocalized. There is no objection to this explanation, so far as it goes. The difficulty lies in the Attic Ἀἶδης (i.e. ᾄδης), which cannot have arisen either from *āf*ιδ- or *āf*ιδ-. Since the Attic and Homeric forms cannot be dissociated, it is best to regard each as descended from *aif*ιδ- (cf. κάω, ἀεί). This necessitates the abandonment of the old-time etymology whereby Ἀἶδης is the *unseen* god. *aif*ιδ- may be connected with *aia* or with *aiei*. See Wackernagel, *K. Z.* XXVII 276. On this view Ἀἶδος is the older, Ἀἶδης the younger, form; and the apparently isolated cases in Simonides Amorg. are brought into line.

<sup>1</sup> See for example Baunack in his *Studien*, I 294.

161.]  $\bar{a}s < \bar{v}s$ .

$\pi\bar{a}σα < *πάντχα$  may serve to illustrate the existence of that  $\bar{a}$  in Ionic-Attic which did not suffer the change to  $\eta$  at the time when  $αντχα$  became  $ασα$ . When there arose the tendency to substitute a lighter form for the disyllabic  $*πάντχα$ , or to expel  $\nu$  before *sigma* (whether proethnic or from  $\tau\chi$ ), the law according to which  $\bar{a}$  became  $\eta$  in Ionic had ceased to exist, having extended its operations throughout the length and breadth of the dialect. A  $\pi\etaσα$  or  $\tau\etaς$  for  $\tau\acute{\alpha}\nuς$ , was thus rendered impossible. So, too, with names in  $-\delta\acute{\alpha}\mu\bar{a}s$ .

The  $\bar{a}$  of Ionic  $\pi\bar{a}\nu$  is due to the influence of  $\pi\bar{a}s$ . According to Bekk. Anecd. I 416<sub>11</sub> = Bachm. An. I 111<sub>19</sub>, [Drako 24<sub>18</sub>, 29<sub>22</sub>, 85<sub>13</sub>], An. Ox. III 290<sub>7</sub>, Eust. 1434<sub>1</sub>, the Ionians and the poets shortened the  $a$  in  $\bar{a}\pi\alpha\nu$ ,  $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\pi\alpha\nu$ .  $\pi\bar{a}\nu$  occurs in  $\pi\alpha\tau\eta\mu\alpha\rho$  v 31,  $\pi\alpha\tau\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\iota\omicron>s$  A 472 &c. See on Aiolic Accent.

It is noteworthy that Kallinos, I<sub>16</sub>, has  $\xi\mu\pi\bar{a}s$ <sup>1</sup>, whereas Homer has  $\xi\mu\pi\etaς$ ; forms not to be derived immediately from  $\pi\bar{a}s$ , despite Boiotian (but *κοινή*)  $\xi\nu\pi\alpha\sigma\iota$ , adj., C. I. G. I 1625<sub>60</sub>.  $\xi\mu\pi\etaς$  does not occur except in the epic. Brugmann, *Gr. Gr.* p. 225, connects  $-\pi\bar{a}-$  with  $\kappa\upsilon\acute{\epsilon}\omega$  through  $\kappa\chi-\bar{a}-$ , and thus regards  $\xi\mu\pi\bar{a}s$  either as a genitive or as a petrified instrumental with the *sigma* of ablative adverbs. This  $-\pi\bar{a}-$  does not seem to be associated with Kyprian  $\pi\alpha\iota$ . I know of no other case where *sigma* has attached itself to an instrumental.  $\xi\mu\pi\etaς$  in Homer should be reflected by  $\xi\mu\pi\etaς$  in Kallinos, as I am aware of no reason for expelling the Homeric form in favour of the Aiolo-Doric (or Attic)  $\xi\mu\pi\bar{a}s$ .

162.]  $\bar{a}\nu$ ,  $\bar{a}\rho$ ,  $\bar{a}\kappa < \alpha\nu F$ ,  $\alpha\rho F$ ,  $\alpha\kappa F$ .

1.  $\alpha\nu F$ , Ion.  $\phi\theta\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$  = Attic  $\phi\theta\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$ , according to the commonly accepted explanation of this form.  $\kappa\iota\chi\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\iota$  Archil. 54<sub>3</sub> (troch. tetr.).

2.  $\alpha\rho F$ , Homeric, Hdt.  $\delta\rho\eta$ , Hom.  $\delta\rho\acute{\alpha}\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ , = Attic  $\delta\rho\acute{\alpha}$ , &c. from  $\delta\rho F\acute{\alpha}$ , Arkad.  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\tau\alpha\rho F\omicron\nu$ .

3.  $\alpha\kappa F$ ,  $\phi\acute{\alpha}\rho\mu\bar{a}\kappa\omicron>s$  Hipponax, 5<sub>2</sub>, 6, 7, 8<sub>2</sub>, 9, 37<sub>3</sub>, but  $\phi\acute{\alpha}\rho\mu\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\nu$  4.3<sub>4</sub> (= Attic  $\phi\acute{\alpha}\rho\mu\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\nu$ ). Ion.  $\phi\acute{\alpha}\rho\mu\bar{a}\kappa\omicron>s$  =  $*\phi\acute{\alpha}\rho\mu\alpha\kappa F\omicron>s$  =  $\phi\acute{\alpha}\rho\mu\alpha-\kappa(\kappa)\omicron>s$ . The assimilation of  $\kappa\chi$  to  $\kappa\kappa$  is later than that of  $\kappa\chi$  to  $\pi\pi$ . On the accent, see § 123. The  $\bar{a}$  has been thought to appear in Demosthenes XXV 80 (where see Blass) despite the fact that in Attic  $F$  usually disappeared without lengthening the preceding vowel.

163.]  $\hat{A}$  in the forms of the Comparative degree.

$\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu$ , for which one might expect  $*\mu\eta\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu$ , if the form with  $\lambda\lambda$  was formed before or during the period in which proethnic  $\hat{A}$

<sup>1</sup> The accentuation  $\xi\mu\pi\acute{\alpha}s$  according to Et. M. 63<sub>21</sub> did not gain favour in antiquity;  $\xi\mu\pi\etaς$  Apoll. Adv. 564<sub>21</sub>.



became H in Ionic-Attic. The force of analogy has, however, substituted for the old comparative \*μέλλον (cf. *melius*) the form μάλλον, which arose at a period when *ā* no longer became *η* in Ionic-Attic. The proportions τάχα, τάχιστα : θάσσων and ἐλάχιστα : ἐλάσσων might have given us first μάλλον, then μάλλον for μέλλον. The difficulty, which is not recognized by King-Cookson, p. 364<sup>1</sup>, is that θάσσων and ἐλάσσων are themselves associative forms, whose priority to μάλλον is not made out on other grounds than the desirability of using them to account for μάλλον. In Tyrst. 12<sub>0</sub>, μάλιον, restored by M. Schmidt, is hystero-geneous, due to the parallelism of ἡδιον : ἡδιστα ; so μάλιον : μάλιστα. Hdn's (II 548<sub>9</sub> = An. Ox. II 240<sub>2</sub>) statement that μάλιον is Ionic has been changed by Lentz, so as to make this form the property of the Lakonian dialect. From Choireboskos we should imagine that the *a* is long. Harder, *De alpha vocali apud Homerum producta*, p. 104, would read μάλλον (sic) for μάλιον<sup>2</sup>. Cf. § 556.

θάσσων, Attic θάττων, with *ā* according to Herodian, I 524<sub>1</sub>, II 131<sub>3</sub>, 942<sub>17</sub>, from \*θάγχων for \*θέγχων with *a* through influence of τάχα, τάχιστος. The nasal before σσ disappears, leaving compensatory lengthening. Blasa (Kuhner, *Gram.* p. 555) raises the question whether θάσσων and ἐλάσσων are not the proper forms in Homeric, Ionic and Doric.

ἐλάσσων < \*ἐλάγχων for \*ἐλέγχων, cf. ἐλέγχιστος. Cf. Schmidt, *K. Z.* XXV 156.

\*μέλιων, \*θέγχων, \*ἐλέγχων are displaced forms which existed at a period when I.E. *ā* was changed to Ionic *η*. Their displacement by the *ā* forms was therefore subsequent to the production of Ionic *η*.

164 ] *āl* < *al*.

*kālós* < \**kalios* = Skt. *kalya-* would become *καλός* in all dialects, since *λι*, when preceded by the accent, becomes *λλ* (*κάλλιον*, *κάλλιστος*, τὸ *κάλλος*), when followed by it, *λ* (Schmidt, *Neutra*, p. 47 note)<sup>3</sup>. In Homer we find *kālós* without exception, a form that cannot in the epic be regarded as Doric, though so regarded by King-Cookson, p. 184. In Hesiod *kālós* prevails ; in Theog. 585, *W. D.* 63, *καλός*. In the lyric poets we find *kālós* in the following passages<sup>4</sup>: Kallinos, 2<sub>2</sub>; Tyrtaios, 4<sub>7</sub>, 10<sub>1</sub>, 10<sub>30</sub>\*; Mimnermos, 5<sub>3</sub>, 11<sub>4</sub>; Archilochos, 21<sub>3</sub>, 29<sub>1</sub>, 77<sub>1</sub>; Simon. Amorg. 75<sub>1</sub>, 78<sub>7</sub>; Theognis, 16, 242, 257\*, 609, 683, 1019, 1047, 1106, 1216, 1251, 1329, 1336, 1350\*, 1369\* *bis*, 1377; Solon, 13<sub>24</sub>, 1340\*; Phokyl. 13<sub>2</sub>; Anakreon, 22, 63<sub>10</sub>, 71; Oracle in Hdt. I

<sup>1</sup> Following Osthoff, *Perfectum*, 450.

<sup>2</sup> The schol. AV II. VIII 353, brings forward a μάλλον, which Eustathios 1643<sub>m</sub> calls Doric

<sup>3</sup> Attic *κάλη tumor*, is Ionic *κῆλη*

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Harder, *De alpha vocali*, p. 22 ff.

66\* ; cf. also Sim. Keos, 147<sub>4</sub>. On the other hand *κᾶλός* appears as follows: Mimn. 1<sub>6</sub>; Solon, 13<sub>21</sub>; Theog. 17 *bis*, 282, 652, 696, 960, 994, 1259, 1280, 1282; Ananios, 5<sub>2</sub>; Sim. Am. 7<sub>67</sub>(?); Sim. Keos, 147<sub>4</sub>, 156<sub>1</sub>. In Herodas we find *κᾶλός* 3<sub>18</sub>, 4<sub>58</sub>, 7<sub>24</sub>, 11<sub>5</sub>, *κᾶλός* 4<sub>20</sub>, 39, 6<sub>21</sub>. Passages marked with a \* have the *α* in the arsis.

If we question the Greek dialects<sup>1</sup> other than Attic, we learn that *κᾶλός* is the prevailing form: Terpander, 6<sub>2</sub>; Alkman, 35; Sappho, 1<sub>9</sub>, 3, 11<sub>2</sub>, 14<sub>1</sub>, 19<sub>3</sub>, 28, 58, 79, 101<sub>1, 2</sub>, 104; Praxilla, 5<sub>1</sub>. Alkman has *κάλλα* = *καλῶς* 98, Alkaios, *κᾶλιον* 134, Sappho, *κᾶλιστ'* 104<sub>2</sub>, if Bergk's conjecture be admitted. In the 'universal melic' of Simonides of Keos we have *κᾶλός* 5<sub>7</sub>, 37<sub>12</sub>, 40<sub>3</sub>, 70, in Bacchylides, 1<sub>1</sub>, 25. In the Attic drama we find both forms, *κᾶλός* being the rarer form. The lyric poets have *κᾶλός*: Ion, 1<sub>15</sub>; Kritias, 1<sub>14</sub>, 2<sub>19</sub>; and in the Skolia, 19<sub>1, 2</sub>, 20<sub>1, 2</sub>. Plato (?) has *κᾶλός* 8; Aischrion, 1, 4<sub>2</sub>, the same form. *κᾶλός* occurs upon an epigram from Delos, 53.

Those who demur to the form *κᾶλός* in Homer have recourse to the easy expedient of regarding this form as an incorrect transcription of ΚΑΛΟΣ, which they would read *καλλός*. But surely we have no right to assume with G. Meyer (*Gramm.*<sup>2</sup> § 65) that wherever *κᾶλός* is found in the Ionic iambic and elegiac poets it is an incorrect form.

### 165.] *Ā* in other words.

*φᾶρος* in Pherekydes of Leros, Herodotos, and in Homer, if *φάρος* is not to be read with Nauck. So, too, in Xenophanes, 3<sub>3</sub>. In Attic both *ā* and *ᾱ*. Cf. Hdn. π. μ. λ. 39, 31, Bergk on Alkman 23<sub>61</sub>. Harder, *De alpha vocali*, p. 92 ff., suggests that the word is non-Hellenic.

*καρᾶδοκέω* in Hdt., who, however, has *τρικάρηνος*, Hom. *κάρηνα* from *καρασν-*; *κάρᾱ* < *καρᾶσα*. Another form of the root yields *κρη* in *κρησφύγετον* Hdt. V 124<sup>2</sup>.

*γλᾶσσα* (or *γλάσσα*?) = *γλῶσσα*, nine times in Herodas.

On *Ζαρός*, see § 182.

*ἔᾱσα* Hom. Hdt. I 90, from *ἔᾱω* = Skt. *sāṇāyati*, Lat. *desinare*. *ἔᾱω* is originally an aorist formation, pres. *σένῳ*, aor. *σενᾶ-* (*σεῖᾱ-ιω*). *ἔᾱσεις* Anakr. 56, *ἔᾱσον* 57, fragments of doubtful metrical reconstruction.

*ἰθαγένης* Hdt. II 17 (Greg. Kor. § 161) = epic *ἰθαιγένης*, a loca-

<sup>1</sup> See Apoll. περί ἐπιγρ. 565<sub>19</sub>: Καλά . . ὃ δι' ἐνὸς μὲν λ γράφεται κατὰ τὸ κοινὸν ἰθος, παρὰ Δωριεῦσι δὲ δι' ἑτέρου λ, καὶ οὐχ, ὡς ἔνιοι ὑπέλαβον, κατ' Αἰολίδα διάλεκτον· ἰβαρύνετο γὰρ ἄν, πρὸς οἷς οὐδὲ τὸ καλὸς Αἰολεῖς ἐν διπλασιασμῷ τοῦ λ προφέρονται. Doric *καλλά* is due to the influence of τὸ κάλλος, &c., Aiolic *κᾶλιον* (Alk. 134) to that of *κάλος*.

<sup>2</sup> Ionic *κάρη*, Hesych. s. v. *κάρᾱ*, An. Par. IV 26<sub>9</sub>, Zenod. *κρητός* A 530 (schol. Ven. A οὐκ ἔστι δὲ ἱακόν); see Schmidt's *Neutra*, p. 372.

tive (Curt. *Stud.* VI 384). Rutherford, *New Phrynichus*, p. 15, classes the *ἰθαγέτης* of Aischylos among the old Ionisms of the Attic dialect. See § 75.

*ἀνάλωμα* Thasos, 72<sub>11</sub>, *ἀνάλωσιν* Theog. 903. Cf. *ἀνήλωμα* C. I. G. 2347 c 61, 3137<sub>89</sub> = Ditt. *Syll.* 171<sub>58</sub> (Smyrna), which owes its *η* to verbal influence. Even the perfect indic. and the participle have a loan *η*.

*ἄρω* from *αἶρω*, subj. of *ἦρα*, in *ἐπάρει* Eph. 145 A<sub>2</sub>, *ἄρειεν* Sim. Am. 7<sub>60</sub>, *ἐπάρας* Eph. 145 A<sub>9</sub>, cf. Hdt. I 90. See § 305. Different are *καθάρασθαι* Delos, B. C. H. V 468 (third cent.), *καθάραι* *ibid.* V 23, l. 185, 24, l. 194 (second cent.) from *ἐκάθαρα* which is a neologism for *ἐκάθηρα*. Cf. Rutherford, *Phrynich.* p. 76.

Due to metrical compulsion is the *ā* in *ἀθανάτων* Kall. 1<sub>13</sub>, Tyrt. 12<sub>32</sub>, Sol. 4, 13<sub>64, 74</sub>, Theog. very often. *παῖδ' Ἀρεῶ* Archil. 48<sup>1</sup>, probably with *ā*; cf. also Tyrt. 117. The lyric poets have *ā*, except Bacchyl. 36<sub>2</sub>. Another poetical form is:—

*ἀνὴρ* Xenoph. 6<sub>4</sub>, Phokyl. 15<sub>2</sub>, Demod. 3, Solon, 13<sub>39</sub> (?). Elsewhere *ā*. No form in *η* (cf. *ἡγορέη* with *η* from *-ηνωρ*) is found. *ἀνορέαν* C. I. A. I 471, in an old Attic epigram.

On *lāas* in Hom., cf. Solmsen, *K. Z.* XXIX 94.

*χαμάθεν* is rejected by Blass, *Aussprache*<sup>1</sup>, p. 116, in favour of *χαμαῖθεν* or *χαμαθεν*<sup>2</sup>. The MSS. do not have *χαμάθεν*, II 125, where *χαμάθεν* is found beside *χαμόθεν*; and in IV 172 we have no authority for Stein's *χαμάθεν*.

The MSS. often mix Ionic *η* with Attic *ā* after a fashion that gives a false conception of the original dialect preferences of the poets, e.g. in Archil. *γραῖς*, in Ananios *ἀνθίας*.

*ἀπεροπός* in Anakr. 73 (Bergk) should be *ἦπ-*. *σκούτα* Arch. 122 cannot be correct.

Names in *-ās* (Conson. Decl.) are not contracted from *-eas*, but represent, originally at least, the lengthening of the short final *a* of the first member of a compound name, e.g. *Ἀλκᾶς* from *Ἀλκαμένης*; or the lengthening of the initial *ā* of the second member, e.g. *Μολκᾶς* *Μολκᾶδος* 163<sub>6</sub>, *Abdera*, from *Μολπ-Ἀγόρης*, *Abdera*, 163<sub>6</sub>, and the name of a son of Aristagoras in Miletos (Hdt. V 30). Later on these forms were created *ad libitum*. See Bechtel on No. 76, p. 60. Ionic and Attic are here parallel cf. *Ἀλκᾶς* C. I. A. I 433, which cannot have originated from *Ἀλκίας*; Ionic *Μολκᾶς*, *Νοσσικᾶς*, *Ἡρᾶς*, *Θευδᾶς*, &c. See § 181.

#### 166.] H. Preliminary Remarks.

*η* in Ionic may be (1) the pan-Hellenic long *e* sound, (2) the equivalent of *ā* of all other dialects, including Attic *ā* after vowels and *ρ*, (3) dialectal arising from compensatory lengthening of *ᾱ*, as in *σελήνη* < *\*σελασνᾱ*, *τρήρων* < *\*τράσρων*. Attic and Ionic here agree.

<sup>1</sup> Eustath. 518<sub>22</sub> *ὅθεν κατ' ἰδίᾳ διὰλεκτον ἐπεκτείναν Ἀρχίλοχος*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Apoll. Adv. 600<sub>3</sub>, Eust. 999<sub>21</sub>, and Osthoff's *Perfect*, p. 597.

*Pronunciation of η.* In the alphabet of Keos, Naxos, and Amorgos, Ionic-Attic  $\eta = \bar{a}$  of Aiolic, Thessalian, Boiotian, North-West-Greek, Arkado-Kyprian, Doric, or  $= \epsilon + a$ , is represented by B or H (later); pan-Hellenic  $\eta$  by E. From this it is clear that the difference in graphical representation reflects a qualitative difference in pronunciation,  $\eta = \bar{a}$  or  $\epsilon + a$  being the open  $\bar{e}$ ,  $\eta =$  I.E.  $\bar{e}$  the closed long vowel. The dialectal  $\eta$  was a broader, more guttural sound than the aboriginal  $\eta$ . This difference doubtless once obtained in all quarters of Ionic.

The existing examples, however, restrict it to Island Ionic (§ 400):

<i>Keos.</i>	<i>Keos.</i>
θυΗ Rob. I 32 A.	ἐπιβλεματι Rob. I 32 A.
<i>Amorgos.</i>	<i>Amorgos</i> <sup>1</sup> .
Διδάμαν(τ)ι Kirch. Alph. <sup>4</sup> 32. μνΗμα Rob. I 158 D.	Πατερ Kirch. Alph. <sup>4</sup> 32.
<i>Naxos.</i>	<i>Naxos.</i>
Δεινοδίκβο Roberts I 25.	ἀνεθεκε B. C. H. XII, p. 463, pl. 13.
ἀλβον Roberts I 25.	ἀνέθεκεν Rob. I 25, 26 A.
Νικάνδρθ Roberts I 25.	κασιγνΕτθ Rob. I 25.
ἐκθβόλωι Roberts I 25 and I 26 A; cf. also Delos, 24 A.	ποιΕσας B. C. H. XII, p. 463, pl. 13.
[F]ι[φι]καρτίδθς B. C. H. XII 463, pl. 13.	

This accurate distinction<sup>2</sup> is, however, not carried throughout the entire history of the dialect; and in fact, before the adoption of the Ionic alphabet at Athens, we find instances of a confusion between the two E sounds. Thus in Naxos ἐποίθσεν Rob. I 28; in Keos, Rob. I 32 A, l. 17, we have διαρανθΗι, l. 23 θανΗι, where we should expect the closed  $\bar{e}$  sound to be represented by E, not H<sup>3</sup>. So also in Amorgos Σωτηριχος Bechtel 229. Cf. Dittenberger, *Hermes*, XV 229, Blass, *Aussprache*<sup>3</sup>, p. 24 ff., Roberts, I § 33, and on 32 A, with the authorities there quoted, Karsten, p. 23, Kretschmer, *K. Z.* XXXI 291.

A knowledge of the character of the  $\eta$  sound in Ionic is important, since Merzdorf in Curtius' *Studien*, IX 202 ff., has endeavoured to establish the principle that open  $\bar{e} < \bar{a} + o$  becomes  $\epsilon\omega$  (ληός, λεώς), whereas closed  $\bar{e}$  (= I.E.  $\bar{e}$ ) +  $o$  becomes  $\epsilon o$  (βασιλῆος, βασιλέος). Opposed to this doctrine is the Chian πόλεως (Bechtel 174 A, 13), a form that must be held to be genuine

<sup>1</sup> In Amorgos  $\Xi$  also denoted the sound connected with that  $\eta$  which was specifically Ionic (Λαμψαγόρεω, gen. of -γόρης).

<sup>2</sup> In Keos  $\Xi$  was = pan-Hellenic  $\eta$  and also spurious  $\epsilon i$ .

<sup>3</sup> A similar confusion between  $\Xi$  and H is found on a vase in the Louvre, whose provenance is Keos according to Kretschmer.



Ionic. See § 486. \**Ἀρεω* in Archil. 48, is as cogent an objection to the law of Merzdorf as is *πόλεως*. And *ἡφο* from pro-Hellenic *āvo* does not become *εω* in later Ionic with consistency; as witness Ionic *πλέος*, *χρέος* and Hdt. *νηός* beside *λεώς*. Cf. Brugmann, *Gr.* § 19.

Cauer in his otherwise excellent preface to the *Iliad* p. xvii attempted without success to show that, in his text of Homer, Aristarchos wrote *η* before *υ*, *ω*, *α*, when the *η* = *ā*, and *αι* when = pan-Hellenic *ē*. Cf. § 221.

167.] Pan-Hellenic *η* appears invariably as *η* in Ionic. The form *χρᾶσθαι*<sup>1</sup> in Herodotos, and even in Attic (*Mith.* IX 289, l. 24), is no exception to this law. That the root of this verb is *χη-* (\**χησθαι*) is raised beyond a doubt by the forms of the Kretan, Aitolian, Lokrian and Megarian dialects. In Hrd. 6<sub>68</sub>, we have *ἐχρήτο*. A weaker form of *χη-* is *χᾶ-* (cf. *κτη-*, *κτᾶσθαι*), and it is this that appears in the Herodoteian *χρᾶσθαι* (§ 272, 3), and perhaps in Attic *χρῶμαι*, *χρώμειος*, and Messenian *χρῶνται*, *χρωμέιους*. \**χᾶσθαι* is thus the base of this form. A second form of *χη-* is *χε-*, found in *χρέομαι* (Hdt., Herakleia, Rhodes, Krete, Delphi, &c.). A fourth form is *χηέομαι*, in Boiot. *χρειείσθην*, Megarian (Chalkadon) *χηείσθω*, and Eleian *χηήσται*, from *χρήος* = Attic *χρεώς*. Cf. Ahrens, II 131; Meister, I 70, 226, 297; Brugmann, *M. U.* I 64; Merzdorf, in Curtius' *Studien*, VIII 203, 209 ff., IX 230, 236; G. Meyer, § 51; Johansson, *D. U. C.* 155 ff., *B. B.* XV 171, Collitz, *B. B.* XVIII 208. Cf. §§ 264, 2; 272, 3; 288, 3; 687.

*κηρύλος* Archil. 141 (cf. Alkm. 26<sub>3</sub>); *κειρύλος* *Arca* 300, is a pun on the occupation of Sporgilos.

Attention may here be called to that *η* which is produced by the lengthening of *ε*, the initial vowel of a word which stands second in a compound. This initial vowel may or may not be lengthened in the same dialect upon composition taking place. Cf. *ἀνιρίθρευτος* Chios 174 C 25, with *ἀνεριθρευτος* (Homeric *ἐριθος*); also *Ξειήρετος* Keos 42, not from *ἀμετή* despite the later *Ξειάρετος* C. I. G. IV 8, 18, 108, 109 (Rhodes). Bechtel derives *-ηρετος* from *ἐρέω* (cf. Archil. 25, 68). But see Wackernagel's *Dehnungsgesetz*, p. 41, and cf. *Νικηράτων* Styra 19<sub>208</sub>. *Ξειήρης* *B. P. W.*, 1890, p. 1405, no. 44.

168.] Relation of *η* to *ει*. The non-diphthongal *Ei* is generally expressed by *E* upon Ionic inscriptions (see § 213). Ionic *η* = (1) pan-Hellenic *η* and (2) *αι* of other dialects, stands in no relation to this non-diphthongal *ει* in Ionic; nor is any change of *η* to diphthongal *ει* to be admitted. The form *Κρεισίων* Styra 19<sub>130</sub>,

<sup>1</sup> Anecd. Bachm. I 417<sub>10</sub>; *χρᾶ* 'Ιωνικῶς, 'Αττικὸν δὲ *χρη* Schol. Ven. A on A 216; Hdn. II 606<sub>10</sub>, *χρη* . . . ἀπὸ τοῦ *χρῶ* *χρη* (Hdt. IV 155), *χρη* (Hdt. IV 155 &c.) 'Ιωνικῶς καὶ 'Αττικῶς.



was asserted by me (*Diphthong EI*, p. 80) to be an impossible form. The same is now held to be the case by Bechtel, *ad loc.*<sup>1</sup> Vischer in 19<sub>104</sub> read Θείσων, which he held to be the 'Boioto-Aiolic' form for Θήσων. This is incorrect as regards the presence of a Boiotian form upon the Styrian leaden tablets. Nor can it be justified on other grounds. Bechtel suggests 'Αλ]θήσων; cf. 'Αλθημένης, a Thasiote name. γλυκῆαν Hrd. 4<sub>2</sub> is not Ionic, cf. 5<sub>53</sub>, 6<sub>53</sub>.

On H resulting from contraction, see §§ 263–265, 280.

169.] Ionic H=Ā of other dialects. I.E. ā is represented in Ionic regularly by η=Aiolic and Doric ā. A few noteworthy forms are here mentioned.

παμπήδην Theog. 615, with which cf. Solon's πεπᾶσθαι (13<sub>7</sub>). Wilamowitz (*Herakl.* 1426) opines that the Athenians borrowed πάομαι from the Megarians (Theog. 146 πᾶσάμενος) and Dorians. This verb is not in use in Ionic, which has accepted κτάομαι. Schmidt, *Neutra*, p. 411; Collitz, *B. B.* XVIII 211. On Πολυπάμων in Homer, cf. Fick, *Odyss.* p. 17; Wilamowitz, *Hom. Unters.* 70; G. Meyer, *Gramm.* § 65; Johansson, *D. V. C.* p. 150. A Thessalian has the name Παμε[ν]ός, from \*πᾶμαι. A Kyprian name is Πασίκυπρος.

ἦκη Archil. tr. 43, is the only instance in Greek of the long vowel of this root. Cf. Skt. āṇus, Lat. ācer. The weak form occurs in ἀκόνη, ἄκων, &c.

ἥερος, ἥερι in Hdt. with the pseudo-Ionic nominative ἥήρ in Hippokr. II 22, 24, 34, 60, 70<sup>2</sup>, Aretaios 260; ἥερος Hippokr. Lukian, Hippokr. *ep.*, Aret.; ἥερι Hippokr. Aret.; ἥερα Hippokr. II 26, 34, 72, Aret., Hdt. I 172, IV 31; ἥερίων Luk., *de Astr.* 23. The Homeric δῆρ has been regarded as equivalent to αὐήρ=ἀφῆρ (cf. Dor. ἀβήρ and Aiolic αῦηρ). 'Αιδος, which has been cited as offering a parallel case of the vocalization of af, must be classed elsewhere on account of the Attic 'Αιδης; see § 160; so, too, δίσσω cannot be explained as=αὐίσσω (Fick), since an ἀφίσσω would have become αἴττω<sup>3</sup>. δῆρ in Attic is not a form in accordance with the genius of that dialect. If the ā is original we shall have to seek for a root alf, or for a strong root with ā, whose weak form appears in Aiolic αῦηρ (AIOLIC, § 214). The

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Κτησίων 19<sub>55-56</sub>, 21<sub>1-36</sub>, 304, Κτήσιμος 19<sub>57</sub>, Κτήσις 19<sub>123</sub>, Κτηρίνος 19<sub>123</sub>, Κτηρίνος 19<sub>123-24</sub>. The δ of κτάομαι is ablaut of κτη-. Boiot. Κτεισίλαο C. D. I. 483 = Κτησίλου.

<sup>2</sup> Noteworthy is ἥήρ in the genuine work of Hippokrates π. ἀέρων ὑδ. τόπ., but δῆρ in the spurious περὶ ἰερῆς νόσου (Littre, VI 372, 374, 390 twice; on p. 394 ἥήρ is a conjecture of Littre). In VI 94, v. l. VI 524 we find δῆρ, in VIII 268 θ has ἥήρ (*vulg.* δῆρ).

<sup>3</sup> αἴσσω, Attic φττω < φαίφω. Cf. δ as representative of af in δδῆρ = δαφῆρ, Skt. devār-, and in δελ = αλφελ.

assumption of a ground-form  $\tilde{a}f\eta\rho$  would necessitate the hazardous conclusion that a native Attic  $\tilde{a}\eta\rho$  arose by dissimilation from  $\eta\eta\rho$ . Wackernagel, *K. Z.* XXVII 276, without advancing an etymology of the puzzling word, ventures the assertion that it is an importation from Homer by the philosophers (e.g. Herakl. 25, Anaxag. 1, Meliss. 17) and the poets. At all events it is clear that  $\tilde{a}f$  = Aiolic  $\alpha\nu$  cannot be reflected by Attic  $\tilde{a}$ ; in other words, the supposition that  $f$  upon its disappearance lengthens a preceding vowel must be abandoned as an error. It is not long since scholars have learned that the loss of the palatal spirant  $yod$  is not compensated by the lengthening of a preceding vowel. The momentary appearance of  $\tilde{a}f$  as  $\tilde{a}\nu$  ( $\tilde{a}$ ) under the ictus in Homer cannot cause  $\tilde{a}$  to be regarded as long in prose. Homeric verse does not shape the form of words for the dialects, which live their own life. We must distinguish between words that have been adopted into literature from Homer in the Homeric form as the result of conscious art, and the phonetics of the dialects which are free from such external influence.

$\eta\epsilon\pi\iota\sigma$ ,  $\eta\pi\iota$ , 'early,' are from  $\tilde{a}\nu\sigma\epsilon\pi\iota$ .  $\tilde{e}\pi\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\nu$ , 'breakfast,' Hom. Hdt. <  $\tilde{a}\nu\sigma\epsilon\pi$ . These words must be separated from  $\tilde{a}\eta\rho$ , etc. Cf. Collitz, *B. B.* X 62, Brugmann in *Curt. Stud.* IX 392, and *Grundr.* II § 122. Is it possible that the  $\eta$  of  $\eta\epsilon\pi\iota\sigma$  &c. was introduced through confusion with  $\eta\epsilon\pi\iota\sigma$ ,  $\eta\pi\iota$ ?

$\eta\pi\alpha$ , stated to be Ionic for  $\tilde{a}\pi\alpha$  by Gram. Vat. p. 699, and found in Hippokr., is also Doric and Aiolic, <  $\tilde{h} + \tilde{a}\pi\alpha$ , § 282. Cf. *Apoll. Cony.* 227<sub>21</sub> Schn.

170.] H =  $\tilde{A}$  of Doric, E of Attic and of later Ionic by *metathesis quantitatis*.

In the Hipponaktian  $\lambda\eta\acute{o}s$  we have the oldest Ionic stage of pre-Hellenic  $*\lambda\tilde{a}f\acute{o}s$  which can be recognized upon Greek soil.  $\lambda\eta\acute{o}s$  is found in all MSS. but  $r$ , Hdt. V 42. Were it not for  $\lambda\epsilon\acute{o}s$  I 22, II 129, VIII 136,  $\lambda\eta\acute{o}s$  might claim admission to the text of the historian with the same justice as  $\nu\eta\acute{o}s$ . See §§ 140, 4, 160.

$\nu\eta\acute{o}s$  <  $*\nu\tilde{a}f\acute{o}s$ , in Hdt. and in Lukian, as in Archil. 4<sub>1</sub> (eleg.), with the retention of  $\eta$ , whereas, according to Merzdorf's 'law' the form should not have  $\eta$ . Editors of Hdt. write  $\nu\epsilon\acute{o}s$  despite the fact that  $\nu\eta\acute{o}s$  is found almost without a variant.  $\nu\eta\acute{o}s$  occurs not infrequently in tragedy where its presence has been attacked by most editors. In order to avoid the inconsistency arising from the fact that Old Ionic  $\lambda\eta\acute{o}s$  = Hdt.  $\lambda\epsilon\acute{o}s$ , but Old Ionic  $\nu\eta\acute{o}s$  = Hdt.  $\nu\epsilon\acute{o}s$  (which is claimed to be the New Ionic form) not  $\nu\epsilon\acute{o}s$ , the -os of  $\nu\epsilon\acute{o}s$  has most improbably been regarded by Brugmann, *Gr. Gr.* § 19, as due to the influence of that of  $\pi\omicron\delta\acute{o}s$ . The Doric genitive is  $\nu\tilde{a}\acute{o}s$ . Theognis has  $\nu\tilde{a}\tilde{u}s$  84, 856, 1361, in 970  $\tilde{A}$  has  $\nu\eta\tilde{u}s$ , though Bergk reads  $\nu\tilde{a}\tilde{u}s$ ;  $\nu\tilde{a}\tilde{u}\nu$  680<sup>1</sup>. On the other hand,

<sup>1</sup> Renner regarded this form as a Dorism, but wished to substitute  $\nu\eta\tilde{u}s$  for  $\nu\tilde{a}\tilde{u}s$ .

*νῆος* 513, *νηυσί* 12; Solon *νητ* 19<sub>3</sub>, *νηυσίν* 13<sub>44</sub>; Mimn. *νηυσίν* 9<sub>2</sub>. The forms in *η* deserve mention in this connection, because of the superstition that *νηυσί* and *ναυσί* are identical as regards quantity. The *a* of *ναυσί* is short. Cf. *βασιλεύς* < -*ηύς*, *Ζεύς* < *Ζηύς*, &c. In Ionic *νηὺς* the *η* is due to *νηός*; *νητ* instead of *νη* is due likewise to the influence of the genitive.

171.] Ionic H = *Ā* of other dialects (including Attic *Ā* after E, I, *Υ*, P).

1. In the endings of the Vowel Declension, and in adverbs representing petrified cases of this declension.

2. In verbal forms of the -*αω* inflection, and in forms derived therefrom.

3. In radical and thematic syllables (excluding such as may be classed under 1 and 2).

4. In syllables of derivation.

5. In other forms.

*εη* = Attic *εā* is derived from *ε(ι)η* = *ε(ι)ā*. Cf. Attic *δωπεδ* < *δωπειδ*, which prevails till 268 B.C.

References for the study of the interrelation of Ionic *η* and Attic *ā* :—

Ahrens, *Göttinger Philol. Versammlung*, 1852; Bergk, *Gr. Lit. Gesch.* I 73; Kirchhoff, *Hermes*, V 49 ff.; Cauer, in Curtius' *Stud.* VIII 244, 435, and *Wochenschrift für kl. Phil.* 1887, No. 51; Curtius, in his *Studien*, I 248; G. Meyer, *Gr. Gr.* XXIII; Brugmann, *Gr. Gr.* § 10, *Grundr.* I § 104; Bechtel, *Phil. Anzeiger*, 1886, p. 20; Kretschmer, *K. Z.* XXXI 285.

**Preliminary Remarks.**—The dichotomy of the Greek language into *Ā* and H dialects assumes that at an extremely early period *ā* had become *η* in Ionic. But it may be doubted whether this shifting of pronunciation, though anterior to the disappearance of *ν* before final *s*<sup>1</sup>, was in all quarters of the Ionic world so old as is generally assumed to be the case. We are able to distinguish in the alphabets of Naxos, Keos and Amorgos between the sign for pan-Hellenic *η* (E) and that for secondary *η* = *ā* (H); a differentiation which makes it certain that the introduction of *η* for *ā* in Ionic did not happen at the stroke of twelve but was the result of a gradual change. That this change was accomplished in Attika before the departure eastward of the Ionians is not so probable as that it was begun while yet the Ionians dwelt in Attika and completed in the course of time upon the islands and the mainland of Asia Minor. Had all

<sup>1</sup> *η* from *ā* is later than the disappearance of *σ* in *ἄσως* (§ 290). The law whereby an *ἄσ-* would become *ἄσ-* is later than the expulsion of the sibilant.

$\bar{a}$ 's become  $\eta$ 's when the Ionians reached Ionia, Old-Persian *Māda* would have been represented in Ionic by *Mādoi*, not, as is the case, by *Mḥdoi*. Be this as it may, it is clear that the universal displacement of I.E.  $\bar{a}$  by  $\eta$ <sup>1</sup> antedates the earliest distinctly Ionic literature of which we have cognizance. It is futile to maintain that Ionic Homerids substituted the  $\eta$  which had come into vogue in their day for an Ionic  $\bar{a}$  of a still older period of the epos. A much-vexed question is whether in Attic  $\bar{a}$  is original after  $\epsilon$ ,  $\iota$ ,  $\upsilon$ ,  $\rho$ , or whether the Ionic  $\eta$  was also Attic at some period of the Attic dialect, and later became  $\bar{a}$ . Certain scholars have ventured to compare the instances of Eleian  $\bar{a}$  = pan-Hellenic  $\eta$ , despite the fact that the cases are not parallel. And the actual appearance of a 'hyper-Doric'  $\bar{a}$  in one dialect is not proof that an Ionic-Attic  $\eta$  became  $\bar{a}$  in Attic.

Even if Attic  $\bar{a}$  after  $\epsilon$ ,  $\iota$ ,  $\upsilon$ ,  $\rho$  is later than  $\eta$ , it is scarcely to be expected that the older  $\eta$  should be sporadically attested, and improbable that Attic  $\bar{a}$  should have been substituted for pan-Hellenic  $\eta$ . The best support for the view that originally all instances of I.E.  $\bar{a}$  became  $\eta$  in Attic is to be sought in the fact  $\acute{\upsilon}\gamma\acute{\iota}\epsilon(\sigma)\alpha$  became  $\acute{\upsilon}\gamma\acute{\iota}\bar{\alpha}$ <sup>2</sup>,  $\sigma\alpha\phi\acute{\epsilon}(\sigma)\alpha$ ,  $\sigma\alpha\phi\eta$ . According to Kretschmer (*h. Z.* XXXI 289) Attic  $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\bar{\alpha}$  and  $-\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\bar{\alpha}$  (in *Ἀναξιλέα*) from  $\theta\acute{\alpha}\bar{f}\bar{\alpha}$  (in the dialect of Tarentum) and  $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\bar{f}\bar{\alpha}$ , can be explained solely on the view that in Attic all cases of primary  $\bar{a}$  became  $\eta$ . The same scholar adduces Eleian  $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\theta\acute{\alpha}\rho\sigma$  and Lokrian  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha\bar{\alpha}$  in proof of the ability of  $\rho$  to change an open  $\epsilon$  sound into  $\bar{a}$ . These are, however, instances not directly comparable to the case in point. But whatever the date of the change of  $\eta$  to  $\bar{a}$ , it happened long enough before the period of our earliest Attic monuments to preclude the possibility of the survival in them of any of the old  $\eta$ 's.

For a further discussion of the interrelation of Attic  $\bar{a}$  and Ionic  $\eta$ , see above §§ 61, 72 ff.

### 172.] Ending of the Vowel Declension (stems in $\bar{a}$ )<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> There is no basis for an Ionic  $\bar{a}$  *drop* Et. Gud. 250<sub>34</sub>).

<sup>2</sup>  $\acute{\upsilon}\gamma\acute{\iota}\eta$  in inscriptions of the fourth century is an analogue of  $\sigma\alpha\phi\eta$ .

<sup>3</sup> Masc. in  $-\eta\varsigma$ :  $\Sigma\omega\acute{\alpha}\eta\varsigma$  Joh. Gr. 239 B, Greg. Kor. 1, Gram. Meerm. 649, Birnb. 677<sub>1</sub>, Vat. 695 with itacistic  $-\epsilon\eta\varsigma$ ),  $\text{Ἑρμείης}$  Joh. Gr. 239 B ( $-\eta\varsigma$ ), Greg. Kor. 1, Meerm. 649, Vat. 695, Birnb. 677<sub>1</sub>. Fem. in  $-\eta$ :  $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\eta$  Joh. Gr. 241,  $\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta$  Eust. 543<sub>1</sub>,  $\tau\rho\omega\eta$  An. Ox. I 408<sub>1</sub> cf. 407<sub>21</sub> and 387<sub>21</sub>,  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\eta\eta$  Theogn. II 177<sub>1</sub>,  $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\eta\varsigma$  Schol. I 206,  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\iota\delta\epsilon\eta$  An. Ox. IV 419<sub>21</sub>, Apoll.  $\text{Ἰσμή}$  227<sub>21</sub> Schneider.  $\text{Μηδείης}$  Hdn. II 751<sub>1</sub>, =Choir. 324<sub>1</sub>,  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\theta\epsilon\eta$  Aug. 668, Vat. 699,  $\acute{\omega}\phi\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\eta$  Leid. 628,  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta\pi\rho\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$  Hdn. II 16<sub>1</sub> = 357<sub>1</sub>, An. Ox. III 296<sub>1</sub>, Drako 79<sub>1</sub>,  $\Sigma\iota\delta\omega\lambda\eta\theta\epsilon\upsilon$  Hdn. II 349<sub>1</sub> = An. Ox. I 387<sub>1</sub>. Fem. in  $-\epsilon\eta$ :  $\kappa\upsilon\upsilon\epsilon\eta$  An. Ox. I 239<sub>1</sub>,  $\nu\eta\pi\iota\epsilon\eta$  Hdn. II 353<sub>1</sub> = An. Ox. I 289<sub>1</sub>, An. Par. III 69<sub>1</sub>,  $\zeta\alpha\theta\epsilon\eta$  Et. Gud. 227<sub>21</sub>,  $\text{Ἑκτορεῖη}$  Apoll.  $\text{Ἰσμή}$  233<sub>1</sub> Schn. Fem. in  $-\omega\eta$ :  $\tau\rho\omega\eta$  An. Ox. I 407<sub>1</sub>. Fem. in  $\rho\eta$ :  $\text{Ἥρη}$  Joh. Gr. 240, 241, Greg. Kor. 10, Aug. 668, Meerm. 650, Vat. 693, 696,  $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\eta$  Joh. Gr. 240, 241, Meerm. 650, Vat. 696,  $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\rho\eta$  Joh. Gr. 235, 240, Leid. 628, An. Ox. I 387<sub>21</sub>;

1. *Masculines* in *-ης*, *-ιης*, are retained upon all early Ionic inscriptions. 'Εσνέας and Λυσαγόρας, forms assumed to exist upon the lead tablets of Styra (19<sub>191</sub> and 244) have been shown, § 157. to lack foundation. Cf. 19<sub>58</sub>, 19<sub>173</sub> in Bechtel, Αινέης in Rob. I 189 F, 'Αντίης Rob. I 190, No. I, E. Πυθαγόρας occurs Samos 215 = Roberts, I 156, in an artist's signature to an Ionic epigram. Since the giver of the εἰκῶν was an Epizephyrian Lokrian, Pythagorês may have adopted for his name a form in harmony with the dialect of the dedicator Euthymos<sup>1</sup>. The dialect of Rhegion was mixed Doric and Ionic (Thuk. VI 5). Whatever be the true explanation of this form, it deserves notice that this is the earliest example of *-αγόρας* upon an Ionic inscription. In Rob. I 157, we read [Πυ]θαγόρ[ας], restored on the lines of 156. A coin of Samos (400–350) gives the true Ionic form Πυθαγόρης, Bechtel, 226 I. On Πυθαγόρης, from Salymbria, see Bechtel on No. 261.

*-ias* appears in Thasos at the end of the third century (Κριτίας 82 A 7); 'Ηγέας in Keos, 44 B 4; 'Ελπéας *ibid.* 44 B 16, an early document perhaps of the fifth century; 'Αρισταγόρας Thasos, 82 A 5 (225–200). See § 415.

2. In *feminine* nouns the termination *-ιη* appears sporadically till after Christ in the inscriptional monuments of the Ionic dialect (cf. below, § 173). The ingression of the Attic forms in the *Â* declension dates from the middle of the fourth century B.C. Κλευπάτρα Delos 55, III 34 (cf. VII 27) dates from the third century B.C.; ἀρᾱί Teos, 158<sub>28</sub>, Δημητρία Chios, 192, ὑγέας Olbia, 129<sub>14</sub>, are all inscriptions of late date. Upon an archaic vase (Roberts, I 190) we find Χώρα, whose *ā* perhaps makes for Attic provenance (see Kretschmer, *K. Z.* XXIX 398).

Δωροφέα Roberts, I 29, upon a stone in Naxos, is certainly not an Ionian woman, not only on account of the *ā*, but also on account of the φ for θ, which is not a substitution known elsewhere as Ionic (φ = θ in Aiolic, Boiotian, Epeirotic, Thessalian).

'Ηρας Samos, 220<sub>36</sub>, and 221<sub>37</sub> (about 350), whereas in 226 we find 'Ηρης. The η form is retained upon inscriptions till a late period, though doubtless no longer spoken. Cf. § 430. The

ἀρούρη, γεφύρη An. Par. IV 118<sub>12</sub>, ἀγορή Apoll. Adr. p. 191<sub>21</sub> Schn.; γοργύρη Eust. 1688<sub>23</sub>, ἡμέρη Diog. Laert. VII 56; ἡμετέρη Leid. 628; ἰθύρη Theog. II 79<sub>17</sub>; ἰρή An. Ox. IV 412<sub>12</sub>, Choir. 515<sub>23</sub>; ἑφύρη An. Ox. I 159<sub>11</sub> (also in Thukyd.) II 117, called Attic, as also Κύρη; ἀλιβοτείρη An. Ox. I 263<sub>22</sub>; πάτηρ Tzetz. Ex. II. 85<sub>12</sub>; χήρη Eust. 589<sub>18</sub>, 1093<sub>17</sub>; ἔρη Vat. 696; ἄσκη, ὀλύκη, ἄρτισάκη Hdn. II 348<sub>26</sub> = Arkad. 113<sub>16</sub>, cf. An. Ox. IV 412<sub>9</sub>, and Choir. 515<sub>8</sub> ff., who has also Κάτηρ, Ἄγηρ, Κύρη, Τερψιχόρη. Even in μόρη An. Ox. I 275<sub>6</sub>, σπείρη Meerm. 650, Vat. 696, σφαίρη An. Par. IV 118<sub>12</sub>, Στείρη Joh. Gr. 240 B, cf. 419.

<sup>1</sup> Dedicators generally have the dedicatory inscription engraved in their native alphabet; but cf. Roberts, I 230, *bis*, for an exception.



conservative style of the inscriptions has retained Πυθαγόρης on coins of the empire (P. Gardner, *Num. Chron.* 1882, 280).

On -ā in the poets, see below, § 187 ff. The occurrences of ā in proper names in Hdt., where η might have been expected, have been enumerated under Â (§ 158).

173.] Note on the chronology of η after ε, ι, and ρ in Ionic inscriptions.

It is to be noted that upon inscriptions as late as the third century after Christ, Ionic η held its ground sporadically; e.g. Keos, 52 Ἰουλιητῶν (in Attic even in the fourth century B. C.); Paros, 66 Εἰλειθυίη; Istros, 135 Ἰστρίη (as late as Gordianus Pius); Priene, Πριηνέων, on a coin in Imhoof-Blumer, *Monnaies Grecques*, 296, No. 127 (time of Hadrian), Head, *H. N.* 508. Coins of Olbia retain -ιη till the period of Caracalla and Alexander Severus<sup>1</sup>. HITΩN occurs on coins of Ios from Trajan to Faustina Jun. and Lucilla, Head, *H. N.* 414. A unique form is 'Α[π]ατούρη; Latysch. II 28.

The inscriptions before 350 B. C. generally have the Ionic η.

This retention of η, the inflection of adjectives of material in -εος, &c., and the inflection of the *Iota* declension (gen. -ιος), are the last heirlooms of the Ionic dialect that were displaced by the Attic κοινή.

174.] In the following paragraphs we will attempt to discover to what extent the Ionic dialect has preserved the long vowel of the suffix -ιη (-iā), which in Attic and occasionally in Ionic has been displaced by -iā. An immediate connection, temporal or local, between Ionic and Attic cannot be shown on the ground of this tendency, which obtains in both dialects. Thus, the usual Attic form is ἀλήθεια, a form younger than the 'Old-Attic' ἀληθείᾱ and the Ionic (Homeric) ἀληθείη, since it is the result of a transferring of an abstract noun with the suffix -iā into the category of the adjectival flexion, which had -iā as original feminine ending<sup>2</sup>. The feminine adjective was formed from a consonantal stem by the addition of the suffix -iā (Skt. -ī) as in ἡδέϊα *niādei*, ἀλήθεια. Feminine nouns from the same stems added, not -iā,

<sup>1</sup> Ionic forms occasionally appear in the MSS. of the New and of the Old Testament. That σπείρης existed in the archetypal MS., is evident from Acts XXI 31 (general reading, XXVII 1 every uncial and many cursives). In Acts X 1, σπείρης is not so well supported (ACEL, -as in BP; μαχαίρη Luke XXI 14 B'D), μαχαίρη Luke XXII 49 (B'DLT),; πλημύρης Luke VI 48 (B LEX 33), Σαρφίρη Acts V 1, Tischendorf -ρα BD, συνειδυίης Acts V 2 AB Ew, -as DP; ἐπιβεβηκυίης 1 Sam XXV 20, κυρομυίης Exod. VIII 21, 24, but -μυίαν read by Tischend. In Acts XXVII 30 πρῶρης in N<sup>o</sup> 41 d; in XXVII 41, is the v l. πρώτη for πρῶρη?

<sup>2</sup> Joh. Gr. 240 B, Greg. Kor. § 45 call ἀληθείη a later form than that in -iā. Joh. Gr. 235 merely cites ὠφελείη.

but *-iā* as in *ἀληθείᾱ*. Perhaps the presence of the latter form caused the fem. adj. *ἀλήθεια* to die out. At any rate the confusion between *-iā* and *-iā* in abstract nouns may be dated from the period of the disappearance of the fem. adj. of *ἀληθής*. Cf. also *-ηιη* and *-εια* from *-ην* stems, *-ιη* being the substantival, *-iā* the adjectival, ending <sup>1</sup>.

The question of the interrelation of *-ειη*, *-ηιη*, *-ιη* is touched on, §§ 145, 215, 232 ff. On Attic *-εια* and *-ια*, see Schanz' Plato II 2, p. vii ff., Moiris, 199<sub>15</sub>.

### 175.] Abstract feminines in *-ειη* in Ionic.

See Choirob. Bekk. Anecd. III 1314, Hdn. II 454<sub>20</sub>, Fritsch, *Zum Vokalismus des herod. Dial.* p. 19, Bredow, 127, 188. Figures without authors refer to Hdt.

*ἀδείη* IX 42, but *ἀδειαν* II 121 (ζ), in all MSS. *ἀληθείη*, not *ἀληθηίη*, in Hdt.; *ἀληθείη* occurs in Euseb. Mynd. 19, 21, Luk. Astr. 1, Hipp. ep. 10<sub>6</sub>, 12<sub>4</sub>, 17<sub>57</sub>, Mimnermos 8, Iliad, Ψ 361, Ω 407, and often in the Odyssey. Cf. Gram. Aug. 668, Vat. 699. *ἀναιδείη* VI 129, VII 210, &c., Archil. 78<sub>5</sub> (Athen. *-είην*, or *-ειαν*); Theog. 291, 648 (*O -ίη*); Hipp. ep. 17<sub>42</sub>. Cf. Choirob. 655<sub>4</sub>, An. Ox. IV 419<sub>27</sub>, Apoll. Conj. 227<sub>27</sub> Schn. *ἀτελείη* I 54, III 67, IX 73; *ἀτε[λ]είην* Kyzikos, 108 B 3. This form has been attributed by Karsten (*De titulorum Ionic. dialecto*, p. 18), to that species of Ionic which he calls Karian<sup>2</sup>. No other example of *ἀτελείη* occurs upon Ionic inscriptions, though it is the regular Ionic form and that which has been supplanted upon other inscriptions by the Attic *ἀτέλεια*, Eryth. 199<sub>6</sub> (394 B.C. one of the earliest cases of the ingression of Atticisms<sup>3</sup>), 202<sub>9</sub> (350 B.C.); Zeleia, 114 (334 B.C.); Ephesos, 147<sub>13</sub> (300 B.C.); Iasos, 105<sub>9</sub> (end of fourth century); Teos, *Mitth.* XVI 292 (early Hellenistic period). *ἀτρεκείη* IV 152, Hipp. ep. 16<sub>8</sub>, 17<sub>51</sub>. *ἐπιπειθείη* Sim. Amorg. 1<sub>6</sub>. *εὐηθείη* III 140; in VII 16 γ, R has *εὐηθείας*, not adopted by the editors. *εὐμαρείη* IV 113; Greg. Korinth. § 119, *εὐμαρέην δὲ τὴν ἀπόπατον*. Suidas has both *εὐμαρέη* and *εὐμάρεια*. *εὐπετείη* V 20, Demokr. 134. *εὐτελείη* II 92, &c. *κακοηθείη* Demokr. Mor. 22 (Stob.). *μεγαλοπρεπείη* III 125. *πολυμαθείη* was the reading of Diog. Laert. in Herakl. 16 (Byw. *-ιη*). Cobet's *πouλυμαθηίη* is wide of the mark. *πολυτελείη* II 87. *πρεσβυγενείη* VI 51. *προμηθείη* is correctly handed down in Xenoph. 1<sub>24</sub>. Hdt. has *προμηθείη* I 88, III 36 (*CPd*, *-είη*). A schol., quoted by Bredow, p. 188, says *τῆς νεωτέρας ἰάδος ἐστὶ τὸ λέγειν τὴν προμήθειαν προμηθίαν*. *σιτοδείη* I 22, 94. *ξυμπαθείη* Aret. 153. *ὑγείη* II 77, Demokr. Mor. 46,

<sup>1</sup> Ionic and Attic *Εἰβεια* is older than *Εἰβεία*, Hesiod, W. D. 651. Cf. *εἰβύιαν*.

<sup>2</sup> On *βησιλίας*, a supposed example of 'Karian' Ionic, see § 11.

<sup>3</sup> *προεδρίην* in the same inscription.

Hippokr. II 14, 26, 32, 634 Litt. (*vulgo* ὑγείην), ep. 2, 109, 172, (*vulgo*, -εἰαν in χ), 26, ὑγείη Hippokr. II 244 Litt. (ὑγίην 2165, 2276, &c.), II 282 Litt. (ὑγίην 2253, &c., ὑγίην 2276). Midway between ὑγίην and ὑγείη stands the itacistic ὑγίῃ in Herodas 4<sub>80</sub>, a form not yet contracted into ὑγίη (cf. Ὑγία C. I. A. III 183<sub>2</sub>). The gen. is ὑγίης Hrd. 420, 94; the nom. Ὑγία 45 may be retained at the cost of the omission of τε. The evidence of inscriptions is against the primitive character of the form ὑγείᾱ (Osthoff, *M. U.* IV 181), though it appears as early as Eubulos III 248, Philemon IV 22 (l. 11)—in both passages rejected by Meineke. Whether Ὑγία Paros 67 (cf. Olbia, 129<sub>14</sub>, also a late inscription) is ὑγείᾱ for Ionic ὑγείη, or ὑγείᾱ < ὑγεία is uncertain, but both forms are clearly itacistic. On ὑγείᾱ for ὑγεία, see Blass, *Ausdrücke*<sup>3</sup>, p. 60, who compares late Boiotian Θεισπέλων for Θεισπιέλων, C. D. I. 816. ὑγεία is a conjecture in Herakl. 104 (ὑγείαν *vulgo*), and often occurs as a *v. l.* in Hippokr. ὑπώρειη II 158 R, ὑπώρεα IV 23, for ὑπώρεα from ὄρος, Hipponax ὀρείας 35<sub>5</sub>, Hdt. ὀρεινός. φιλομαθείη Euseb. Mynd. 1. φρενοβλαβείη Luk. *Syr.* 18.

**176.] Forms in -εἰᾱ < -εῖα.**

In the following cases there is good MS. evidence for -εἰα, which must however be regarded as an Attic intruder. ἄδειαν, Hdt. II 121 (ζ) in all MSS. ἀκράτεια Hippokr. V 620 (166). ἀλήθεια Hippokr. ep. 17<sub>14, 57</sub>, where Hercher adopts the form with η as in all the other cases cited below from this pseudo-Ionic source. ἀμέλεια Hippokr. II 60 (Litt. ὁμιλήν). ἀνδρογένεια Hippokr. ep. 27<sub>21</sub>. ἀσθέρεια Hippokr. III 224 *vulgo* (Lit. -εἰην), Aret. 321. ἀσφάλεια Hippokr. II 140, 244 (Lit. -εἰην), 634 (Lit. -εἰην), III 234 (Lit. -εἰην). ἐγκράτεια Euseb. Mynd. 26. ἐμμελείαν in all MSS. except d, Hdt. VI 129; Stein and Holder read -εἰην. ἐπιμέλεια in all MSS., Hdt. VI 105; Hippokr. ep. 27<sub>55</sub>. εὐγένεια occurs in Dem. 127, a fragment otherwise in Ionic form in Stob.; cf. Hippokr. ep. 17<sub>1</sub>. εἰλάβεια Hippokr. ep. 27<sub>3</sub>. εὐμενίη II 45, is written by Holder against the authority of the MSS., which have -εἰα or -εα. ἡδυπάθεια Hippokr. ep. 17<sub>53</sub>. Ἡρακλείη Hdt. V 43 (-κλείαν ABCd). κακοπάθεια Hippokr. ep. 17<sub>42</sub>. περιφασείη Stein, -εἰα, Holder with all MSS. In II 55, both Stein and Holder write Προμερεία, the name of a Dodonian priestess. ξυγγένεια Hippokr. ep. 26<sub>3</sub>. ξυμπάθεια Hippokr. ep. 13<sub>2</sub>. ξυνάφεια Aret. 147, 334.

παιώλεα and ἐξώλεα, Bechtel, 263, found in Lykia, belong to the same class as ὑπώρε(ι)α, but it is not certain that these forms are not Attic.

**177.] Feminines in -εἰη or -εἰᾱ derived from -ην- stems.**

ἱρείη in Hdt. V 72; ἱέρεια II 53 ABC, II 55 *id.*, the reading

adopted by Holder. *ἰέρεια* is Homeric (Z 300) and original, is found upon a Keian inscription of the fourth century (No. 48), and is the *κοινή* form. Contracted form *ἱερῆ* < *ἱερέη*<sup>1</sup> or *ἰέρειᾶ*, Pantikap. 123<sub>1</sub>, Ephesos, 150 (late). Cf. *βασίλη, πρέσβη* Hdn. I 275<sub>3</sub>, 322<sub>21</sub>. If *ἰέρεια* is correct, as we should expect, we have in Hdt. the older and the younger form co-existing. *ἱερείᾱ* is attested by Hdn. I 531<sub>2</sub>, II 708<sub>19</sub>, Moiris 191 as Attic, and occurs in *Bacch.* 1114. *ἱέρε(ι)ᾶ*, too, is Attic (Meisterhans,<sup>2</sup> p. 32). See § 300.

*βασίλεια* appears in numerous passages in Hdt. without a variant, and is the Homeric and original form. The *v. l.* *βασιληίης* I 211, in *R* is an hyper-Ionism.

On the nom. *ᾶ* = *η*, see § 420.

### 178.] Feminines in -οιη, -υιη, -οιᾶ, -υιᾶ.

Hdt. usually has -οιη in fem. abstracts as *προνοίη, συννοίη, εὐνοίη, ὁμοχροίη, ἀπλοίη, παλλιρροίη*. The Attic -οιᾶ appears in *εὐνοίαν* III 36 (-οίην Stein), *διάνοια* II 169, *διάνοιαν* I 46, 90, II 162, IX 45. -υιη in *μητρυιή*; *Ωρειθυίη* is not certain in VII 189 (*ὠρειθύην* in *d*, *ὠρείθυιαν* in *R*). The Ionic prose form of Attic *ὄργυιᾶ* is not attested in the nominative. Homer has *ὄργυιᾶ* (as *μυῖα*), Hdt. only oblique cases, and so Nikand. *Ther.* 169 *ὄργυιῇ*, but Aratos, *Phain.* 196 *ὄργυιήν*. See under *Accent*, § 119.

### 179.] Proper names in -αιᾶ, -αιη; -ειᾶ, -ειη; -οιᾶ, -οιη.

*Νίσαια, Ἰστίαια* in Hom., but *Ἰστιαίη* in Hdt. VIII 23-25, a variation that recurs in the case of *Φώκαια* Hymn Apoll. 35, Hdt. I 142, 152, II 106, 178, VI 17, but *Φωκαίη* I 80, 164, 165; *Μηδείην* I 2. For a full list of these names, see Bredow, 129 ff.

180.] **Adverbs** representing petrified case-forms of the *Ā* declension have throughout the Ionic *η*, e.g. *λίην* Hippon. 20, Anakr. 93 (cf. Greg. Korinth. § 58), *λάθρη, πέρην* (Arrian 3, cf. Hdn. I 508<sub>4</sub>), *πέρηθε, πρωτήν* Hdn. I 490<sub>6</sub>, Theogn. II 154<sub>34</sub>.

181.] In verbal forms of the -αω inflection, and in derived forms.

*καταρήσασθαι, πειρήσομαι* (cf. Theog. 126) *θειήσασθαι, Ἄδρηστος*, Tyrt. 12<sub>8</sub>, in Hdt. and on a vase, Roberts, I 194. *Ἄδραστος* Smyrna, 153<sub>17</sub>, an inscription of Attic inclinations. Cf. also *ἡγόρασεν* Eryth. 206 B 48, C 44, *Νικασίωνος* Thasos (Louv.), 20 C 9. *Πολυάρητος* Thasos, 72<sub>3</sub>, *Ἀρήτη* Hippon. 14, but *Ἄρατος* Eryth. 206 B 44; *ἀρητήρ* An. Ox. I 21<sub>10</sub>.

<sup>1</sup> Kallim. Epigr. 41 has *ἱερέη*, Schn. *ἱερίη*.



Of all the supposed cases of Ionic  $\eta$  in the modern Pontic dialect, only two ( $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\eta\sigma\sigma\alpha\iota$  and  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\eta\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$  =  $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\sigma\alpha\iota$  and  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$ ) are regarded as genuine survivals by Hatzidakis, *Neogr. Gramm.* p. 163.

182.] Words containing H=I. E.  $\hat{a}$  in radical and thematic syllables. A few examples of each class will suffice.

The admission of 'hyper-dialectal'  $\hat{a}$  into an Ionic word is out of the question. The Hipponaktian (2)  $\pi\alpha\nu\delta\delta\lambda\eta\tau\alpha\varsigma$ , if connected with  $\delta\eta\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\mu\alpha\iota$ , must yield to some one of the various conjectures made to bring sense into the fragment. This  $\hat{a}$  is out of place save in Theokr., by whose time the hyper-Doric  $\alpha$  may have gained a footing. Cf.  $\zeta\acute{\alpha}\delta\eta\lambda\alpha\sigma\alpha\iota$  Alkaios, 187.  $\text{Zar}\acute{o}\varsigma$ ,  $\text{Zar}\acute{\iota}$  Bergk, *P. L. G.* III 710 (82) cannot be vernacular Ionic.  $\text{Z}\acute{\eta}\varsigma$  was used by Pherekydes (Eust. 1387<sub>20</sub>), not  $\text{Z}\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$  as Clem. Alex. *Strom.* VI 741 reports. Cf. Collitz, *B. B.* X 51.

$\eta$  = extra-Ionic  $\hat{a}$ , after  $\rho$ .

$\gamma\rho\eta\hat{\upsilon}\varsigma$ ; for which Bergk reads  $\gamma\rho\alpha\hat{\upsilon}\varsigma$ , Archil. 31, though Schneidewin long ago corrected the MS. to  $\gamma\rho\eta\hat{\upsilon}\varsigma$ . There is no warrant for supposing that the inflection of  $\gamma\rho\eta\hat{\upsilon}\varsigma$  differed from that of  $\rho\eta\hat{\upsilon}\varsigma$  in the nom.; and on Archil. 168 Bergk reads  $\gamma\rho\eta\hat{\epsilon}\nu$ .  $\gamma\rho\eta\hat{\upsilon}\varsigma$  should not be derived from  $\gamma\rho\alpha\hat{\upsilon}\varsigma$  (Curtius, *Ell.*<sup>5</sup>, 176, cf. Schmidt, *K. Z.* XXVII 375), but is probably an immovable feminine adjective like  $\theta\hat{\eta}\lambda\upsilon\varsigma$  in  $\theta\hat{\eta}\lambda\upsilon\varsigma$   $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\epsilon}\rho\sigma\eta$ ,  $\eta\delta\hat{\upsilon}\varsigma$  in  $\eta\delta\hat{\upsilon}\varsigma$   $\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\mu\acute{\eta}$ ; and of this,  $\gamma\rho\alpha\hat{\upsilon}\varsigma$  and  $\gamma\rho\alpha\hat{\iota}\alpha$  are the movable feminine forms.  $\gamma\rho\alpha\hat{\iota}\alpha$  appears to be a solitary example of a  $v$ -stem which has not taken on the  $-\epsilon\iota\alpha$  inflection.  $\gamma\rho\alpha\hat{\upsilon}\varsigma$  is of Aiolic source.  $\gamma\rho\eta\hat{\upsilon}\varsigma$  in Homer is scarcely an analogue to  $\pi\racute{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon\sigma\beta\upsilon\varsigma$ , as Brugmann, *M. U.* III 25, suggests.

$\kappa\epsilon\kappa\rho\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\varsigma$  Hdt. III 106, against the authority of all the MSS., cf. Hippokr.  $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\rho\eta\mu\alpha\iota$ . The base  $\kappa\epsilon\rho\alpha$  has the form  $\kappa\rho\hat{\alpha}$  = Ionic  $\kappa\rho\eta$ .  $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\rho\eta\tau\omicron\pi\acute{o}\tau\eta\varsigma$ ,  $-\pi\omicron\sigma\acute{\iota}\eta$  Hdt.,  $\kappa\rho\eta\tau\acute{\eta}\rho$ <sup>1</sup> Anakr. 94<sub>1</sub>, cf. Eust. 1403<sub>3</sub>,  $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\rho\eta\tau\alpha\iota$  Hesych. Even Pollux, X 108, has  $\eta\theta\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$   $\tau\iota\varsigma$   $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\kappa\rho\eta\text{-}\tau\eta\rho\acute{\iota}\delta\iota\alpha\varsigma$ , cf. Bechtel 103.

$\pi\iota\pi\rho\acute{\eta}\sigma\kappa\omega$  (cf. Kallimachos 85),  $\pi\rho]\eta\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\omega\varsigma$  Eryth. 204<sub>6</sub>; Hdt.  $\pi\rho\eta\theta\acute{\eta}\nu\alpha\iota$ . Solon, however, has  $\pi\rho\alpha\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$  4<sub>25</sub> eleg., 36<sub>7</sub> trim.

$\pi\rho\acute{\eta}\sigma\sigma\omega$ <sup>2</sup>:  $\text{P}\rho\eta\acute{\xi}\acute{\alpha}\sigma\pi\iota\varsigma$ ,  $\text{P}\rho\eta\acute{\xi}\acute{\iota}\lambda\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ ,  $\text{P}\rho\eta\acute{\xi}\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\varsigma$  in Hdt.  $\text{P}\rho\eta\acute{\xi}\acute{\iota}\text{-}\pi\omicron\lambda\iota\varsigma$  Thas. (L.), 8 B 6, 10<sub>4</sub>, 11 B 3, 13<sub>11</sub>, 21<sub>2</sub>.  $\text{P}\rho\eta\acute{\xi}\acute{\iota}\lambda\epsilon\omega\varsigma$  Thas. (L.), 3 B 8, cf. Thasos, 75 A 7.  $\text{P}\rho\eta\acute{\xi}\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$  Eryth. 206 A 11.  $\text{P}\rho\eta\acute{\xi}\acute{\alpha}\gamma\omicron\rho\eta\varsigma$  Thas. (L.), 10<sub>2</sub>, 6.  $\text{P}\rho\eta\acute{\xi}\acute{\omega}$  Kyme, 20;  $\text{P}\rho\acute{\eta}\xi\iota\omicron\nu$  Delos, 57;  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\rho\eta\tau\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu\tau\omega\varsigma$ , 22<sub>8</sub> near Eretria with non-Ionic  $\tau\tau$ ;  $\text{P}\rho\eta\acute{\xi}\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omega\varsigma$  Teos, 158<sub>17</sub>, Chios, 174 A 15, 20;  $\pi\rho\acute{\eta}\chi\mu\alpha$  Chios, 174 B 18, 174 C 7 (also Attic, C. I. A. III 3822). In Hdt. and other writers the Attic forms have crept into some MSS. Cf. I 8, V 12, VII 147 (Arrian, 9<sub>10</sub>, 43<sub>10</sub>), Protag. *ap.* Plut. *De Consul.* Theognis has  $\eta$  forms, 70, 80, 73, 1026, 1027, 553, 661, 953, 461, 1031, 1075, but the  $\hat{a}$  forms in *A* or in other MSS. 204, 659, 256, 644, 642, 1051. Some Ionic inscriptions, too, have admitted the

<sup>1</sup>  $\kappa\rho\eta\tau\acute{\eta}\rho$  An. Ox. I 238<sub>10</sub>, Et. M. 538<sub>27</sub>, Et. Gud. 346<sub>14</sub>.

<sup>2</sup>  $\pi\rho\acute{\eta}\chi\mu\alpha$  An. Ox. I 238<sub>10</sub>, Et. M. 538<sub>20</sub>, Et. Gud. 346<sub>13</sub>.



Attic forms, Mylasa, 248 A 10 (367-6 B.C.), 248 C 10 (355-4), Ephesos, 147<sub>18</sub>, about 300 B.C. In literature *πρη-* in all early monuments: Hdt., Dem. *Mor.* 20<sub>21</sub>, Herodas, V 3, &c.

*πρηός*, *πρηύνεσθαι* in Hdt., Hippokr., *Πρηύλος*, name of a Thasiote, *Πρηύχος* of a Styrian, 19<sub>347</sub> (cf. *Πρε-άνθης* Keos, 50, IV 65). *πρηέα* Luk. *Astr.* 29. *πρευμενής* in Attic poets is an Ionism.

*ρήδιως* (*ρήϊδιος* Apoll. *Adv.* 567 = Schn. 157<sub>4</sub>), *ρήστώνη* in Hdt. and Luk. *Syr.* 20, *Astr.* 21, Hippokr. *ῥαθυμείτω* VI 648, 656, *ῥαστῶναι* III 438, *ῥάων* VIII 268 but very often *ρήϊδιος*, *ρήϊτερος*, (Aret. 332), *ρήϊζω* VIII 38. Blass thinks the *a* is short in the forms (cf. also § 208, 274) which are not followed by two short syllables. Cf. Aiolic *βράδιος* = *φράδιος*, Theokr. XXX 27, *βραιδίως*. Osthoff, *Perfect.* 446 ff., explains *ῥάων* = *ῥᾱσίων* = Lat. *rārior* (\**vrāsos*). Cf. § 233.

*ρήχή*, *flood-tide*, in Hdt., can have nothing to do with *ρήγνυμι* as L. & S. state, since the latter has pan-Hellenic *η*<sup>1</sup>. Connect rather *ῥάχis*, *spine*, Hdt. III 54. For the use of names of parts of the body to express natural objects, cf. *arm of the sea*, *shoulder of the mountain*, *πολυδεῖρὰς Ὀλυμπος*, &c.

*τρηχύς*. The relation of *τρά* to *ταρα* in *ταραχή*, *τάραξις* is not perfectly clear, though it is probable that there is a correspondence of types, *κερα* : *κρά* :: *ταρα* : *τρά*. *τρηχέα* in Hdt. VII 33, is due to Abicht, the MSS. having the Attic form, which comes to light in Solon, 4<sub>35</sub>. The genuine Ionic form is found in Tyrtaios, 12<sub>22</sub>, Hipponax, 47<sub>2</sub>.

The pseudo-Ionists generally adopt the Ionic forms.

In some of the later portions of the Hippokratic corpus Attic *ā* is freely used, as in *κέκραγα*, *κεκράκτης* VI 388.

183.] *Νικήτορος* Thasos (L), 12 C 11, may serve as an example of *η* = *ā* lengthened from *ǎ* upon the formation of a compound word. See § 165, note, and § 167. On *Λοχᾶγός* in Styra, see above, § 157. *κρήνη* Ion.-Attic, from *κραννᾶ* (Thessal. *Κραννούν*), Doric *κράνᾶ*, perhaps from \**κράσνᾶ*. The Attic *η* is to be explained as that of *εἰρήνη* § 217.

184.] Ionic *η* = extra-Ionic *ā*, after vowels.

*Ἰήσων* in Hdt., but *Ἰάσων* Halik. 240<sub>23</sub>; *Ἰητῶν* Head, *H. N.* 414; TPIH *ibid.* 222.

*Ἰστρίη* Istros, 135; *Ἰητρός* Pantik. 119; cf. Luk. π. δ. ι. σ. § 16; often in late epigrams, and even in such as are otherwise Doric. Wagner, *Quaest. de epigr.* 27. *Ἰητήρ* C. I. It. et Sic., Add. 2310 A.

*νεηνίης* Hdt., *νεηνίσκος* Hippokr., *νεηνιέων* Protag., cf. *Νεή-*

<sup>1</sup> *νενηγία*, *shipwreck* = Attic *ναυᾶγία* contains the lengthened form of *ῥᾶγ*, ablaut of *ῥᾶγ* (*κατενηγότα* in Hdt. and Hippokr.).

πολις, Bechtel, 4<sub>1</sub>. The stem νεᾱ- varies with νεο-; Νεοπολιτέων 4<sub>2</sub>, cf. 4<sub>3</sub> and 4<sub>4</sub>. Cf. Φαίηλος Thasos (L.), 7 B 6, from φαιο-, as Κύδρηλος from κυδρο-. Cf. Ἑρμάφιλος Th. (L.), 20 C 8, and Ἑρμόφιλος.

παιήων, the Homeric form, is still preserved in Archilochos 76. Hdt. has παιωνίζω.

Πριηνέων, Imhoof-Blumer, *Monn. Græc.*, 296, No. 127, period of Hadrian; ΠΡΙΗ, Bechtel, No. 143.

Upon the Attic tribute lists from 456 to 424 B. C. some names of Ionic peoples appear, now in the Ionic, now in the Attic form (Ἀνλιῆται, Ἰῆται, Κερδιῆται, Ναξιῆται, Πριηνῆς). In other cases η always (Βαργυλιῆται, Θραυῆται). Even the inhabitants of Ἰάλυσος appear as Ἰηλύσιοι, whereas upon their own documents we find Ἰαλυσοί[s], Cauer, 177. The name seems to have come to the Athenians through Ionic sources. Cf. Cauer in Curtius' *Studien*, VIII 247. In the fourth century the epicchoric names are more tenacious of their hold in the Attic inscriptions. Cf. Meisterhans, 13.

τιήρη Hdt. VIII 120, but τιάρα I 132, III 12, retained by Stein and Holder. Cf. *Persai*, 662 τιήρας (Dind. τια-).

τριήκοντα and other forms of τριη- in composition. τριήκοντα Hippon. 20<sub>7</sub>, Eryth. 202<sub>17</sub>, cf. Mylasa, 248 A 1, Keos, 43<sub>21</sub>, Chios, 174 B 23, D 15, Thasos (L.), 9<sub>6</sub>, has an η=ᾱ that is probably not original, though the ᾱ of the I. E. neuter pl. *tria* took its ᾱ from the o decl. when the plural of the o stems ended in ᾱ. See Schmidt's *Neutra*, p. 39.

διη- in διηκοσίων Zeleia 114 D 5, Chios, 174 D 18. The long vowel is due to the influence of that of τριηκόσιοι. See Spitzer, *Lautehre des Arkad.* p. 19.

#### 185.] Syllables of Derivation containing H.

For example, in Herodotos, Σαρδίηνος, Κρηστωνιήτης, Σπαρτιήτης, Αἰγυνῆται. Τεγέη, Τεγεήτης (Τεγέη is from Τεγεῖη as δωρεά from δωρεῖα in Attic, unless the latter, as Dittenberger thinks, is the younger form), Βαργυλιητῶν Bechtel, 252. Ὀρνεᾶται Hdt. VIII 73 in *ABCd*, for which Stein has the Ionic form; cf. in the same chapter Παρωρεῖται. On other names in -ᾶται in Hdt., see above, § 158. Arrian 5<sub>11</sub> has Τιτήνος.

Ionic θώρηξ, θωρηκοφόροι in Hdt. and Arrian. Ἰρηξ=Attic ἱέρᾱξ, &c. στύρᾱξ is the Herodoteian form (in III 107 one MS. has στύρηκα).

Ποσειδάωνος ἀνακτος Archil. 10, is not in the MSS., but corresponds to Ποσειδάωνα ἀνακτα Iliad, XV 8. Cf. § 140, 1.

#### 186.] In other Forms.

In the aorist of liquid verbs, e. g. ἔγημεν Anacr. 86, τετρήνας Hippon. 56. Is τετρήνεται Hippokr. VII 498 formed from the aorist?

In the forms<sup>1</sup> ἐμίηνα, ἐλίηνα (as also in ἐθέρμηνα, ἐκάθηρα) Hdn. II 798<sub>18</sub>=Choir. 607<sub>35</sub>, 655<sub>22</sub>, Et. M. 483<sub>14</sub>, 626<sub>29</sub>, 791<sub>30</sub> (μιῆναι), An. Ox. IV 193<sub>29</sub>, 419<sub>26</sub>; ἐκρηνα An. Ox. I 242<sub>3</sub>, An. Par. III 318<sub>21</sub> (κρηῖνον Hdn. II 232<sub>13</sub>=Theogn. II 91<sub>21</sub>, An. Ox. I 242<sub>3</sub>, An. Par. III 318<sub>21</sub>, cf. Tzetz. Ex. II. 98<sub>14</sub>).

### 187.] Ionic H in Tyrtaios and Solon.

Since Attic metrical inscriptions (§ 72) pronounce in favour of the adoption of the Attic α for η in forms which might (on the view that the influence of the epic, and not that of the native dialect was paramount) have been Ionic, the question arises whether in the non-Ionic elegists there may not be preserved instances of the ā of the native speech. Though Ionic was the dialect of the Greek literary world prior to the advent of Attic (as Attic was the medium of literary expression until the advent of the κοινή), nevertheless it may have not possessed the power to absolutely repress all ingressions of a non-Ionic idiom. We may ask: How far does the dialect of poets born in Ionia differ, if it differs at all, from the dialect of poets whose birthplace or place of residence was in a canton whose speech had never admitted η after ε, ι, υ, and ρ? In other words, are the ā's of Tyrtaios due to his Spartan home, and are the ā's of Solon the result of his Athenian citizenship? Furthermore, we can here but call attention to the fact that the MSS. of the Ionic poets may have suffered, either from the hands of ignorant scribes who knew only the common dialect of their time, or from preconceived notions as to the character of early iambic, trochaic and elegiac poetry. In the case of poets of Ionic birth, whose art is Ionic, the restoration of the genuine Ionic forms in η offers but little difficulty. Thus we have an Attic ἀνθίας in Ananios 5 (θείην 1<sub>2</sub>), Ἀναξαγόρας in Anakreon 105, and other cases of like character. § 416. Cases of ā in Herodas are very rare (3<sub>24</sub>, 5<sub>5</sub>, 37, 28). These are Attic rather than Doric.

188.] Tyrtaios: The absence of any contemporaneous elegiac poems upon inscriptions, such as guide us in the examination of the Soloneian dialect, renders extremely difficult the question whether or not Tyrtaios admitted any cases of Doric ā in his elegies. In the elegies, where, on any view, we should expect to find fewer cases of ā than in the *embateria*, we notice αλσxpās δὲ φυγῆς 12<sub>17</sub>, ἀτιμία 10<sub>10</sub>, ἐχθρὰν-ψυχὴν 11<sub>8</sub>, and ἀνιάρωτατον 10<sub>4</sub> in MSS. ἃ φιλοχρηματία Σπάρταν ὀλεῖ 3<sub>1</sub>, is supposed to represent the response of the Delphic oracle to Lykurgos, though

<sup>1</sup> The grammarians often call an aoristic form Ionic on account of an η which is, however, also Attic: ἐτέκτηνα An. Ox. I 138<sub>21</sub>, 411<sub>1</sub> (cf. Attic ἐτεκτηνέμην), ἔφηνα An. Ox. IV 198<sub>23</sub>, 419<sub>26</sub>, I 350<sub>17</sub>, 410<sub>23</sub>; ἐσήμηνα IV 198<sub>23</sub>, Choir. 608<sub>6</sub>, καθήρατε An. Par. III 508<sub>17</sub>, ἔγημα An. Ox. IV 193<sub>26</sub>, &c.

the Pythia used the epic idiom from the earliest period. The Σπάρτας of Plutarch seems more probable than Σπάρτης in 4, (accord. to Diod. Sik.).

Elsewhere the Ionic forms prevail: στυγερῇ περίῃ 10<sub>8</sub>, εὐρείης 11<sub>24</sub>, δεξιτερῇ 11<sub>25</sub>, βίην 12<sub>3</sub>, τρηχέας, accus., 12<sub>22</sub>, Ἀδρήστου 12<sub>8</sub>. Since in a few Lakonian elegies of early date (though posterior to Tyrtaios) we find only the Doric forms, I regard ἀσχροῦς, ἀτιμία, ἐχθράν, and ἀριαρότατον as native to the original dialect of Tyrtaios and the η's as due to the same cause as produced those in Solon.

In the case of the *embateria*, we shall, I think, have to accept as certain an admixture of Lakonian forms. Thus we find Σπάρτας 15<sub>1</sub>, πολιτῶν 15<sub>2</sub> (cf. Pindar, *Isthm.* I 51), λαία 15<sub>3</sub>, τὰς ζώας 15<sub>4</sub>, τῇ Σπάρτῃ 15<sub>6</sub>. Bergk's reading, ἄγετ', ὦ Σπάρτας ἔνοπλοι κοῖροι, ποτὶ τὰν Ἄρεος κίνασιν, in fragment 16, presents a hopeless mixture of Doric and Ionic, to which no Spartan youth would have listened. κίνασιν is an hyper-Dorism, unattested for the period of the early Messenian wars, which occurs in the pseudo-Timaios περὶ ψυχᾶς; and κοῖροι should be κῶροι, if Doric. Hephaestion has κίνησιν correctly enough.

189.] Solon: In his trimeters we find ἐλευθέρα 36<sub>5</sub>, βίαν 36<sub>14</sub> (Plut. βίην), παθέντας 36<sub>7</sub>. η in ἀναγκαίης 36<sub>8</sub>, δουλίην 36<sub>11</sub>.

In the tetrameters: ἄγραν 33<sub>3</sub>, ἡμέραν μίαν 33<sub>6</sub>, μίανας 32<sub>3</sub>. η in βίης 32<sub>2</sub>.

In the elegies, where the greatest dependence upon epic forms might be anticipated: ἡμετέρα 4<sub>1</sub>, βία 4<sub>20</sub>, δυστρομία 4<sub>32</sub>, εἰνομία 4<sub>33</sub>, λαμπρᾶς 9<sub>2</sub> (sic Diod. Sik., Plut.; -ῆς Diog. L.), ὑμετέραν 11<sub>1</sub> (sic Diod. Sik.; -ην Plut., Diog. L.); also in παθέντες 4<sub>25</sub>, τραχέα 4<sub>35</sub>, πρᾶνται 4<sub>8</sub>, ῥάδιον 9<sub>1</sub>. Elsewhere η.

η might possibly be defended even in the trimeters and tetrameters on the view that the background, especially of the iambic trimeter, is Ionic, and that the dialogue portions of Attic tragedy in their use of occasional Ionisms (§ 77) followed the norm established by the earliest cultivator of the iambus upon Attic soil. This view must be rejected because the senarii of tragedy adopt the Ionic η only under certain conditions which are foreign to Solonic art. Solon made use of *ā*, and the Ionic η must have been introduced by scribes prepossessed by the belief that he was entirely dependent upon the Ionic dialect in matters of vocalism. In regard to his use of σσ for Attic ττ, he is clearly under the influence of Ionic models.

In the elegiac poems there is no positive proof that Solon adopted Attic forms where they differed from Ionic, nor, on the other hand, have we criteria sufficient to establish the uniform appearance of the Ionic forms. The evidence of the contemporary

elegy speaks, however, strongly in favour of the rejection of all cases of the specifically Ionic  $\eta$ . Cf. § 61.

**190.] Xenophanes, Theognis and the Later Elegy.**

Xenophanes preserves the Ionic  $\eta$  everywhere except in  $\kappa\rho\alpha\tau\acute{\eta}\rho$  1<sub>4</sub>, for which we should read  $\kappa\rho\eta$ -. On  $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\pi\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ , see above, § 161.

The Theognideian collection offers so much that is adventitious that the question as to how far Theognis coloured his Ionic elegies with slight masses of local matter is rendered well-nigh insurmountable. The cases of  $\bar{a}$  in the chief MSS. are as follows:—

$\pi\rho\acute{\alpha}\gamma\mu\alpha$  256, 642, 644, 1051 (cf. § 182);  $\rho\acute{\alpha}\delta\iota\omicron\nu$  and connected words, 120, 429, 1220;  $\mu\iota\kappa\rho\acute{\alpha}$  607;  $\tau\iota\mu\alpha\gamma\acute{o}\rho\alpha$  1059 (by conj.);  $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\theta\rho\acute{\alpha}$  270 (in some MSS.);  $\pi\alpha\iota\delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$  1305, cf. 1348;  $\pi\alpha\tau\rho\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  1210, 888;  $\sigma\mu\iota\kappa\rho\acute{\alpha}$  323;  $\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha$  664 (some MSS.  $\mu\iota\eta$ );  $\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$  1327;  $\delta\upsilon\sigma\tau\upsilon\chi\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$  1188 ( $A$  has  $-\eta$ , as frequently where the MSS. divide on this question). Renner wishes to read  $\nu\eta\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$  84, 856, and 970 ( $A$  has  $\nu\eta\upsilon\varsigma$ )<sup>1</sup>. The genitive sing. and dat. plur. are  $\nu\eta\acute{o}\varsigma$  513 and  $\nu\eta\upsilon\sigma\acute{\iota}$  12. In the second book  $\eta$  seems better supported.

In the later elegy we find  $\bar{a}$  in the MSS. in Aischylos (but  $\kappa\upsilon\alpha\nu\acute{\epsilon}\eta$  3<sub>1</sub>), Sophokles, Euenos (but  $\mu\alpha\nu\acute{\iota}\eta\varsigma$  2<sub>2</sub>,  $\beta\lambda\alpha\beta\epsilon\rho\acute{\eta}$  4<sub>2</sub>), Kritias (but  $\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\epsilon\beta\acute{\iota}\eta\varsigma$  2<sub>22</sub>,  $\eta\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\eta\varsigma$  4<sub>3</sub>). All these  $\eta$  forms should be changed to  $\bar{a}$ . Forms in  $\eta$  occur in Pigres, Empedokles, Agathon, Plato and Aristotle, though in the last three  $\bar{a}$  should be expected. Plato 24 has  $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\tau\rho\alpha\varsigma$ , [25]  $\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\epsilon$ , though it is surprising to find Dorisms. The genuine Plato no doubt used Attic forms.  $\eta$  is in place in Ion, cf. 2<sub>2</sub>, 4<sub>1</sub>, 3, though the  $\bar{a}$ 's elsewhere occur (e.g. 3<sub>1</sub>, 4). Dionysios Chalkos has  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\epsilon\sigma\acute{\iota}\eta$  4<sub>3</sub>, 5<sub>1</sub>. A mixture of  $\eta$  and  $\bar{a}$  so early as the fifth century is improbable. Even in the case of Ion, his elegies must be either Attic or Ionic.

**191.] Ionic H = Attic Ā.**

$\delta\iota\pi\lambda\acute{\eta}\sigma\iota\omicron\varsigma$  Apoll. Conj. 227<sub>23</sub>, 233<sub>23</sub>, Schn.,  $\pi\epsilon\nu\tau\alpha$ -,  $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\alpha\pi\lambda\acute{\eta}\sigma\iota\omicron\nu$ ,  $\pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\alpha\pi\lambda\acute{\eta}\sigma\iota\alpha$  Hdt. The latter form, III 135, where  $ABR$  have the Attic form; which comes to light in  $\delta\iota\pi\lambda\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\omicron\nu$  Teos, 158<sub>22</sub>, an almost completely Atticized inscription. Cf. Gothic *ain-falps*.

The genuine Herodoteian  $\pi\epsilon\nu\tau\alpha\kappa\acute{o}\sigma\iota\omicron\iota$  is amply attested (III 90, IX 29), and occurs in the Chian inscription, 174 D 7 ( $\pi[\epsilon]\nu\tau\alpha\kappa\omicron\sigma\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$ ).  $\pi\epsilon\nu\tau\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\sigma\iota\omicron\iota$  has its  $\pi\epsilon\nu\tau\acute{\alpha}$ - on the lines of  $\tau\epsilon\tau\rho\acute{\alpha}$ -,  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\tau\acute{\alpha}$ -. The form  $\pi\epsilon\nu\tau\eta$ - in certain MSS. of Hdt. (III 13, VII 186) is doubtless to be explained on the view that the scribe had in his mind's eye the Homeric  $\pi\epsilon\nu\tau\eta\kappa\acute{o}\sigma\iota\omicron\iota$  ( $\gamma$  7), whose  $\eta$  is due at once to the influence of  $\pi\epsilon\nu\tau\acute{\eta}\kappa\omicron\nu\tau\alpha$  and at the same time to the ictus. Aristarchos and Herodian wrote  $\pi\epsilon\nu\tau\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\sigma\iota\omicron\iota$  in the Homeric passage.

Instances of  $-\eta = \bar{a}$  in suffix syllables are adduced, § 419. Such

<sup>1</sup>  $\nu\eta\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$  occurs 84, 856, 970, 1361,  $\nu\eta\acute{\upsilon}\nu$  680. Whether this is  $\bar{a}$  or  $\bar{a}$  is uncertain.



forms as *μοίρη*, *σπείρη* (Greg. Korinth. p. 390), *γεφύρη*, occurring occasionally in the MSS. of Hdt., are hyper-Ionisms.

*πέλη*, *πέξη* (§ 419) are genuine Ionisms.

Ionic *νηὺς*, *νηυσί* (= *ναῦς*, *ναῦσι*) are due to case-levelling, the *η* forms being strictly in place only in such cases as the genitive singular where the case termination begins with a vowel.

*ἀναπλήσσουσι* Hippokr. II 58 cannot be correct Ionic for Attic *ἀναπλάττουσι*.

Kallinos' *Ἡσιονῆας* (5) has been regarded by Fick, *Odyssee*, p. 24, as an instance of ictus lengthening, Steph. Byzant. connecting *Ἡσιονία* with *Ἀσία*. *ἦκη*, cited as a parallel instance from Archilochos by Fick, has been differently explained, § 169; and *Ἡσιονῆας* may rest ultimately upon similar ablaut gradations. At least it is premature to assume lengthening *per ictum* in so hazy a word.

*τήγανον* is called Ionic, Hdn. II 388, = Et. M. 743<sub>80</sub> (cf. 756<sub>27</sub>). Both *τάγηνον* and *τήγανον* occur in Old Comedy. Athenaios cites a form *ῆγανον* (= *τήγανον*?) from Anakreon 26 (§ 326).

Fick's contention that *ἥμωπος* is a living Ionic form for *ἄμωπος*, still awaits proof. Evidence in favour of his view may be found in the gloss of Hesychios: *ἥμωπις* κερή, ἐσπερημένη· *Ἀσχυλος* Νιδόβη. *ἄμωπος* is a strange form in Hipponax 2, a poet whose intellectual character and whose use of language is alien to the retention of such Homeric forms as are Aiolic in colouring. See § 339.

*ἡλασκάω* II. XVIII 281, for *ἄλυσκάω*, Ionic according to Orion 70.

### 192.] H = E.

See § 139. On *θιέομαι* = *θειόμαι*, see on the verb, § 685; on the interrelation of *ει* and *ηι*, see § 232-239.

*ἀνηρίθεντος* Chios, 174 B 26, of which the usual form is *ἀνερ-*. See § 167.

### 193.] Ionic H = I.

No interchange of *η* and *ι* can be maintained on the score of *ψημύθιον* = *ψιμύθιον*, Et. Mag. 103<sub>25</sub>, nor in view of the name *Σημωνίδης*, attested as that of the iambographic poet by Et. Mag., and adopted by Christ in his *History of Greek Literature*, and by Hiller in the new edition of Bergk's *Anthologia Lyrica*. Elsewhere no trace of this form of the name appears; while *Σιμωνίδης* is genuine Ionic from the evidence of a lead tablet from Styra (19<sub>139</sub>); and it is under this name that the author of the *Mirror of Women* is usually cited by ancient authorities.

### 194.] Ionic H = Ω.

*Μαιῆτις*, often in Hdt. with different suffix<sup>1</sup> than in *Μαιῶτις*, the latter name. Cf. *Μαιῆται* (= *Μαιῶται* Hdt IV 123. We find *Μαιῶτις* IV 3 in all

<sup>1</sup> A curious variation in suffix formation is presented by *χοληγαγός* for *-ηγός* which is found in A in Hippokr VI 322. In the fifth century *-αγαγός* was just coming into vogue (Hippokr *ἀναγαγός*).

MSS., and so Hippokr. Hdt. generally used -ωτις, -ωτης (Πελασγιώτιδες, Φθιώτις, Θεσσαλιώτις, Ἰταλιώτης). Ἰστιαιῶτις is the form in Hdt. as in Strabo, though VIII 23, R has Ἰσταιήτιδος; and all MSS. have Ἰστιαιῶτιδος VII 175, cf. I 56. Ἀμπρακιητέων is the accepted form, IX 28, -ιήτας 31, but Ἀμπρακιῶται occurs VIII 45, 47. Kirchhoff thinks that -ητις is properly Herodoteian and that -ωτις was smuggled in from the κοινή. Names in -ωτις are generally non-Ionic. We find Ἰταλιώτης IV 15. Hdn. II 231<sub>19</sub> apud Eust. 468 thinks -ητης in Μασσαλιήτης, Ἀπολλωνιήτης is Ionic.

Archilochos has παιήονα. See §§ 140, 1, 202, 280.

### 195.] Ionic H=AI.

μνηφόνου Archilochos, 48 = Homeric μναιφόνε (E 31). A similar balance of η and αι forms appears in Ἀλθημένεος Bechtel, Thas. (L.), 4 B 3, and Ἀλθαιμένης. Ionic has no trace of αἴμιους, a form that comes to light in Aiolic. Archil. 167 ἥμισυ τρίτον = δύο ἥμισυ.

### 196.] Long Iota.

1. Ionic with other Hellenic dialects has retained a few cases of ī which may be assumed to be proethnic, e.g. ἱκω, -ιτης.

2. ī on Hellenic soil from ινF(τίνω), ιρκ (οἰκτίρω), ισγ (ρίγιον), ἱλεος and ἱλαος < σισλη-, ἱλύς from ι-σλύς = Aiolic ἱλλ-, ἱσος < ἱισφος (ἱσος does not occur in Ionic poetry). On ī from contraction of ι + ε in ἱρός, ἱρείη, &c., in Herodotos, see under Contraction, § 300, on ī < ι + ι, § 270. Hdn. I 526<sub>21</sub>, II 18<sub>21</sub> held that the ι of trisyllabic nouns in -ίς was long in Ionic, short in Attic.

Ionic is on a plane with the non-assimilating dialects (i.e. all except Aiolic and Thessalian) in lengthening short iota + σμ to ἱμ (Ἱμερος Perinthos, 234 B 25). γίνομαι < γιγν-<sup>1</sup> seems to have been the accepted form of the fifth century, though we lack the evidence of old inscriptions. Oropos, 18<sub>17</sub>, about 400 B. C., has γινέσθων Mylasa, 248 A 15 (367-6 B. C.), γίνεσθαι Teos, 158<sub>5</sub>, 28 (first century), γινόμενοι. If we may trust the MSS. of the iambographic poets, γίγνομαι is the better attested form for their period. γίνομαι occurs in Anakr. 87. The substitution of γίνομαι for γίγνομαι appears to have taken place earlier in Ionic than in Attic, in the inscriptions of which dialect γίνομαι does not come to light until 292 B. C. Hdt., Anaxag., Demokr., Xanthos, Pherekydes of Leros (22, 40, 48, 55, 85, 89: cf. 20), Herakl., Hrd. 1<sub>21</sub>, Arrian 3<sub>2</sub>, 28<sub>4</sub>, have γίνομαι. This form when found in later writers who quote Ionic sources is no proof of Ionic colouring, since γιν- is common after Aristotle. γινώσκω in Herodotos, Hippo-

<sup>1</sup> Hoffmann (D. M. G. p. 23) denies that γίνομαι arose from γίγνομαι and derives it from \*γινφομαι (cf. jinrati), but takes no note of γινώσκω. Both arise from γιγν-. The Kretan γινόμενον (Mus. Ital. III 694, Gortyna) represents the halting-place on the road to γιν-.

krates, Demokr., Herakleitos, Melissos, Anaxag., Herodas, is not met with upon Attic inscriptions until the period of Roman supremacy. In Hipp., Littré generally has γιγν-, e.g. II 636. Cf. § 589. Hdt. uses μέσσω, not μέσσωμι as Arrian, on which see *A. J. P.* VI 449.

In κάκιον Arch. 13 (κακίω 6<sub>4</sub>) we have an instance of -ίων, with which compare Skt. -īyas. The epic poets have -ίων.

ĩ occurs in ξυνίετε Arch. 50, ἐσθίειν Anan. 54. Cf. Attic ἔημι (Hom. ἔημι). Whether ἐσθίειν is to be compared with Attic κηκίω = Hom. κηκίω, Attic μηνίω, μηνίω = Hom. μηνίω is doubtful. Cf. Curtius' *Verbum*, I 301.

197.] Itacism. It is extremely doubtful whether there is any instance of itacism in inscriptional Ionic of the fifth or previous centuries. In the third edition of his *Aussprache* (p. 58) Blass has withdrawn all the examples he had collected (ed. 2, p. 51) from the inscriptions in proof of an early appearance of ι for ει. In the case of Μαρωνιτέων<sup>1</sup> 196<sub>4</sub>, not noticed by Blass, we have a form by the side of which exist Μαρωνειτέων 196<sub>3</sub> = *Brit. Mus. Catal.* 125, No. 13, and Μαρωιητέων 196<sub>2</sub>, all three forms occurring upon coins before 400. The coin, *Brit. Mus. Catal.* 125, 15, has Μαρωνιτέων on the front and Μαρωνιτών on the reverse; Μαρωνιτέων in Bechtel, 196<sub>6</sub>, being later than 400 B. C.

Of such forms as show both ηι and ει, as in Attic Ἀριστηίδης and Ἀριστείδης, the former is the older; but no instance of a parallel form in ι can be adduced. An Ἀριστοκλίδης Styra, 191<sub>13</sub>, is derived from Ἀρίστοκλος, an Ἀριστοκλείδης Styra, 191<sub>2</sub>, from Ἀριστοκλῆς. Greg. Korinth., p. 379, attests the existence of diaeresis in Πηλείδης and Πηληϊδης, herein confusing Homeric and Herodoteian Ionic. On the latter form and on Herodoteian patronymies, see § 235, Bredow, p. 190.

There are several forms in the Ionic of literature which point to the later confusion between the ει and ι sounds, such as I have shown, *A. J. P.* VI 419-450, to exist in the text of Homer. Cf. e.g. Πολυνείκεος Hdt. IV 147, &c., with the spelling of Στρατο-νείκου Paros, 67, and of Νείκην Olbia, 129<sub>11</sub>, both of the period of the empire. For the older forms in ι, see I. G. A. 79. 515. Πολύνικος occurs on inscriptions from Attika and elsewhere (Ἀνδρονίκου C. I. G. 2252, Samos).

Τείμαρχος Styra, 192<sub>15</sub>, is Leuormant's incorrect reading for Τιμ-. Τιμ- is, however, attested in Τειμαγόρα Caner, 195<sub>24</sub> (Rhodes). This form is due to the influence of τείσω, ζείσα, Τεισικράτης, &c.

Εἰδομένεος Thasos (L.), 56, about 300 B. C. (cf. Εἰδομενέα C.

<sup>1</sup> See Head, *H. N.* 116.

I. G. 2184, -εῖ 6418), might be derived from εἶδομαι. Ὀλβιοπολιτέων Olbia, 130<sub>3</sub> (not before 200 B.C.), is certainly itacistic. Ὀλβιοπολιτέων 130<sub>2</sub>. Ἀφροδείτης Eryth. 206, C 48, with later εἰ.

On the Homeric Πολύιδος, see K. Z. XXV 261, XXVII 275, XXIX 236, A. J. P. VI 440. It occurs upon a metrical inscription from Amorgos (No. 35) of the fourth or third century, and in a document from Halikarnassos, 240<sub>46</sub>, dating from the fifth century according to Dittenberger. Πολυίδειος Thessal. 345<sub>4</sub>. The form Πολυείδης, if it existed in earlier Ionic, must have ceased to exist in Ionia by the fourth century. The forms in ī seem well attested<sup>1</sup>.

For ἔλη Stein writes εἶλη I 73, and εἶλας I 202, εἶλαδόν I 172. Cf. Kret. ἀρχιλλάν · ἀρχιποίμενα. In the *Glossary* to Herodotos (Stein, II 465) we find εἶρήν, as also in Plut. Lyk. 17; whereas Hesychios has ἱρανες · οἱ εἶρενες, Λάκωνες. Brugmann in Curtius' *Stud.* IV 116, and J. Schmidt, *Vocal.* II 330, claim that the Spartan ἱρην is derived from ἔρσην, through \*ἔρρην and ἱρρην. A preferable explanation is that ἱρην, like ἱρήs and ἐρήs, is an independent nominative not connected with ἔρσην, and that εἶρήν is itacistic (Baunack, K. Z. XXVII 566).

ἱτέη, in Hdt. I 194, proved by the Εἰτέα of Attic inscriptions to be itacistic, has forced its way into Ionic and Attic literature. An ἱτέα is attested by Hdn. I 522, II 17.

On -ῖη in relation to -εῖη, -ῖη, see § 145.

On ἱμάτιον, see § 224, 9.

### 198.] Relation of ī to EY.

The statement that εῦ becomes ī in ἰθύς, ἰθύνω, is incorrect. Hdt. has εὐθύς I 65, &c., Arrian, I<sub>6</sub>; but ἰθύν I 185; ἰθέα II 17, &c.; ἰθύτριχες VII 70. On the stones we notice a similar juxtaposition of forms: Εὐθύμαχος Styra, 19<sub>193</sub><sup>2</sup>, Εὐθυνείδης 19<sub>194</sub>, Ἴθυκλή[s] 19<sub>46</sub>, Ἴθυνα Chios, B. P. W. 1889, p. 1195. See Bezenberger in his *Beiträge*, IV 345. Wackernagel, K. Z. XXIX 151, suggests that ἰθυ- became εἰθυ- in post-Homeric times through influence of εὐθυ- (I. E. *ūdhu*).

### 199.] ŷ.

1. I. E. ŷ is retained.

2. ŷ developed on Greek soil as in other dialects, e.g. ŷ from υσι in βύνω, Hdt. II 96; from υλοσ in ἐμίστυλα, Sim. Am. 24<sub>1</sub>; from υιφ or υνι as in ξυνός (also Arkadian for κοινός). See § 380.

<sup>1</sup> Πολυίδου occurs on a late prose inscription from Kyzikos, *Mitt.* X 205, l. 1; Πολυείδης Tanais, Latyshev II 441<sub>17</sub>, is not Ionic.

<sup>2</sup> Εἰ- or Εὐ-θύμαχος 19<sub>193</sub>, not Ε(φ)-θύμαχος, as G. Meyer, *Gramm.* § 121 note, reads. If the reading Εἰθύμαχος is correct, we may compare Εἰθυκαρτίδης Νάκος, B. C. H. XII 464. See under φ.



The  $\bar{u}$  of  $\delta\rho\sigma\theta\bar{\upsilon}\rho\eta\varsigma$  in Sim. Amorg. 17 ( $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \delta\pi\iota\sigma\theta\epsilon\nu\ \delta\rho\sigma.\ \eta\lambda\sigma\acute{\alpha}\mu\eta\nu$ ) is suspicious; compare  $\delta\rho\sigma\theta\bar{\upsilon}\rho\eta$  in the *Odys.* 22, 126 and 333.  $\sigma\kappa\bar{\upsilon}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  Hrd. 3<sub>08</sub> is singular ( $\sigma\kappa\bar{\upsilon}\tau\omicron\varsigma$ ?). Hom.  $\delta\iota\zeta\bar{\upsilon}\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ ; in Arch. 129, Sim. Am. 7<sub>20</sub> (fifth foot) the quantity of  $\upsilon$  is uncertain. In Aristoph.  $\delta\iota\zeta\bar{\upsilon}\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ .

$\bar{u}$  and  $\omega$ : In Ionic we find  $\text{'}\text{Α}\mu\upsilon\mu\acute{\omicron}\xi\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\varsigma$  Styra, 19<sub>158</sub>,  $\acute{\alpha}\mu\omega\mu\omicron\varsigma$  Sim. Am. 4, Anakr. 48 and  $\text{'}\text{Α}\mu\acute{\omega}\mu\eta\tau\omicron\varsigma$  Thasos, 72<sub>1</sub>, forms which reproduce the two Homeric adjectives. Hinrichs (*H. E. V. A.* p. 81) asserts the Aiolic character of  $\acute{\alpha}\mu\acute{\upsilon}\mu\omega\nu$ , though it is not clear why the Aiolians should have possessed a monopoly of this word, or why the  $\bar{u}$  should be Aiolic solely.

$\acute{\alpha}\rho\eta$  Miletos, 100<sub>8</sub> = Lat. *sūra*, from  $\text{*}\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\omega\bar{\rho}\acute{\alpha}$  or  $\text{*}\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\omega\bar{\rho}\acute{\alpha}$ ;  $\omicron\upsilon\rho\acute{\eta}$  is not connected.

### Ω.

In §§ 200-204 for the purpose of comparison with other dialects, certain forms in  $\omega$  are adduced which are not the result of a special Ionic change.

#### 200.] Ω for A.

$\zeta\acute{\omega}$  =  $\zeta\acute{\alpha}\omega$  is not restricted to Ionic, since we have in Boiotian  $\zeta\acute{\omega}$  and in Kretan  $\delta\acute{\omega}$ .  $\zeta\acute{\omega}$  in tragedy where there is need of epic colouring.  $\zeta\acute{\omega}$  seems to have been formed from a perfect with the ablaut  $\omega$ . Whether we have to deal with a reduction of  $\omega$  to  $\alpha$  in  $\zeta\acute{\omega}$  that is specifically Greek, and whether the  $\omega$  forms are pre-Hellenic, is not certain. In Ionic both the  $\omega$  and  $\alpha$  forms exist, e.g.  $\zeta\acute{\alpha}\iota\nu$  Sim. Amorg. 1<sub>17</sub>; cf.  $\zeta\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\varsigma$   $\zeta\eta$ , which Brugmann, *M. U.* I 8, III 6, classes with his *injunctives*. Herakl.  $\zeta\omega\epsilon\nu$  86, 92, Hrd. 4<sub>12</sub>. Parallelism of  $\omega$  and  $\alpha$  is not unusual, as witness  $\gamma\iota\gamma\nu\acute{\alpha}\sigma\kappa\omega$ , Aiol.  $\gamma\nu\acute{\omicron}\acute{\iota}\omega$ , Attic  $\acute{\alpha}\mu\phi\iota\gamma\nu\acute{\omicron}\acute{\iota}\omega$ ,  $\chi\lambda\omega\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ ,  $\chi\lambda\acute{\omicron}\eta$ ;  $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\omega\nu\tau\omicron$  Kallim.,  $\lambda\acute{\omicron}\acute{\iota}\omega$ . &c. Homeric  $\zeta\omega\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  is a later formation for older  $\zeta\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ , Brugmann, *Grundr.* I, p. 458;  $\zeta\acute{\omicron}\eta$ , e.g. Herodas I 4, 3<sub>2</sub> is from  $\zeta\omega\eta$ , as  $\nu\acute{\iota}\omega\nu < \nu\eta\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$ , *ibid.* p. 463. Ionic  $\zeta\acute{\omicron}\eta$  appears in Attic tragedy. Joh. Gr. 240, Meerm. 654 ( $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\iota$ , Aug. 668, Vat. 698, Greg. Korinth. § 29 mention the absurd notion that the Ionians could say  $\acute{\omega}\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$  instead of  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho$ - &c, though Greg. sees that the  $\omega$  is in place only in the vocative or where the article precedes  $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$ .  $\omega$  for  $\alpha$  was held to be found in  $\theta\omega\nu\acute{\alpha}\delta\zeta\omega$ ,  $\acute{\omega}\nu\tau\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  Greg. Kor. § 30; see § 258.

#### 201.] Ionic Ω where Attic has E.

$\pi\lambda\acute{\omega}$ , in Homer, Hdt., Hrd. 2<sub>59</sub>, for  $\pi\lambda\acute{\epsilon}$ , though the latter is more frequent (Greg Kor 69, Bredow 171).  $\pi\lambda\acute{\omega}$  has been held to contain an  $\omega$  which is the ablaut of  $\eta$ , i.e. one which does not originally belong in the present; *M. U.* I 45. It is derived from a perf.  $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\pi\lambda\omega\acute{\iota}\alpha$ .

#### 202.] Ω = Â.

$\theta\acute{\omega}\kappa\alpha$  and  $\theta\acute{\alpha}\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\omega$  in Hdt., cf. Attic  $\theta\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\omega$ ,  $\theta\acute{\alpha}\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ . Since  $\theta\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\varsigma$  is =  $\theta\acute{\alpha}\acute{\iota}\kappa\omicron\varsigma$ , there is no ablaut of  $\acute{\alpha}$  to  $\omega$ . Hdt. has  $\pi\alpha\iota\omega\nu\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$ , which is also the Attic prose form except in Xenophon, *Symy* 2, 1. The noun has always  $\acute{\alpha}$  in Attic. Theog. 779  $\pi\alpha\iota\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\nu$ , cf. Archil.  $\pi\alpha\iota\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha$ , 76. See § 280.

The Ionic Attic form is  $\theta\epsilon\omega\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  = Doric  $\theta\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ ; on  $\theta\epsilon\upsilon\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  in the Thasiote dialect, see § 286, 1. The ground form is  $\text{*}\theta\epsilon\alpha\acute{\iota}\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ . See *K. Z.* XXXI 289. The Ionic form for Messenian  $\mu\epsilon\theta\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\alpha}$  is  $\mu\epsilon\theta\acute{\omega}\nu\eta$ .



## 203.] Ionic Ω = Attic H.

For Attic πρήσσω we have the Homeric πρῶσσω in Hdt. IX 48; cf. Iliad, IV 372 πρῶσκάζω. Ionic πρῶσσω (Eustath. on Δ 371) is either a denominative or a present formed from the base of the perfect.

On the suffix -ητις, -ωτις, see under H, § 194.

## 204.] Ω = Ī.

ἔμπρωτις Hdt. see § 367. Cf. Aiolic πῶνω and πῶ from perf. \*πέπωα. See Schulze, K. Z. XXVII 420.

## 205.] Ionic Ω = AΥ.

In a few Ionic words the α of αυ seems sporadically, through influence of υ, to have taken upon itself an ο colouring, and this ο + υ to have been pronounced as ω; cf. Delphic ὠτόν, Spartan ὠτῶ.

We have thus διαφωσκούση Hdt. III 86, but -αυ- probably IX 45 (v. l. -ω-, and -α-), and ὑπόφανσις VII 36. φώσκω may still be heard at Anchialos on the Black Sea. So also ω for αυ in τρῶμα, τρωματίης, τρωματίζειν, κατατετρωματίσθαι in Hdt., with similar forms in Hippokrates, Aretaios, and Arrian, *Ind.* 19. In Hdt. IV 180, γ and ζ have τρωμαίων, which Stein rightly rejects. τρωῦμα is found in Lukian, *d. d. S.* 20, in all MSS. except E. θῶμα<sup>1</sup> occurs in MSS. of Hdt. with such frequency that we may well question whether Dindorf's θῶμα and τρῶμα are not preferable to Stein's θωῦμα and τρωῦμα. The two chief classes of MSS. here follow different principles as regards θω- and θων-, the first class having ω, the second ωυ; in the others there is wild confusion. In pseudo-Hippokr. περὶ τέχνης, § 11, Gomperz finds θῶμα in a corrupt reading of A, M. In VI 496, we find θωμάζεται in θ; θαυμάζω Littré, I 499. The pseudo-Ionists, however, offer slender support to θῶμα (Arrian, *Ind.* 34, 40, θαῦμα 15, Eusebios, § 3 θώματι); Lukian testifies in every passage to θωῦμα. See § 258.

The ω form in τρῶμα, recalling the Attic and Ionic πρῶσσω, τέτρωμαι &c. might be derived directly from √τρω; but this method does not avail us in the case of a θῶμα (see § 258). That θῶμα is a genuine form is evident from Argolic Θωμάντας B. C. H. IX 355 = C. D. I. 3172 A Phlius); cf. furthermore θῆβος (= θῆφος · θαῦμα and θήγεια (θήφεια) · θαυμαστά. τραῦμα recalls Slav. trau, trāma (Pind. τρώμα) Slav. trauiti, τρύω, τρύχω. Bechtel, *Lautelehre*, p. 167, derives θῶμα and τρῶμα, θαῦμα and τραῦμα from the ground-forms θωῦμα and τρωῦμα, neither of which has been preserved.

## 206.] Ionic Ω = Attic OΥ.

ῶν is the form of the adverb in the Aiolic, Boiotian, Doric

<sup>1</sup> Bredow 142, Struve *Quaest. de dial. Herod.* III, p. 11 write τρῶμα, but θῶμα or θῶῦμα. Cf. Joh. Gr. 240, Vat. 698, Aug. 668, Meerm. 654; κῶμα Meerm. 654, Vat. 698. τρώμη (sic) Ionic for τρῶσις according to Eust. 102<sub>20</sub>, 991<sub>10</sub>, 1653<sub>10</sub>, who says that in Ionic πρῶω = βλέπω (1304<sub>10</sub>, 1532<sub>10</sub>, 1803<sub>10</sub>).

(late Doric *oũv*) and Ionic<sup>1</sup> dialects. Thessalian *oũv* is only apparently equivalent to Attic *oũv*, which seems to have been engrafted upon Homer upon the authority of Aristarchos, who regarded the poet as an Athenian; unless it may be held that *ou* became *ω* as did *ou* in *τρῶμα*. Hdt. has *ῶν*, *οῦκων*, *οῦκῶν*, *όσονῶν*, *τοιγαρῶν*, with occasional lapses in the MSS. in the direction of the Attic forms, as is the case in the MSS. of Lukian and Arrian. The letter of Pherekyd. has *ῶν*; the MSS. of Hippokrates, of the letters, and of Euseb. Mynd., have *oũv*. Aretaios has *oũv* in the first four, *ῶν* in the later books. See § 252, note. *oũv* comes to light upon a Vienna papyrus written in Ionic (*Philologus*, XLI 748, l. 3). Herodas has *oũv* six times.

#### 207.] Ionic Ω = OH.

The Homeric and Herodoteian *ὀγδώκοντα* is either a contraction for *ὀγδοη-* (cf. *ὀγδοήκοντα*, Attic inscription, C. I. G. 1030<sub>1</sub>, and Solon's *ὀγδωκονταέτη* 20<sub>4</sub>) or has *ω* from the influence of *ὀκτώ*. Neither *ὀγδω-* nor *ὀγδοήκοιτα* has as yet turned up upon Ionic inscriptions. The Chian *ὀκτακοσίων* 174 C 23 does not adopt the *ω* of Aiolic *ὀκτωκόσιοι* (C. D. I. 281 A 30, Lesbos). Though the Aiolic form records the influence of *ὀκτώ*, yet since that dialect has *ὀγδοήκοιτα*, nothing is thereby proved as to the Ionic form. It should be borne in mind that, if the Homeric form is a contraction of *ὀγδοη-*, forms that arise under stress of the verse in Homer are not criteria for the prose form.

Other instances of *ω* for *ση* are: *ἀλλογιώσας*, *ἐρνώσας*, *ἐρρενώσας*, *ἐνέρωτο*, in Hdt.; cf. Theognis, 1298 *νωσάμενος*, and *νώσατο* Apoll. Rhod. IV 1409; also *ἔβωσα*, *ἐβώσθην*, *βεβωμέρος*, as in Homer, *βώσαρτι*, *ἐπιβώσομαι*. Stein still holds (Pref. to school edition, LII) to the view that we have to go back to a stem formation in *ο* (*νο-*, *βο-*); cf. Leaf on M 337. *ἐβώθειν*, *ἐβώθησαν* from *βοηθέω* (cf. Aiolic *βᾱθόετι*, *ἐβᾱθήν*) are now expelled from the text of Hdt. Cf. *Βαδρομιῶνος* Lampsakos, C. I. G. 3641 b 8. See under *Contraction* (§ 296).

#### The Diphthongs in Ionic.

#### 208.] AI.

*αι* arises in Ionic as in other dialects by epenthesis: *μαίρομαι* Anakr. 89, cf. *μαυρόλα* Sappho, 1<sub>18</sub>; by contraction, § 274. For Attic *δαίς*, *δαίδιον*, Ionic has *δαίς*, *δαίδιον*, cf. Hippokr. VIII 22, 50. Hippokr. has *σφαδαίζω* VIII 92 (θ) and *ράϊον* VIII 124, 274 (θ) and often *ραϊθυμείν*, *ράϊζειν*, cf. § 182.

<sup>1</sup> Juhl. Gr. 240, Greg. Kor. 16, Aug. 668, Apoll. *περὶ συνδ.* p. 218, Schh. *οὐ παρὰ τὴν οὐν ἢ σύνθεσις κ. τοῦ μῶν*, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τὴν ῶν, ὅντα καὶ ἰωνικὸν καὶ Αἰολικὸν καὶ Δωρικόν.

**209.] Loss of *i* from diphthong AI before a vowel<sup>1</sup>.** See Fritsch, *V. H. D.* 37 ff., Allen, *Versification*, 72. The inscriptions attest the change in the following instances:—

*West Ionic.* Τερώναον Terone, 7 (before 420), cf. *Mittheil.* X 367 ff.; ἀειφυγίην Amphipolis, 10<sub>8</sub>, 25 (357 B. C.); ἀειναῦτ[αι] Rob. I 172, Chalkis, and according to Plut. 2, 298 C, found in Miletos; Ἀνκάος C. I. G. 7375 (Ἀνκαῖος Head, *H. N.* 518); Ἀκτάων 8431 (vase incr.); Μίνδαον Mende, 17 (500–450), but Μενδαίη after 400; Σπόνδαος Styra, 19<sub>141</sub>; Αἰσκραος 19<sub>153</sub>; Τίμαος 19<sub>313</sub>. About the same number of forms with AI are found in West Ionic, e.g. Ἀθηναίη, *Volci*, Rob. I 191.

*Island Ionic.* Ἀθηνάης Delos, 54 (fifth cent.)<sup>2</sup>, Νικᾶν Thasos, 72<sub>8</sub> (300–250), = Νικάην; cf. ἱερῇ < ἱερείη. In l. 10 of the same inscription we have Ἀθηναίης. Fritsch, *V. H. D.* p. 37, suggests that Νικᾶς is not certainly an Ionian, being merely proxenos. But cf. § 165, note. Ἀθηναίη occurs frequently in the Ionic of the islands: Keos 41 (epigram), 51, Paros 64 (cf. Herwerden, *Studia critica in epigrammata Graeca*, p. 103, no. XIX), Thasos 72<sub>10</sub>; cf. also Roberts, I, p. 64, and No. 165, where an inscription of uncertain provenance has Ἀθηναῖος twice. Roberts reads Ἀθήνηι, a rare form in an old inscription, No. 26 (Naxos). It recurs C. I. A. IV B 373<sup>2</sup>, where it is not Attic. We have the contracted form Ἀθηνᾶι C. I. A. IV B 373<sub>68</sub> (sixth cent.), IV 373, w (about 400). Ἀθηνᾶ came into general use in Attic about 350 B. C. The old Ἀθηναίη held its *i* in part because of the early adoption by the Ionians of Ἀθήνη. On the assumption of an Old Attic Ἀθηναίη, cf. § 78.

*Asiatic Ionic.* ἀέλ Iasos, 105<sub>10</sub> (end of fourth century, hence not certainly genuine Ionic); Ἀθηναίηι Φωκαεῖς Phokaia, 170 (age uncertain), Φωκαέων or -αίέων imperial period, Head, *H. N.* 507, recalling the Attic inscriptional forms Φωκαῖς, Φωκαϊκός; Ἀθηνᾶς Erythrai, 206 A 27, 29, B 20 (in the last example we have Ἀθηνᾶς Ἀποτροπαίας) after 278 B. C.; Ἀθηνᾶς Samos, 216 (before middle of fourth cent.). Ἀθηνᾶς is not certainly Ionic, since this document may contain an admixture of Attic<sup>3</sup>. The above list, so long as it is not augmented by more certain proofs of the appearance of *a*(*i*), makes for the conclusion that in Asiatic Ionic intervocalic *a* from *ai* is not frequent. Ἀθηναίη is attested in Halik. 240 A 3, 241, Chios, 173; metrical inser. 265 (unc. loc.); Erythrai, 200, 204<sub>12</sub>, Priene, 142; αἰέλ in Halik. 240 A 6, and so all editors except Ruehl, in 238<sub>37</sub>. Φωκαεύς Eryth. 207 (not much older than 100 B. C.).

<sup>1</sup> Hdn. II 276<sub>28</sub> (Et. M. 66<sub>21</sub>) Ἀλκαος &c.

<sup>2</sup> Ἀθηνᾶς in Attic inscriptions of the sixth and fourth centuries; cf. Alkaios 9. Theokr. 28<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>3</sup> Ἀθηνᾶ in Attic prevails after 362 B. C. in inscriptions.

In the *poets*, whose authority stands second only to that of the inscriptions, we do not find any evidence beyond that presented by Ἀηθαίου Anakr. 1<sub>4</sub>, with αι short. γεραιούς Tyrt. 10<sub>20</sub> (cf. Tyrt. frag. 17), is called in question by Bergk, though the αι is found in all MSS. αἰεῖ appears Tyrt. 5<sub>3</sub>, Mimn. 1<sub>7</sub>, Sol. 13<sub>11</sub>, Sim. Keos 85<sub>1</sub>, Theognis more than 20 times, Sim. Amorg. 1<sub>4</sub>, 7<sub>85</sub>; the poetical αἰέν Xenoph. 1<sub>24</sub>, Theog. 631, &c.<sup>1</sup>; αἰῶνος Anakr. 112<sub>4</sub>; καλερός Archil. 86<sub>2</sub> (epod.). Ἀχαιίης should be expected, and doubtless is the correct form, Sim. Amorg. 23, for Ἀχαιίης (Fick, *B. B.* XI 269), which is due to an Attic scribe. Cf. Ἀχαιικ[ά] C. I. A. II 723<sub>2</sub>. Herodas has Ἀθηναίη four times.

In *Herodotos* the chief difficulty as regards settling the question of the occurrence of α for αι is presented by αἰεῖ. Proper names in -αιεύς preserve the ι, except in Φωκαεύς, in seven passages according to Stein, though the same editor adopts Φωκαίεύς in thirteen cases. Φωκαεῖς Bechtel, No. 170, Φωκαίεύς 207, are of doubtful authority<sup>2</sup>, the latter at least being very late. Pherek. 44 has Ἀθηναίη as Hdt., &c.

Nouns and adjectives in -αίη, -αικός, -αῖς, preserve the ι. Θηβαῖς II 28, &c., appears to be correct, since a Θηβαίεύς is defensible solely on the ground of analogy.

αἰεῖ is Stein's reading, though the MSS. are uncertain in the extreme. Stein's eclecticism dictates αἰεῖ, but αἰεῖνος I 93, 145, (cf. αἰεῖνοντα ν 109, αἰεῖ- AE). αἰεῖ may be West Ionic, but scarcely Asiatic Ionic. ἐσαεῖ, in Pherekyd. of Leros, has no parallel form with the αι diphthong in that author. Herakl. 2, 20 has αἰεῖ (but αἰεῖζων, αἰεῖνον), Anaxag. 14, 15 αἰεῖ in Simplic. 156<sub>12</sub>, 164<sub>18</sub>; so also Melissos 1 &c., where Mullach edits αἰεῖ. Authors quoting Dem. *Mor.* have αἰεῖ almost invariably, but αἰεῖ occurs 88. Hippokr. αἰεῖ, e.g. III 182. αἰετός is probably the genuine reading in Hdt. despite the variation of the MSS.; αι does not become α in this word and in αἰεταῖος, ἐναίετιον, &c., in the Attic inscriptions of the fifth and fourth centuries<sup>3</sup>, though αἰεῖ and αἰεῖ contend for mastery in the official Attic documents until 361 B. C., when αἰεῖ is declared the victor. It is incorrect that Ionic did not possess αἰεῖ. ἐλαίη and congeners, κλαίω Theog. 931, 1041, 1132, Archil. 13, 20, and καίω do not admit the α form (cf. Theog. 1145). From the stem καί we have λυχνοκαίη, πυρκαίη (Hdt., Herakl. 103). On the interrelation of καίω and κᾰίω, see Wackernagel, *K. Z.* XXV 268; Brug-

<sup>1</sup> αἰεῖνος Hdt. I 145, as v. l.

<sup>2</sup> Suppho 44 has Φωκάει.

<sup>3</sup> αἰετός is found in Delos, *Ditt. Syll.* 367, 191. Ἀερίερος Iasos, Bechtel 104<sub>18</sub> before 353 B. C. may have lost ι. Is Hom. Ἡερίεον connected (Blass, ? Hdn. II 859<sub>12</sub> calls the η of Ἡερίεον Ionic.

mann, *Gr. Gr.* § 18, 54. *καίω* (with diphthongal *αι*) was also Hellenistic.

### 210.] Ionic AI=A of other dialects.

*ἑταῖρος* is the Ionic form. Cf. *ἑταιρήϊος*, *ἑταιρητή* in Hdt., *ἑταιρείη* in Sim. Keos 118. Hippon. 1<sub>3</sub>, Arch. 79, epode 85, Sim. Am. 7<sub>49</sub>, Hdt. have *ἑταῖρος*, so too Theog. 643 and often. *ἑταρος* is epic only, though claimed as Ionic, without any chronological distinction, by Greg. Korinth. p. 457. See Hinrichs, *H. E. V. A.* p. 90. The accent of *ἑταῖρος* is due to the influence of *ἑταῖρα*.

*παραιβάτης*, an Ionic form, Ψ 132. An Attic inscription, C. I. A. I 5, 1 (500-456), has *παραιβάτης*. Attic cult documents are coloured by Ionisms to a limited extent.

*αἶδασμος*, Chios, 183 A 30, B 30, is an unexplained form for *ἄδασμος*. Cf. Tarent. *ἀνεγμα*=*αἰνιγμα*.

*παλαιστή* in *παλαιστιαῖα*, *ἐξαπάλαιστα*, *τριπάλαιστα* Hdt. I 50; Attic inscriptions *παλαστή* *span* (*παλαιστής* *wrestler* from *παλαίω*). In later writers *παλαιστή* as in Ionic, with an anaptyctic *ι*; cf. *Τροιζήν* *Τροζήν*, *Γεραιστός* *Γεραστός*. Upon a late inscription from Milesian territory C. I. G. 2860<sub>13</sub> we read *παλαστῶν*.

*ἰθαγενής* is the Herodoteian form, not *ἰθα-*, as is found in P. R. II 17; cf. Greg. Kor. p. 551.

AI=A(ι).

*Φαιέννου* Thasos (L.) 18 C 5, *Παμφαίης* Thasos (L.) 19 A 6, *Δαναίη* Miletos, 99, from *Δανάη* Ξ 319 in a passage held by some to be an Ionic insertion. The myth of Danaë is referred to nowhere else in the Iliad. Hekataios 358, has *Δανᾶ* < *Δανάη*. Another instance of *αι* for *a* is suggested by Bechtel, *Thas. Insch.* p. 28: ι 222 *ναῖον* δ' ὄρω ἄγγεα πάντα, Aristar.; MSS. *νᾶον*. Cf. *ἐννεία*, *Zeleia*, and other forms, § 220.

### 211.] Varia.

1. There is no interrelation between *η* and *αι* in *Ἀλθημένης*, Thasos (L), 4 B 3, compared with *Ἀλθαιμένης*, similar to that existing between *ἥμισυς* and Aiolic *αἰμισέων*, C. D. I. 213<sub>9</sub>. The *η* of *Ἀλθημένης* is that of *ἀλθήσκω*, *ἀλθήσομαι*; see Bechtel, *ad loc.*

2. *αι* in *ἐξαιθραπεύοντος*, Mylasa, 248, is referred by Lagarde (*Gesammelte Abhandl.* 70) to Avestan *ḫōithra-*, *ἐξατράπης* and *ξατράπης* to Old Pers. *kḥdath'arāwā* (Lagarde, p. 68, Le Bas, *Foy. Arch.* III no. 388).

3. Archil. 3, *δαίμων*=*δαήμων*. The latter is derived from *δαήμων*.

4. Hdt. has in compounds formed from *γη* the ending *-γαιος*: *ὑπόγαιος* IV 200, II 148, II 100 (*ε* written over *αι* in *R*);



μεσόγατος I 145, 175, II 7 (-yeos in *R*) and in many other passages; ἐπίγατος II 125 (*R* as in II 100); μελάγγατος II 12 (-yeos *R* d z); βαθύγεως IV 23 (*dz*, -yeos *ceteri*), read -γατος since Bekker. Hippokr. VI 356 has μεσόγειος (θ -yeos). Here the interrelation of αι and ει is due to the different treatment of the ground-form. See § 421. Blass thinks that -yeos is the only correct form.

### 212.] EI.

The diphthong EI will here be treated under the divisions—

I. Genuine EI = pan-Hellenic and proethnic EI.

II. Spurious EI (monophthongic) = Attic ει, Doric η.

Some doubtful cases will be considered at the close (§ 225).

213.] Note on the orthography of Ionic inscriptions. Confusion between E and EI as representatives of the two EI's is of not infrequent occurrence upon Ionic inscriptions antedating the year 400. After that period monophthongic EI was gradually diphthongized.

#### 1. Genuine EI represented (α) by EI.

δυνάμEI Teos 156 B 31.

Eιδώς Teos, 156 B 21, 25.

EI Halik. 238<sub>31</sub>.

ΠEIθοῦς Thasos, 70.

(β) by E rarely.

ποιήσEαν Teos, 156 B 30 (but here ι has been dropped).

Eπεν Didyma, Roberts, I 139. Cf. Meisterh.<sup>2</sup> p. 135.

ἈριστοκλEδ[ης] Styra, 19<sub>12</sub>.

ΝεοκλEδης Styra, 19<sub>205</sub>.

#### 2. Spurious EI represented (α) by E.

προσέρδEν Thasos, 68.

φεύγEν Halik. 238<sub>37</sub>.

ἐπικαλEν Halik. 238<sub>46</sub>.

ὀφείλEν Thasos, 71<sub>11</sub> (fourth century).

In Attic the last examples of E for spurious EI date from 350-300.

(β) by EI rarely.

Eιχον Halik. 238<sub>36</sub>.

Instances of the writing of εἰμί, &c., will be given § 224, 9. The diphthongization of the ει of εἰμί may be traced back as far as the sixth century in Attic.

### 214.] Genuine EI in radical syllables.

E.g. Φειδύων Styra 19<sub>326</sub>; Φειδίλεω Kyme, Rob. I 174; Μείδων Styra, 19<sub>68</sub>; Τειχίουσ(σ)ης Miletos, 98, &c.

The following words call for special attention:

1. *τει* in *ἐκτεισιν* Zeleia, 113<sub>17</sub>, *ἐκτέλωσι* 113<sub>35</sub>, the future and aorist of *τίω* (ĩ) being *τέλω* and *ἔτεια*<sup>1</sup>: *Τέλσαρχος* Styra 19<sub>311</sub>; *Τέλσανδρος* Smyrna, 153<sub>14</sub>; *Τεισικράτης* Thasos (L), 17<sub>6</sub>, 19 B 3; *Τεισίμαχος* Halik. 245<sub>11</sub>. Similar forms occur in other dialects (*Diphthong* EI, p. 17, *A. J. P.* VI 443). Names in *Τισ-* are itacistic, but not so those in *Τιμ-*. It is better to assume a root *qāi*, whose weak form is *qī* in *τιμή*, than to maintain that case-levelling has produced *τιμ*: nom. *τείμᾱ*; gen. *τῖμᾱς*, whence *τιμή*, through remembrance of the long penult of the nominative (and not with *nebentoniges ī*, King-Cookson, p. 234). See Schmidt's *Neutra*, p. 396.

2. *ἐνείκαι*<sup>2</sup> and connected forms (*ἐνήμεναι* Hdt. VIII 37)<sup>3</sup>: *ἐν]Εικάντων* Chios, 174 B 4, *ἐνείκον* Anakr. 62<sub>3</sub>. The *ει* formation occurs in Homer, Hesiod, Pindar, Theokritos, Kretan, Boiotian, Aiolic, and has been explained by Brugmann, *Ind. Forsch.* I 174, from *ἐν* (prep.) + *√εικ*, which is not connected with *ἐνεγκ-*. Cf. Baunack *Inschrift von Gortyn* p. 56 ff., Fick, *G. G. A.* 1883, p. 590. See § 222, 609.

### 215.] Genuine EI in other syllables.

On *τουτEI*, *νηποινEI*, *ἀσπονδEI*, &c., cf. § 716.

The *ει* of *Διειτρέφης*, Keos 44 B 12, is from a stem *διφο* and reproduces the old locative. Cf. *Διειτρέφης*, C. I. A. I 402<sub>2</sub>, 447 III 53; Kypr. *Διφέλθεμις* C. D. I. 60<sub>21</sub>; *Δίει* Dodona 1582, Korkyra, C. I. G. 1869. In Homer, Zenodotos read *διειπετής* for the vulg. *διῖπετής*. Cf. *Δηιπέτης* (perhaps) Styra, 19<sub>181</sub>.

*ει* in suffixes from *ε(σ)ι* is regularly preserved, never becoming *ηι* (§ 232). Some examples of *-ειη*, *-ειᾶ* < *-εσια* are given in §§ 175 ff. Others are: *ἀδρανείη* Aret. 150, 261. *ἀεικέλη* Hdt. I 73, &c., as in Homer. *ἀκριβείη* Hippokr. ep. 17<sub>3</sub>. *ἀσελγείη* Hipp. ep. 17<sub>30</sub>, 44. *ἀσθενείη* Hdt. IV 135, VIII 51, Hipp. II 78. *ἀσφαλείη* Hdt. II 121 (a), III 7, IV 33. *αὐταρκείη* Dem. *Mor.* 38 (MSS. *-εια*), 39, Hipp. ep. 17<sub>37</sub>, 44. *ἐπιμελείη* Hippokr. ep. 17<sub>57</sub>. *εὐλαβείη* Hippokr. ep. 12<sub>4</sub>, 16<sub>10</sub>. *εὐπαθείη* Hdt. I 135, 191, &c. *νωθείη* Aret. 208. *πολυπληθείη* Hippokr. II 60. *προσηνείη* Hippokr. II 270, Aret. 250.

In many cases we find *-ιη* in place of *-ειη* in nouns derived from sigmatic stems. Most of these occurrences may safely be set down to confusion on the part of the copyists. In some words, however, the *-ιη* is genuine, having been transferred from

<sup>1</sup> Arkad. *τέλω* is a neologism. Brugmann, *Grundr.* I, § 314, doubtfully suggests that *ἔτεια* is from \**ἔτησα*.

<sup>2</sup> Greg. Kor. 68.

<sup>3</sup> Hdt. has *κατενεχθήναι*, but Lukian *d. S.* 17, *κατενεχθήναι* and *Astr.* 15, *κατενέχθη*. Philip of Pergamum, *B. C. H.* II 273 has *ἐξήμενα*: cf. Hdn. II 507<sub>2</sub>, Et. M. 339<sub>32</sub>, Eust. 712<sub>18</sub>, 983<sub>37</sub>, 1183<sub>43</sub>.

nouns with vocalic stems in which -ιη, not -ειη, was the proper termination. To what extent this -ιη has found admission into Ionic is difficult to discover. Of the following examples, ὠφελίη seems the only certain case.

ἀραιδίη is the reading of *O* in Theog. 648, of *c* in 291; elsewhere -είη, cf. § 175. ἀσφαλίη Hippokr. II 634 Littré (-εῖαν *A D R*<sup>1</sup>, &c.), but -εῖην II 244, III 234. δυσμενίη Demokr. Mor. 20<sub>20</sub>; εὐμενίη Hdt. II 45 is written by Holder against the authority of the MSS., which have -εῖα or -εα; κακοηθίη Demokr. Mor. 22 (Stob.); πολυμαθίη Herakl. 16 according to Bywater, though Diog. Laert. has -εῖη. Cubet's πολουμαθηίη is certainly incorrect. προμηθείη is correctly handed down in Xenoph. 1<sub>24</sub>. Hdt. has προμηθίη I 88, III 36 (*C P d* -εῖη). A schol., quoted by Bredow, p. 188, says τῆς νεωτέρας Ἰάδος ἐστὶ τὸ λέγειν τὴν προμηθείαν προμηθίαν. ὠφελίη is the better attested form; cf. Hdt. V 98 (-εῖη *d r*), VII 139 (-εῖη *C P d*), Demokr. Mor. 184, Hippokr. II 334 Littré (many MSS. -εῖη), Aretaios 238, Eusebios § 4. In Hippokr. II 626, Littré reads ὠφελείη (-ίη *AC*). With ὠφελίη, cf. ὠφελία C. I. A. I 83<sub>8</sub>, in Thukydides, &c. No Attic inscription has -εῖα.

By contraction of ε + ι, § 284, ε + εἰ, § 310.

#### 216.] Genuine EI from ε + anaptyctic ι.

Ionic examples of this phenomenon are εἰσχηκα Smyrna, *Berl. Monatsberichte*, 1875, 554, l. 7; εἰσχήκατε Erythai, Μουσ. κ. βιβλ. 1875, p. 99; παρείσχηται Olbia, C. I. G. 2058, a 4,—all late inscriptions.

#### 217.] Genuine EI from EF-.

εἰρήνη Eryth. 199<sub>9</sub>, 203<sub>8</sub>, &c., perhaps from *Frāna*, ἐ-*Fīrānā*. The North-West Greek and in part Doric εἰράνᾱ appears to be derived from a root *Frā*. If from ἐ*Frήνη*, we should expect ἡρήνα in Doric, ἐρρήνα in Aiolic, which never occur. I cannot therefore adopt Meister's derivation (*G. D.* II 93) from ἐν-*Frήνη*. Spitzer, *Arkadischer Dialekt*, p. 20, attempts unsuccessfully to explain the dialectal interrelation of *ā* and *η* after *ρ* in this word. See also Kretschmer, *K. Z.* XXXI 288. Attic εἰρήνη, not εἰράνη, since the *ā* of the final syllable has become *η*. Cf. Saussure (*Mém. soc. ling.* VII 91).

#### 218.] Genuine EI from HI.

πλείστος from I.E. *plēisto-* < *plēis-* by proethnic contraction of *ē* and *ι*. The Ionic dialect offers no trace of *πλήστος*, ARKADIAN § 20. On *πλείον*, &c., see § 219. *χρεῖος* Hom., Theog. 1196, *χρήιος* and *χρήος* Gortyna (Baunack, *Die Inschrift von Gortyna*, 51), *χρήϊα* = Kretan *χρήεα* Cauer, 121<sub>41</sub>.

## 219.] E from EI before vowels.

Genuine EI suffers the loss of its second element, as does AI (above, § 209), though not frequently<sup>1</sup>.

1. *Inscriptional Forms.*

*West Ionic*: A Chalkidian vase in Roberts, I 189 F, has Αινέης; cf. Αινείης in Menekrates *apud* Dion. Halik. *A.R.* I 77 (Jac.). Κλεώ C. I. G. 8369, Latyshev II p. 305, Herodas 393; Θάλεα 8412; Σπεώ 8354.

*Asiatic Ionic*: ποιήσεαν Teos, 156 B 30; δασέαν Miletos, 100<sub>2</sub>, 6. Cf. νικηθέη (-EE) Zankle, I. G. A. 518.

Other examples, as Fritsch (*V. H. D.* p. 41) states, are not free from the suspicion of not being pure Ionic. Ποσιδέου Chios, 177<sub>17</sub> (about 300 B.C.), Smyrna, 153<sub>32</sub> (this name with ει, Perinth. 234 B 34, Th. (L.), 10 A 10); 'Ηράκλεος Eryth. 206 A 12 (after 278 B.C.); cf. 'Ηρακλέων στηλέων Hdt. II 33 (R d, -είων A B); 'Ηρακλεώτου 206 A 38, -εώτης 206 B 26 (after 278 B.C.), Eretria, A. J. A. VII 248, no. 11, Halik. 241 (metrical), 'Ηρακλεωτῶν Head, *H. N.* 500, Διοκλέοις Phanag., Latyshev II 351, 'Ηρακλεώτης *ibid.* 289. Meisterhans,<sup>2</sup> p. 34, quotes 'Ηρακλειώτου from C. I. A. I 65<sub>1</sub>, before 403 B.C.; 'Ηρακλεώτην II 613<sub>15</sub> (298 B.C.). Hdt. has 'Ηρακλέος. Cf. 'Ροδόκλεια Samos, 225, 'Ηρακλείοισιν Teos, 156 B 33 (fifth century), 'Ηρακλείου Erythrai, 201<sub>17</sub> (early fourth century). δωρεάς Ephesos, 147<sub>15</sub> (300 B.C.); ιεραταίαι Eryth. 206 C 13,—the only instance of this form, while there are ten of ιερητεῖαι. ιερῇ Pantikap. 123 (third cent.), Ephesos, 150 (late), from ιερε(ί)η; cf. Hdt. ιρείη I 175, V 72. ἐξώλεα, πανώλεα Bechtel, 263 (Lykian), may be Ionic or Attic.

Nouns in ειο=ηιο and nouns and adj. from sigmatic and ην stems generally retain ει in all branches of Ionic.

The form δασέαν in Miletos 100<sub>2</sub>, an inscription dating, according to Rayet, from the fifth century, is as complete a parallel to δασέα in Hdt. as might be desired; and the more interesting, in view of possibility of the Milesian dialect having been that of early Ionic prose, though of course an isolated form proves nothing. See § 18. Greg. Korinth. p. 440, says τῆς θηλείας τὸ ἰ ἐξαιρουῦσι, καὶ ἐπὶ πάσης πτώσεως τοῦτο ποιούσιν, quoting Hdt. for θηλέων and θηλέη. Following are the forms adduced from Hdt., with the evidence from other quarters of Ionic. Cf. § 419, 506.

<sup>1</sup> χρύσειος, ἀργύρεος, χάλκεος, 'Εκτόρεος, Νεστόρεος are usually cited by the grammarians, e.g. Joh. Gr. 240 B, 241, Greg. K. 433, Meerm. 650, Vat. 697, Birnb. 677<sub>11</sub>, Hdn. II 426<sub>m</sub>, 861<sub>1</sub>, An. Ox. I 292<sub>m</sub>, II 127<sub>17</sub> (Theogn.), I 443<sub>1</sub>, I 356<sub>11</sub>, Apoll. Conj. 233<sub>1</sub>, Schn.; κήλεος Hdn. II 61<sub>1</sub>, 861<sub>1</sub>, Schol. Ven. A on Θ 217; παρθάλεος An. Ox. I 356<sub>11</sub>, Et. M. 652<sub>33</sub> (also παρθαλή and λεοντή, < ση=εση; μαρμάρεος An. Ox. I 273<sub>1</sub>, Eust. 3937. See also Hdn. II 276<sub>m</sub>, 909<sub>7</sub>, 861<sub>1</sub>, Et. Gud. 379<sub>m</sub>, 406<sub>m</sub>, 452<sub>17</sub>, Eust. 28<sub>10</sub>, cf. 640<sub>m</sub>, Tzetz. Ex. II. 95<sub>m</sub>, An. Par. III 69<sub>10</sub>.

2. TABLE OF FEMININES OF ADJ. IN -VS.

NAME OF HERODOTUS.	HOMER.	LYRIC POETS.	OTHER IONIC PROSE WRITERS.	INSCRIPTIONS.
Βασίς	-ίς only O 606, Π 766, * 213 cf. Fock <i>Itas</i> 84, 86, 380	Βασίς Sim. Am. 7 <sup>4</sup> cf. Sim. Keos 37 <sup>2</sup>	Βασίς Arrian 27, 33 Βασίς Hippokr. III 200	
Βασίς	Βασίς	Βασίς Sim. Keos 114 <sup>1</sup>	Βασίς Aret. 28 Βασίς Demokr. 47	
Βασίς	Βασίς	Βασίς Hipp. 19 <sup>2</sup> Βασίς Sim. 19 <sup>2</sup>	Βασίς Hippokr. V 634 Βασίς II 12-45 II 92	Βασίς Milet. 100 <sup>1</sup> , 6 Βασίς Zeleia 114 E 4
Βασίς	Βασίς	Βασίς Sim. K. 84 <sup>2</sup>	Βασίς Euseb. Mynd. 63 Βασίς Hippokr. III 200, 208	
Βασίς	Βασίς		Βασίς Luk. Syr. 15, 51 Βασίς 54 (Βασίς 27 MSS.) Arrian 14	
Βασίς	Βασίς		Βασίς Demokr. (Βασίς Herakl.)	
Βασίς	Βασίς		Βασίς Hippokr. II 226 (v.l. -ει)	
Βασίς	Βασίς	Βασίς Bacchyl. 37	Βασίς Ktesias Βασίς Arrian 16 (MSS.)	
Βασίς	Βασίς	Βασίς Theog. 715	Βασίς Hipp. II 92 Βασίς Arrian 11; Βασίς Herod. Βασίς Vita Homeri 18	Βασίς Kaib. 237 Smyrna II, or I. cent. B.C.]
Βασίς	Βασίς		Βασίς Aret. 204	

<sup>1</sup> Sim. has also Βασίς 31 B. Archil. 184 Βασίς.<sup>2</sup> Herodotus's Βασίς (neutr. pl.) is due to the influence of the fem.<sup>3</sup> The η is a late spelling for ε.



It is noteworthy that the iambographers refrain entirely from the use of the shortened forms. Doubtful support is however given to the Herodoteian adj. in -έα by the Homeric 'Ρέα, βαθέα, ὠκέα<sup>1</sup>. There is but a single occurrence of this formation in the elegy (ταχεῶν). It is inadvisable to refer this adj. form to the influence of the occasional Attic writing εα (for the first time in an -υ- adj. upon an inscription 345 B.C.). In Thukyd. ἡμισέας, Xenophon πλατεία, Plato ἡμισέας, Philemo θρασέα γυνή are attested. Theokr. has εὐρέα, and ἀδέα, a form occurring in Epicharmos and Alkman, Archimedes ἡμίσεια. The Attic forms in literature and inscriptions are too sporadic to have produced so complete a disturbance of the MSS. of Hdt. as that indicated § 506. Cf. Johansson, *B. B.* XV 184, *K. Z.* XXX 405.

3. πλέον (§ 543) and related forms are here classed together.

(1) ι-less forms: πλέον, πλέονι, πλέονα, πλέω, πλεόνων, πλέους, πλεόνως (and πλεῦν, πλεῦνος, πλεῦνα, πλεῦνες, πλεύνων, πλεύνας<sup>2</sup>), in Hdt., according to Stein, πλέον Solon 32<sub>4</sub>, Phok. 4, Anax. 6 (Mullach, Simpl. ει); πλέω Demokr. *Mor.* 92, Anax. 13; πλέων Herakl. 112 (Cobet, πλείων vulg.); πλέον and πλέον Melissos, § 14; πλέονες Demokr. 115, πλέονας Theog. 605; πλέονεσσι 800; -πλεος Hdt., cf. Archil. 58<sub>4</sub>; πλέον Oropos, 18<sub>4</sub>, Keos, 43<sub>9</sub>; πλέονος Keos, 43<sub>8</sub>, Demokr. *Mor.* 21; πλέω Miletos, 100<sub>2</sub>; πλέω Anakr. 94<sub>1</sub> (eleg.); πλέον *Syr. dea* 46. (2) Forms with ι: πλείων Sim. Amorg. 2<sub>2</sub>, and Theog. 606; πλειόνων Demokr. 20<sub>13</sub>, πλείονα Theog. 702, πλείω 907 (πλείων O). Hdt. has πλείων I 192, πλείους I 167, II 120, 121 (δ) in all MSS. Bredow and Stein unite in expelling these forms from the text, a procedure followed by Holder except in I 167. Hippokrates and Aretaios have both πλείων and πλέον. Codex A of Hippokrates has the ι-less form sometimes where the other MSS. have ει. πλείων lost its *iota* before any other form, according to Wackernagel, *K. Z.* XXIX 144, because the ε bore the accent, while in other forms ι was tonic (πλείων).

4. 'Αμαλθείης, Anakr. 8 (for Bergk's 'Αμαλθείης), seems warranted in the light of Phokyl. 'Αμαλθείης 7<sub>2</sub>. σίοντα Anakr. 49 is probably = *trisháti*, and not to be written σέοντα (Fick) = *tréshati*. Alkaios has σείων 22 (with ει reinstated from the aorist as in Gortynian ἐνσειή), and σέων 26.

ὀθνήην ὀδόν is quoted by Hdn. II 558<sub>17</sub>, from an Ionic (?) poet.

5. In the case of -εσ- stems, we have -εος = -ειος in the following cases in Hdt. which are all open to doubt.

τέλεος, τελεόω, generally, but τέλειον IX 110, Demokr. *Mor.* 218,

<sup>1</sup> Tzetz. *Ex.* II. 61<sub>13</sub>. See Leaf on π 766, O 606 and Ψ 198.

<sup>2</sup> Greg. Kor. 60, Eust. 775<sub>11</sub>.

and Eryth. 204<sub>23</sub>, τελείοις (about 354 B.C.); in Homer and Demokritos τελεώτατος, in Demokrates 2 τελεότης; cf. Kret. ἀτέλεα Cauer, 119<sub>22</sub><sup>1</sup>. ἐπιτήδεος Greg. Korinth. 65. Fritsch, *V. H. D.* 43, prefers to derive the adj. from ἐπιτηδεύω, but denies in any case the correctness of the ending -εος, which is the reading of the MSS. in a large number of instances. See § 554. ὑπώρεα, cf. πανώλεα, ἐξώλεα 263 (Lykia). In citing the fragments of Hekat. Steph. Byz. uses the full form, e.g. 186. ἐπέτειος is now written by Stein. ἀφνεός Theog. 188, 559. Ἡράκλειος Hdt. IV 43, 152, 181, VIII 132. Ἡράκλειος is the best attested form in Hdt. See above, under 1. μοννογενέην Arrian, 8<sub>6</sub>.

6. -εος in adjectives from other stems.

βόεος (Arrian 14<sub>6</sub> βόειος), χήνεος, οἶεος, αἴγεος<sup>2</sup> may have existed side by side with the -ειος forms (ἡμιόνειος, μήλειος). Ἀριμάσπεια and Ὑπερβόρεος need not be rejected with Fritsch, *V. H. D.* 44 (Fick, *Ilias*, 551 ff.), though Hellanikos has Ὑπερβόρειοι. ἀδελφεός in Hdt., Lokrian, I. G. A. 321 A 7, 29, and in the letters of Hippokr. 17<sub>20</sub>, 27<sub>30</sub>, 34, 35.

7. Mimnermos' (11<sub>6</sub>) κείαται has, like Attic κείωνται C. I. A. II 573<sub>10</sub>, a later εἰ<sup>3</sup>. In Hdt. and Hippokr. κέεται, ἐκέετο, κέεσθαι, with ε from ε(ι) regularly. Δεάλκος Thasos 83<sub>6</sub> seems to have lost *iota*. Cf. Δεάλκος Thasos, 81 B 14.

8. Expulsion of ι from -ειη.

Iota does not disappear in stems in -εσ-: ἀεικελή, ἀληθείη, &c. (above, § 175). εὐμαρέη seems to be supported, Hdt II 35, by all the MSS., by Greg. Korinth. § 119, and by Suidas (εὐμαρέη ἀπόπατος παρὰ Ἡροδότῳ), but cannot stand against the overwhelming mass of counter-testimony.

9. Δεκελέων Hdt. IX 73, as Δεκελέεωσ C. I. A. II 733, B 6, from Δεκελειεύς, II 660, 4. See Bekk. Anecd. II, p. 601, Steph. Byz. s. v. Δεκελειάθεν = Δεκελεῆθεν, Hdt. IX 73. Hdt. has also Μαρτινέη IV 161 (or Μαντίνης), Μαρέη II 18, Μαλέη, Θυρέη and Θυρέαι.

Upon the expulsion of ι, contraction resulted in ἱερῇ, Pantikap., 123, Ephesos, 150; cf. Ionic ἱρείη in Hdt.; ἱέρεια Keos 48 (fourth cent.), as Z 300. The intermediate step between ἱερείη and ἱερῇ is represented by Kallimachos' ἱερέη, epigr. 41<sup>4</sup>. In Attic we may have ἱέρειᾶ and ἱερίᾱ (*Orestes* 261) by suffix exchange. Is Πανακῇ, Hrd. 4<sub>2</sub>, from Πανακεῖη = Παράκεια?

10. The explanation of the form Ἑρμῆς is as yet too uncertain for it to be classed here. Apparently it is = Ἑρμε(ι)ῆς = Ἑρμείας.

<sup>1</sup> τέλεος in fifth and fourth centuries in Attic inscriptions; τελείος, second century B.C.

<sup>2</sup> Homeric αἴγειος, except i 196

<sup>3</sup> Cf. A 659 κέεται, and κατακείαται Ω 527.

<sup>4</sup> Gram. Par. p. 680 cites ἱέρεια as Ionic, Tzetz. Ex. II. 61<sub>15</sub> ἱερέη.

'Ερμῆς in Homer is rare (but often in hymns). Herodotos has gen. 'Ερμέω; cf. 'Ερμιέω Chios, 180, where -ιέω seems an analogical formation.

**220.** EI from E + glide ι (before a vowel) occurs before ο, ω, υ, α; as yet there are no examples before ε and η in Ionic.

δειόμενον Oropos, 18<sub>38</sub> (about 400 B.C.); cf. δειώ[ν]τα[ι] C. I. A. II 119<sub>14</sub>, about 340 B.C.; προσδείηται C. I. A. II 167, 43, 48, 334-325 B.C.<sup>1</sup> Attic inscriptions of the fifth century have ε; and so elsewhere in Ionic: δέηται Olynthos, 8 B 4; δέηι Zeleia, 113<sub>39</sub> (δεῖ Teos 158<sub>8</sub>, late). Mimm. 2<sub>13</sub>, ἐπιδεύεται has been unjustly expelled by Fick, *B. B.* XI 253, in favour of an assumed ἐπιδείεται. δεύω is an Aiolic form (C. D. I. 214<sub>37</sub>, 250<sub>6</sub>, 281 A 19, B 26), and ἐπιδεύεται may be classed with other Aiolisms preserved by Ionic elegists. Traces of this form appear even in MSS. of Hdt. IV 130 (ἐπιδευέες, where ἐπιδεέες, i. e. -εῖς is correct).

ἐννεία Zeleia, 113<sub>30</sub>, shortly after Granikos.

εἰάν Zeleia, 113<sub>20</sub> 39; cf. C. I. A. II add. nov. 14 b, 11 (387 B.C.), II add. 115 b 30, 47 (after 350 B.C.); add. 573 b 13, 18 (after 350 B.C.<sup>1</sup>, and in Epeirotic.

εἰως Thasos, *J. H. S.* VIII 402<sub>12</sub>.

πόλει(ω)s Zeleia 113<sub>19</sub>.

Θε[ι]όφρων Eryth. 206 C 12, would seem to be the same as Θεόφρων 206 C 11. θειόν=θεόν, Priene, 141, an inscription in Ionic orthography, but not in Ionic dialect.

-εῖος, genitive of -ην- stems, called later Ionic (and Lesbian) by Herodian, II 674<sub>4</sub> ('Αχιλλεῖος, βασιλεῖος). No examples occur in Ionic literature or inscriptions. Hdt. βασιλείος, and so 'Αχιλλεός, Olbia, C. I. G. 2076 (late).

On -κλείους in the genitive, see list in § 529. Cf. Meisterhans, p. 36, and Dittenberger, *Syll.* p. 780, for other forms<sup>2</sup>.

**221.]** An ει that is never represented by η in other dialects, and which is nevertheless not strictly a genuine diphthong, appears to exist in κρείας by a probable conjecture of Hermann, Ananios, 53. κρέας is found in Hippon. 77, Sim. Amorg. 24<sup>3</sup>. As in λειαίνω Solon, 435, ἀποπνέω Tyrt. 10<sub>24</sub>, this ει is a mere graphical representation of ευ<εφ, and appeared originally only when a long syllable was necessary, a fact not comprehended by later transcribers. Cf. also δειδιότες Theog. 764, δειδιθι 1179 (δέδοικα 780), where δειδ=δεδφ.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also δειφθη Lokris 'Αθην. I 489.

<sup>2</sup> The oldest certain example of ε(ι) upon an inscription is Attic Νηλεῖος 'Εφ. ἀρχ. 1884, 161 (418 B.C.).

<sup>3</sup> The ι of κρείας must not be confused with that of Hom. κρείων, which is that of the suffix (Skt. kr̥iṣya). On κρείων see Schmidt *Neutra*, p. 325.

In *εἰαρινός* Theog. 1276, Sim. K. 73; *εἶαρος* Lukian, S. 49, Alkm. 26 (*Ἐαρίνης* (?), Styra, 19<sub>1st</sub>, Ananios, *ἔαρι*, tetr. 5<sub>1</sub>, Hdt. *ἔαρ*<sup>1</sup>, Theog. ἦρος 777), the *ει* may be due to the development of the glide *iota*, the ground-form being \**ἦαρινός*, cf. *rēr* from *vēr*, Old Norse *rār*, but is more probably an accommodation to the necessities of the hexameter (*εἰαρινῇ* B 471, *εἰαρινοῖσιν* B 89). *ἦρος* seems to be from *ἔαρος* rather than from \**ἦαρος*. Cf. § 281.

Hom. *εἰλάτινος* (*ἐλάτινος* Olynth. 8 B 3) is purely metrical, as is *εἰνάλιος* (Greg. Kor. 387) with *εἰν* < *ἐν*-, and *εἰλήλουθα*<sup>2</sup>.

In the cases where this intervocalic *iota* appears, we must, I think, distinguish two distinct classes.

1. Cases of *ει* in poetry, where the *ει* is a mere graphical expression, not made use of by the earlier poets at least, to represent *ευ* = *εφ*; e.g. Hom. *λείουσι*, *εἰοικνῆαι*, (*εὐδείελος* ?), *ἀποπνείουσι* (Tyrtaios X 24, Greg. Kor. 453), *πλείοιτος* (An Ox. I 131<sub>4</sub>).

2. Cases of the pure glide *iota*, as in *εἰάν*, *ἐννεία* (or even in *Ἀχιλλεῖος*, *βασιλεῖος* Hdn. II 674<sub>4</sub> = Choir. 209<sub>24</sub>, see § 25), where *f* has nothing whatever to do with the appearance of the *ι*, though in some of the words in question *f*, as a matter of fact, did once exist; but at the period from which the forms date, cannot have left any trace of its former appearance.

At the present stage of our knowledge, I hold it best to keep the two classes apart, though thereby not wishing to deny that in certain special instances one class may overlap into the other. In the case of *ἐρείομεν* A 62, it is difficult to determine whether the *ει* is = *ευ* (as in *λείουσι*) or is a false transcription of *ἐρήιομεν*. *Λειώκριτος* and *Λειώδης* = *Ληο*-, *Ληω*- are from the misunderstood *E*, rather than due to the glide *ι* in *Λεω*-. Aristarchos wrote *ει* before a vowel except (1) in verbal endings as *ῆη*, which seemed to be a 'distracted' *ῆ*, (2) where the *κοινή* had no parallel form in *ε*, as in *περιστήωσι*, *κῆαυτες*, or where it had a parallel in *η* as *τεθυηώς* (*τεθηηκώς*), and (3) in nouns where an *ει* would have thrown the declension out of gear. See *B. P. W.* 1891, p. 38. In Homer monophthongal *ει* before vowels is gene-

<sup>1</sup> *ἔαρ* in Hdt. must be corrected. The form in Lukian cannot stand, unless it can be proved that he here imitates an epic, not an Herodotean term. Hippokr. and Aretaios have no trace = *f* *εἶαρ*, their MSS. quoting as *εἶαρ* *ἦρ* and *ἔαρ*. The Gram. Par. p. 680 holds that *εἶαρ* seems Ionic. See also Eust. 1851<sub>17</sub>. Unfortunately the Boiot. *f* *Εἶαρινος* I. G. A. 250. and *f* *Εἶαρινος* *Sitzungsber. d. preuss. Akad.* 1885, 1035, no. 46, do not decide whether the *ει* is = *η* or = *ε* + the glide *iota*.

<sup>2</sup> Held by the grammarians to be the Ionic form. Gram. Par. p. 680. (XV 111, XIX, An. Bachm. II 368<sub>31</sub>, Drakon 159<sub>4</sub>, cf. 161<sub>10</sub>, interlin. Schol. Ven. A on A 202. In Eust. 734<sub>14</sub>, An. Par. III 49<sub>23</sub> Herakleides says that the form shows peculiarities of four different dialects, the *ει* being Ionic. Since *ει* before liquids and nasals was regarded as Ionic, the schol. Apoll. Rhod. B 404 does not hesitate to call the addition of *ι* in *σκιόειν* Ionic.

rally capable of being resolved into  $\epsilon\epsilon$ ,  $\epsilon\alpha$ , or is to be written  $\eta$ . The substitution of  $\epsilon\iota$  for  $\eta$  in the above mentioned Homeric forms, and in *e.g.*  $\beta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omega$ ,  $\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\eta$ ,  $\tau\epsilon\theta\nu\epsilon\iota\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  cannot well have occurred before the period when the parasitic  $\iota$  (§ 220) was current.

Homeric  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omega$ ,  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omega\sigma\iota$ ,  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omega\mu\epsilon\nu$ , Ionic according to An. Par. III 150<sub>16</sub> (cf. Schol. Ven. A on E 256), have been attacked by Nauck who proposed to read  $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\omicron}\omega\sigma\iota$ , &c. Schmidt (*Neutra*, p. 326) suggests that the original reading was EEOΣΙ and that the  $\alpha$  of  $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\omicron}\omega$  became  $\epsilon$  before  $\omicron$  in primitive Greek. Cf. § 136, 687.

Some verbal forms with  $\epsilon\iota$ , which is probably an incorrect transcription of E, are claimed as Ionic by the grammarians, *e.g.*  $\delta\epsilon\iota\kappa\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ , on which see Osthoff, *Perfect*, p. 50. So too in the case of other forms with an  $\epsilon\iota$  in the syllable of reduplication, where the  $\epsilon\iota$  is for  $\eta$  as in  $\delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\epsilon\kappa\tau\omicron$ , cf. Skt. *dācati*.

The  $\epsilon\iota$  of the Homeric  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omega\varsigma$ , i.e.  $\eta\omicron\varsigma$ , was regarded as Ionic by Joh. Gr. 240 B, G. K. 442, Apoll. Adv. p. 149<sub>22</sub> Schn.

222.]  $\eta\nu\epsilon\iota\kappa\alpha$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa\alpha\iota$ , in Hdt. are forms which stand in no conceivable relation to  $\eta\nu\epsilon\gamma\kappa\omicron\nu$ , &c. Lukian follows well in the wake of Hdt., but Hippokrates and Aretaios have throughout the Attic forms. See § 214, 2.

### 223.] Itacism.

See above, § 197, for instances of  $\epsilon\iota$  for  $\iota$ , and cf. §§ 145, 175.

### 224.] Monophthongal EI.

1. A few sample, and some of the most important, forms under each head will illustrate this characteristic feature of Ionic. On 5-12, see § 338, 382, and Solmsen and Wackernagel, *K. Z.* XXIX. When Homer has forms in  $\epsilon$  parallel to those in  $\epsilon\iota$ , there is a presumption in favour of the former being Aiolic.

2. Spurious EI from  $\epsilon\nu\acute{\epsilon}$ .

$\xi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omega\varsigma$ <sup>1</sup>:  $\Xi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\varsigma$  Styra, 19<sub>54</sub>, 78, 277,  $\Xi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\omega\nu$  19<sub>279</sub>,  $\Xi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$  19<sub>402</sub>,  $\Xi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$  19<sub>74</sub>,  $\Xi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma$  19<sub>73</sub>,  $\Xi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\eta\varsigma$  19<sub>78</sub>, 278;  $\Xi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\kappa\rho\acute{\iota}\tau\eta\varsigma$  Amorgos, 228;  $\Xi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\theta\epsilon\mu\acute{\iota}\varsigma$  Perinthos, 234 B 28,  $\Phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\omicron\acute{\xi}\epsilon\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma$  Styra, 19<sub>30</sub>,  $\tau\acute{\iota}\mu\omicron\acute{\xi}\epsilon\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma$  19<sub>318</sub>,  $\Pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\acute{\xi}\epsilon\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma$  19<sub>289</sub>;  $\Theta\epsilon\nu\acute{\xi}\epsilon\iota\nu\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\nu$  Smyrna, 153<sub>20</sub>, &c. Hdt. has  $\pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\acute{\xi}\epsilon\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma$  VI 57, though Eustathios, quoting Hdt., uses the form  $\pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\acute{\xi}\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ . In the poets we have  $\epsilon\iota$  forms, Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>19</sub>, 20, 107; Archil. eleg. 7, 19<sub>2</sub>; Anakr. 57 (not  $\xi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\iota\varsigma$  as Bergk reads); Theog. 521, &c. Lukian has  $\xi\acute{\epsilon}\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma$ , though cases of  $\xi\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma$  occur. Arrian. 26, 28, has  $\xi\epsilon\nu$ -; and so too Aretaios and the *Vita Homeri*. Even the supposititious letter of Pittakos to Kroisos (Diog. L. I 81) has  $\xi\acute{\epsilon}\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma$  side by side with Aiolic forms. In other pseudo-Ionic sources, though there is great fluctuation, the weight that Herodotos' un-

<sup>1</sup> Joh. Gr. 241 B, Greg. Korinth. 387, 442, Apoll. D. Pron. 3 A; cf. An. Ox. I 300<sub>20</sub>.



impeachable *ξείνος* carries may pardon the adoption of this form.

Attic *ξείνος* in some relatively pure inscriptions: Oropos 18<sub>9</sub>; Miletos, 100<sub>6</sub>; Eryth. 199<sub>4</sub>; later documents, Thasos, 72<sub>3</sub>; Eryth. 206 B 12; Ephesos, 147<sub>13</sub>; Phanag. 165. So *ξευτεῖν*, Demokr. *Mor.* 38. Theog. *ξεύτης* 518 is to be regarded as an epic reminiscence. Is Anakr. *ξένοισι* 84 Aiolic? *ξείνος* in Attic must be derived directly from *ξενφος*, not through *ξέννος*. Solon has *ξένος* 23<sub>2</sub>. On *ξείνος* in tragedy, see § 77.

*κεινός*<sup>1</sup> = Attic *κενός* (*κενότερος*, cf. *μαν(F)ότερος*). Homer and Melissos have *κενεός*.

*στεινός*<sup>2</sup> = Attic *στένος* (*στενότερος*). Arrian has *στεινός* three times, *στενός* an equal number. Aretaios seems to have the vulgar form; cf. Hippokrates, III 208, *στενο-* or *στενώτεραι*. With Sim. Amorg. (14) *στεννυγῆ* (not un-Ionic), cf. Messenian *Στενύχλαρος*.

*εἵνεκεν* perhaps = *ἐμ + Feka* (Osthoff, *Perfect*, 334, Brugmann, *Gramm.* § 13) in Hdt. and Demokr. 87 (cf. on *Prepositions*, § 715). *εἵνεκα*<sup>3</sup>: Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>118</sub>, Anakr. 45, Theog. 46, 730, &c., Demokr. 184. *οὔνεκα*, Theog. 488, 854, Xenoph. 2<sub>10</sub>, Solon, tr. 37. See Wackernagel, *K. Z.* XXVIII 109 ff. *Vita Homeri* has the Attic *ἐνεκα*, &c.

*εἵματος*, *εἵνακόσιοι*, Wackernagel, *K. Z.* XXVIII 132, G. Meyer, *Gramm.* p. 379, Brugmann, *Gr. Gr.* § 101 (Greg. Kor. 453, Eust. 388<sub>25</sub>).

3. Spurious EI from *epf*.

*δειρή*, Hdt. and Theog. 266, but *δέρη* Anakr. 80. On the accent, see § 119. Attic *δειράς* is from *δερσ-*.

*πείρατα*, Arch. tetr. 55, Solon, eleg. 16, Theog. 140, 1078, 1172. Skt. *párran*. On Ionic and Attic *ἀπειρος*, see *K. Z.* XXXI 443.

*εἶρωμαι* (Greg. Kor. § 73, Max. Plan. in *Anecd. Bachm.* II 552) appears to be a present formed from the aorist stem with prosthetic vowel (*ἐ-ρῳέσθαι*)<sup>4</sup>. *εἶρωάω*<sup>5</sup> in Hom., Theog. 519, Hdt. III 14, Hrd. 378; *ἐρωτώμενον* I 86, is rejected by Stein in favour of *εἶρωτέμενον*; Thasos, 72<sub>12</sub>, *ἐπερωτήσαι* is Attic (300-250 B.C.); cf. C. I. A. II 601<sub>4</sub>. Attic inser. have also *ἐπερέσθαι*.

<sup>1</sup> J. G. 240 B, Greg. Kor. 442, Gram. Meerm. 652, Vat. 697.

<sup>2</sup> Gram. Meerm. 652, Vat. 697.

<sup>3</sup> Joh. Gr. 241, Greg. Kor. 452, poetic according to Eust. 388<sub>35</sub>, An. Ox. I 130<sub>11</sub>, Bekk. An. II 968<sub>10</sub>, Apoll. cony. p. 238<sub>21</sub> Schn.

<sup>4</sup> So my *Diphthong EI*, p. 64, and also G. Meyer, *Gramm.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 425. Or *εἶρωμαι* as well as Homeric *ἔρω*, *ἐρόμαι*, ask, and also Attic *ἔρωμαι*, are based upon the transference of *\*ἔρευμι*, *\*ἔρυμαι*, to the *Ω* conjugation (*ἔρεψα*, *ἔρφομαι*; Solmsen, *K. Z.* XXIX 64. Monro *H. G.* § 80 with Curtius refers *ἐπέλωμεν* to *ἔρημι*. See above § 221.

<sup>5</sup> Eust. 388<sub>35</sub>.

εἰρύομαι<sup>1</sup>, Hdt. See Leaf on A 216 (εἰρύω *draw*, √Fερυ; εἰρύομαι *protect*, √σερF). Schulze, *K. Z.* XXIX 235, holds to the view that εἰρύσαι is from \*ἐFερύσαι.

εἶριον (Hom., Hdt., Hippokr.), εἶρος δ 135, ι 426 from FερF, cf. *verve*. Hom. and Aiolic εἶριον (Apoll. *Adv.* p. 149<sub>22</sub> Schn.).

4. Spurious EI from ελF.

εἰλίσσω, Hdt. probably from √FελF. Homer has both εἰλίσσω and ἐλίσσω. Hdt. II 148 has ἐλιγμοί. Is εἴλω from Fέλνω?

5. Spurious EI from -ενσ- or -ενς.

The *sigma* may represent either I.E. *s* in a final syllable, or secondary (dialectal) σ=τ<sub>1</sub>.

On εἰς, εἴσω, and the orthography in inscriptions, see § 715. εἰσί = ἐντί, λυθείς < λυθέντς, χαρίεις < χαρίFεντς, ἀ[πο]κτενεῖ(ε) Teos, Rob. I 142 B 11. μέις, T 117, Hdt. II 82, Anakr. 6 (Hesiod and Pind.), gen. μηνός Halik. 238<sub>4</sub>, Oropos, 18<sub>6</sub>. κένσαι Ψ 337, < κέντσαι, for κείσαι, with the ν of κεντέω.

πείσομαι did not arise directly from \*πένθομαι, nor πείσμα from \*πένθμα but from πενσ- a new formation, the ν having disappeared in aboriginal Greek before θμ without compensatory lengthening.

6. Spurious EI from ερς.

κείρας, Paros 67. διέρσης, διέρσαι, pseudo-Hipp. IV 108, διέρσας IV 296 are certainly not original or genuine Ionic.

7. Spurious EI from ελς.

ἀγγεῖλαι, ἀποστεῖλαι. For σκήλειε Ψ 191 read σκειλ-.

8. Spurious EI from εμς.

ἐνείματο, &c.

9. Spurious EI from εσμ.

εἶμα[τ]ίο[ις] Keos, 43<sub>2</sub>, with the εἰ of εἶμα. Cf. Andania, Cauer, 47<sub>16</sub>, 19, 20, 21, εἶματισμός *ibid.* 15. Hdt. has ἱμάτιον. Brugmann, *M. U.* II 223 (cf. Osthoff IV 133), separates ἱμάτιον from εἶμα, thereby implying that itacism does not here exist. That G. Meyer, *Gramm.* § 115, Solmsen, *K. Z.* XXIX 73, are incorrect in maintaining the itacistic character of the εἰ, is clear from the old Ionic form cited above and from Attic ἱμάτιον, C. I. A. II 755, 8, 9 (349–344 B.C.), &c. We have double forms in εἶμάτιον and ἱμάτιον. ἱμάτιον arose from Fισμάτιον, the weak form of Fεσμάτιον (cf. § 144), the ι being the 'minimum' vowel. Cf. Fick, *K. Z.* XXII 116, Prellwitz, *Deut. Litt. Zeit.* 1890, p. 1538. εἶμασιν, not ἱμασιν of the MSS. in Sim. Am. 21, is correct.

Medial εσμ is preserved by analogy in Ionic as in other dialects.

The orthography of the word εἶμλ fluctuates between EMI and

<sup>1</sup> εἰρύσασθαι Hdn. II 503, Et. M. 304<sub>10</sub>; εἰρύσατο An. Ox. I 157<sub>19</sub>.

EIMI. All inscriptions, not otherwise dated, are earlier than 400 B.C.

With E.

Kyme, 3 = Rob. I 177.  
Kyme, Rob. I 173, 185.  
Naxos, 25 = Rob. I 27.

With EI.

Miletos, 98 = Rob. I 138.  
Theodos. 125, written IEMI  
(after 400).

Chalkidian, Rob. I 175, 186.  
Arkesine (Amorg.), 29 = Rob.  
I 158 D.

Prokon. 103<sub>2</sub> = Rob. I 42.  
Samos, 214 = Rob. I 155.  
Naukr. Rob. I 132 A, E, G,  
and often upon the Naukr.  
inser., Asiatic Ionic, Naukr.  
Bechtel, 259.

Olbia, Rob. I 163 A.  
Naukr. Rob. I 132 C.

Kameiros, 256, Rob. I 164.

For a similar fluctuation in other dialects, cf. my *Diphthong EI*, p. 60. *Ei* in Attic is as old as 570 B.C. (Rob. I 42<sub>1</sub>), this proving that *ei* = *ē* had a tendency toward diphthongization at an early period. In a few other words the same phenomenon may be observed. On the monophthongization of the diphthong *ei*, see Brugmann, *Gr. Gr.* § 15, Lewis, *Paper of the American School*, IV 263.

10. Spurious EI from *εσν*.

*ἐπείνυσθαι*, Hdt. IV 64 (A B) according to Stein. Holder follows *PK's* *ἐπέπνυσθαι*. Cf. *καταείνυσαν*, Ψ 135 (elsewhere six cases of *ἐπνυμι*). *ἐπνυμι* is not a direct descendant of *ἐπνυμι* which is derived from a later *\*ἐπνυμι*, brought into life through the influence of *ἐσσω*, *ἐσται*, &c.

*κλεινός* < *κλεφεσνός*: *κλεφρογένης*, I. G. A. 396 (Keos). *\*Αργενρον* near Erythrai is perhaps due to the Aiolic element in the neighbouring Chios. *\*Αργενρον* occurs in Troas and Lesbos, *ἀργενρός* being an Aiolic word, Hinrichs (*H. E. F. A.* p. 56). Other traces of Aiolism are *Πεληναῖον*, name of a mountain in the north of Chios, *χρυσοφαέννων* Anakt. 25, and *Φαιέννου* Thasos (L.) 18 C 5; AIOIC, § 97, and IONIC, § 17.

The orthography of *εἶναι* in Ionic inscriptions shows the fluctuation in the representation of the closed *ē* sound. It is held by Brugmann, *Gram.* § 146, that *εἶναι* is not derived directly from *\*ἐσσαι* but that it owes its *ei* as Arkadian *ἦναι* its *η*, to the influence of *εἶμεν*, *ἦμεν*. It is not probable that the adulterine *ei* *η* was borrowed from *εἶμεν* *ἦμεν* at a time so remote as to precede the adoption of *-ναι* in Ionic-Attic and Arkadian, which, it is claimed, was abstracted from *-φεναι*, *-μεναι*. Neither dialect has any trace of *-μεν*. The possibility of *εἶναι* having originated from *\*ἐσεναι* is very slight.

## With E.

Halik. 238<sub>22, 24, 42</sub> (fifth cent.).  
Erythrai, 199<sub>5, 10, 11</sub> (after 394).

Keos, 43<sub>1</sub>, ἐξεῖναι (fifth cent.).

## With EI.

Halik. 238<sub>27, 28, 28</sub>.  
Thasos, 71<sub>3, 6</sub> (fourth cent.) 72<sub>9</sub>,  
(300-250).  
Oropos, 18<sub>32</sub> (about 400).  
Amphip. 10<sub>12</sub> (about 350).  
Eretr. 15<sub>14</sub> (fifth cent.).  
εἶν, Olynth. 8 A 3, B 5, 7 (betw. 389  
and 383).  
ἐξεῖν, Orop. 18<sub>31</sub>.

## 11. Spurious EI from εσλ.

χεῖλοι = Aiol. χέλλιοι, Lak. χηλίοι.

χεῖλος < χέσλος Sim. Am. 27. See Windisch, K. Z. XXVII  
169.

## 12. Spurious EI from ενι.

According to Brugmann, *Gr.* § 54, Homeric εἶν is = ἐνι + vowel.  
We find ἐνάλιος in Archil. 74<sub>8</sub> (tetr.), εἰνάλιος in Theogn. 576.

The εἶ of ἀμείνων is due to compensatory lengthening (i.e. εἶ is a spurious  
diphthong) ἀμεννο- being Aiolic. ἀμεινότερος occurs in Mimn. 14<sub>9</sub>, Ἀμεινοκράτης,  
Mykonos 92<sub>11</sub>, ἀμΕἶνον (?), Rob. I 159 a, Amorgos.

## 13. Spurious EI from ελι.

ὀφέλλω, *increase*. The εἶ of ὀφείλω would seem to be genuine,  
despite the pair ὀφέλλω : ὀφείλω (with different significations),  
because of ὀφΕΙλέτω, Chios, Rob. I 149 A 14, ὀφΕΙλόντων, *ibid.*  
l. 17, Thasos, J. H. S. VIII 402, 4, and ὀφΕΙΛΕν Thasos, 71<sub>9-11</sub>.  
EI is also attested, C. I. A. 40<sub>14</sub>, I 58, 324 A 52. We have  
however E in C. I. A. I 32 A 3, 8, B 22, *ib.* 41<sub>3</sub>. See Johansson,  
*D. F. C.* p. 212. ὀφέλλω, *spare*, in Hippon. 51<sub>3</sub>. ὀφέλλειεν Π 651,  
β 334 is an Aiolism. Cf. L. Meyer, B. B. VII 311.

## 14. Spurious EI from ερι.

φείρω *drag* < φερῖω. Ionic εἶρῃθην Hdt. IV 77, 156, &c. <  
ἐφερέθην, Attic ἐρρήθην < ἐ-φρήθην. πέπειρα Anakr. 87, πέπειρος  
Hippokr.

Ναυστείρης Styra, 19<sub>24</sub>, Homeric στεῖρα or στεῖρη A 482,  
β 428, and nowhere else (*Diphthong* EI, p. 65). Theog. 757  
ὑπειρέχοι with ὑπεῖρ, as in Hom., formed from ὑπερῖ before an  
initial vowel. ὑπειρόχους Hdt. V 92 (η), adopted by Stein, is alien to  
the form usually accepted by the historian, and can be defended  
solely by those who hold to the assumption of a phonetic ποικιλία  
in the Herodoteian dialect.

## 15. Spurious EI from contraction of ε + ε, see § 262.

κεῖνος, written κΕνος, Teos, 156 A 4, 5, 11, 13, 156 B 28, 39,  
but with EI, 156 B 7; ἐκΕἶνος, upon inscriptions tinged with  
Atticism, Teos, 158<sub>13</sub>, Mylasa, 248 A 11, 16, B 15, C 19. See  
§ 564. Prellwitz rightly holds that the εἶ is a monophthong,

and divides (ἐ)-κεῖ + ενος : his proposed etymology, *B. B.* XV 155 ; see also Brugmann, *Gr. Gr.* § 94.

With the variation between Ionic κεῖνος, Aiolic κῆνος, Wackernagel compares (*B. P. W.* 1891, p. 6) Νηλεύς in Homer and Νείλεως in Hdt.

**225.]** EI of doubtful origin.

Σειλήνη Paros, 66, a late inscription with ει not in accord with the common Attic-Ionic form (Sappho σελάνα ; Doric σελάνα ; Archim. σελήνα ?).

Εἰλειθυίει Delos, 56<sub>80</sub>, Paros, 66 (Εἰλειθυίηι). See Baunack's *Studien*, I 69. Εἰθύμαχος Styra, 19<sub>39</sub>. See § 198.

Τειρεσίλας. Cf. τεῖρεα Σ 485 < τέρας (cf. γέρεα Miletos, 100<sub>7</sub>).

**226.]** OI.

On οι < ofi, οσι, see § 298, from ε + οι § 311, from ο + οι § 314, ο + ει § 315, from ωι § 241.

This seems to have been pronounced as a genuine diphthong. Bechtel, *Ion. Inschr.* p. 37, has refuted the view that in Styra οι was pronounced as *u*, and that the dialect of Styra was herein influenced by the Boiotian change of οι to υ, i. e. *u*. Μέτυικος, 19<sub>70</sub>, may or may not be correct ; but in the fifth century, the period of this leaden tablet, Boiotian οι had not abandoned the old diphthongal pronunciation of οι. Cf. Blass, *Aussprache*,<sup>3</sup> p. 57.

**227.]** Antevocalic OI = O.

See above for A(I), E(I) in Ionic.

A. *In inscriptions.*

Roman figures refer to centuries.

WEST IONIC.

A. Εὐβοεύς Styra, 19<sub>38</sub> (V) ; B. ἐπολεί Eretria, 14 (V) ; ἐποίησε Adesp. 21 (VI) ; ἐποιησάτην 265 (Euboian or Island Ionic) (V).

ISLAND IONIC.

A. ἐπόει Delos, 57 (II) ; ποε(ί) Thasos, 72<sub>4</sub> (300-250) ; B. ἐπ[ο]ίησεν Naxos, 26 (B. C. 500) ; [π]οιεῖν Keos, 43<sub>21</sub> (end of V) ; Εὐκοίης Keos, 44 B 9<sup>1</sup> (IV ?) ; Ποιασσίων Keos, 47<sub>2</sub> (IV) ; Ποιάσσαν Keos, 47<sub>10</sub> (IV) ; θαυματοποιός Delos, 55, 3 (270) ; ἐχσεποίησεν Paros, 58 (VI) ; ποιήμα Paros, 60 (metr.) (V) ; εὐνοίας Thasos, 72<sub>8</sub> (III).

ASIATIC IONIC.

A. ἐξεπώδησ' Abdera, 162 (metrical) (V) ; ποιήσασθαι Eryth. 199<sub>13</sub> (394) ; ἐπόει Samos, 222 (pre-Rom.)

<sup>1</sup> Cf. κοῖαται G. G. A. 1883, p. 119.



## B. a. Before η, ει.

ἐποίησε Miletos, 94 (VI); ἐποίειν Miletos, 95 (VI); ἱεροποιῆι Miletos, 100<sub>6</sub> (400); ποιεί[ν] Didyma, Rob. I 139 (V?); [π]εποιή-  
κασιν Iasos, 105<sub>4</sub> (end IV); ποιήσαν Teos, 156 B 30 (470);  
ποιήσει Teos, 156 B 39 (470); ποιήσας Teos, 158<sub>14</sub> (II or I);  
ποιήσει Chios, 174 A 12 (V); ποιῆι Chios, 174 C 9 (V); ποιῆται  
Chios, 174 C 11 (V); ἐποίησεν [Chios?] Rob. I, p. 64 (V);  
ἐποίησεν Eryth. 207 (II); ποιήσειν Sam. 221<sub>24</sub> (322); ἐποίει  
Sam. Rob. I 157 (V); νεωποιήσαντες Sam. 222 (pre-Rom.); ποιή-  
σεν Halik. 241 (metr.) (?); ποιήσαντες Myl. 248 A 12 (367/66);  
ἐποίησαντο Myl. 248 A 13 (367/66); ποιήσαντος Myl. 248 B 6  
(361/60); ἐποίησαντο Myl. 248 B 12 (361/60); ποιήσασθαι  
Myl. 248 C 9 (355-54); ποιησαμένη Myl. 248 C 16 (355/54);  
ἐποίησεν Adesp. 264 (VI); οἴη, *village*, Chios, 183 A 46 (350);  
Οἴην Eryth. 201<sub>27</sub> (IV); αἰδοίην Adesp. 264 (metr.) (VI).

## β. Before ο.

τειχοποιουῦ Kyzikos, 111<sub>6</sub> (IV); ποιοῖ Teos, 156 A 2 (470);  
ποιούντων Teos, 158<sub>18</sub> (late); ἱεροποιουῦ Eryth. 206, ABC 12  
times (278); Ἐνδοῖος Adesp. 264 (VI).

## γ. Before α, αι.

νεωποιῶς Ephes. 147<sub>15</sub> (300); νεωποιῶς Halik. 240<sub>6</sub> (450-400);  
εὐνοῖαι Ephes. 147<sub>8</sub> (300); εὐνοῖαν Samos, 221<sub>8</sub> (322).

ποιέω is the word most frequently affected by the change, and  
in it the *iota* never disappears in any dialect before ο, but  
only before η, ει. In the MSS. of Hdt. and of other Ionic  
prosaists, ποιέω is the only form found.

Cf. πόης Theokr. 29<sub>21</sub>; ἐπόησε Theokr. 29<sub>24</sub>, Aiolic, C. D. I.  
218<sub>9</sub>; ποήσασθαι Aiolic, 281 A 19, B 24; πόη = ποιῆ, 238<sub>6</sub>;  
ποήσω 281 B 54; ποείμενος 305<sub>8</sub>; Arkad. ποέντω 122<sub>9</sub>; other  
examples, G. Meyer, *Gramm.*, § 155.

The optative sign in -οιατο is never lost.

## B. Lyric Poets.

Anakr. ἀδοῖάστως 95 (eleg.), ἐπτοήθη 51<sub>3</sub> (ἐπτοίηθεν χ 298,  
πτοιῶμαι Mimn. 5<sub>2</sub>), but ποιήσεις 60, πεποίημαι 97 (eleg.). Herodas  
2<sub>34</sub> ἠλόησεν, but ἀλοιήση 2<sub>31</sub>; πῶεις 6<sub>9</sub>, but ἐπόει 4<sub>23</sub>, elsewhere οι  
retained.

C. Herodotos, &c. Cf. Fritsch, *V. H. D.*, p. 45 ff.

Εὐβοεύς VII 156, VIII 4, 19, 20; Εὐβοῖς III 89.

Εὐβοϊκός III 89, &c. In fact, Εὐβοιεύς is found in no Attic  
prosaist, and Εὐβοῖς only in poetry: *Trach.* 237, 401; Εὐβοῖς  
*Trach.* 74, Eurip. *Herakleidae*, 83.

εὐροίη and προνοίη.

ποίη, as in Homer ποιῶδης. Attic ποία is poetical, elsewhere πόα, as Sappho, 54<sub>3</sub>. On the accent, see § 122.

ροίή, Homer ροίαί, Attic ρόα, but ροιά in Aristotle (Greg. Korinth. p. 220, quotes ροιά as Doric). On the accent, see § 122.

στοή, according to Stein, III 52 (*R* has στοιή); στοιά in *Ekkles.* 684, 686 may be taken from the *sermo familiaris*, though στοά is the only form found in inscriptions. στοιά is Doric (Ditt. *Syll.* 369<sub>25</sub>)<sup>1</sup>. Why Hdt. should use ποίη and ροίή, but στοιή, is not clear. Hence I doubt Stein's reading.

φλοιός IV 67, also Homer and Attic.

χλόη Archil. 108, Hdt. IV 34 (Stein); χλοι- regularly in χλοιούσθαι Galen, *Lex. Hippokr.*, χλοιῶδης Hippokr. Attic has always χλόη, hence in X]λοι[ης] C. I. A. II 722 B 18, if correctly restored, we assume that the ι is the glide *iota*.

ὁμοχροίη has MS. authority, I 74, where Stein prefers -οίη. Diog. Apoll. 6 χροίης, Attic χροά (Aristoph. χροιά).

φθόη is a medical expression adopted by Plato, perhaps from Hippokrates. Wackernagel's (*K. Z.* XXV 268) objection to the hiatus is well founded if we compare Skt. *kshayá* and apply Fick's law as to the interrelation of ι and *yod*: when the accent falls originally, as here, upon the final syllable, ι not *yod* should appear. Cf. Fick, *B. B.* VIII 168, Bechtel, *Gött. Nachrichten*, 1885, No. 6, and on ροίή, χροίή under Accent, § 122. Evidently in some of these words contamination of the original forms has given rise to those now found in our texts.

δοή for δοίή, Ionic papyrus (*Philol.* XLI 746).

## 228.] OI (Varia).

(1) There appears to be no certain instance in Ionic of οι for ο before a vowel (as in ὀγδοίης, &c.). καταβοίης, however, occurs upon the very ancient papyrus (*Philol.* XLI 746) which is chiefly Ionic. For ἐπίπλοον, Hipp. has ἐπίπλοιον VIII 122 (C, θ), but the latter form contains suffixal -ιο-. κοίλη Mimn. 12<sub>0</sub> is a conjecture. It has not been shown that a κοίλος arose in the manner assumed for γελοιός ὁμοίος (Hartel, *Hom. Stud.* III 41). A preferable solution is that κοφίλος (κοφ = *car-us*) = κομίλος was represented graphically by κοίλος, cf. § 221. This οι = ου is probably not Aiolic, hence in Alkaios 15<sub>5</sub> read κούλαι.

(2) [Ι]ροιζήμιος Iasos, 104<sub>20</sub>, before 353 B.C., disproves the statement of G. Meyer, *Gramm.*, § 112, that this form (with anaptyctic ι before ζ) does not appear before the imperial period. Cf. Τροζάνιος I. G. A. 70<sub>13</sub>, Schneider, *Dial. Megarica*, 39, Müllensiefen, *Dial. Lacon.* 88.

(3) δεσπότησιν Kyzikos, Rob. I 148 = δεσποίναις, if correct, is

<sup>1</sup> Also C. I. G., 2483<sub>22</sub>, Astypalaia.

a unique form. The converse appears in Φιλοδέσποιτος (*Papers of the American School*, III, No. 218). Cf. § 151.

(4) οι appears for εοι in the Herodoteian οἶκας, οἶκός, with absence of reduplication, as in οἶκοδόμηται I 181, Herakleian Tables, I 137.

(5) The ancients regarded ἡοῖος as Ionic in contradistinction to ἡῶος and ἐῶος: Eust. 727<sub>53</sub>, 83, 1142<sub>54</sub>, 1504<sub>44</sub>.

(6) πρήξοισιν Chios 174 A 16-17 for πρήξουσιν, subj. with short modal vowel, is an Aiolism as regards the ending.

(7) For -οῖα in the fem. part. = νῖα, see § 605.

(8) οι < ωι, see § 241.

### 229.] ΥΙ.

The second mora of the diphthong υι may disappear before a following vowel.

ύός Paros, 67 (late), Ηνύς 266, of uncertain provenance. Cf. υῖός Δ 473, λ 270; δύνη υ 286. ἀφύη, often used by the comic poets, may be an Ionic loan-form (G. Meyer, *Gramm.*, p. 36). Cf. μυνοσόβαι B. C. II. VI 32, 33.

υίός is found, Amorg. 35 epigr.; Priene, 141 (in Ionic alphabet); 265, uncertain locality; Delos, 57. On υίός, ύός in metrical inscriptions, cf. Allen, *Versification*, p. 71 ff., on υ(ι)ός in Attic, Meisterhans, p. 47.

### *Diphthongs κατ' ἐπικράτειαν.*

### 230.] ΑΙ.

αι = pre-Hellenic *āi*, gave way to ηι at the earliest period of Ionic that can be reconstructed by us.

### 231.] ΗΙ.

Whether ΗΙ is really a δίφθογγος κατ' ἐπικράτειαν in such forms as βασιλήιος is not perfectly certain (Blass, *Ausgpr.*<sup>3</sup> 22, Johansson, *B. B.* XV 182). Schulze, *K. Z.* XXIX 252, writes βασιλῆος, and holds that ηι became η between the time of Hipponax and Herodotos<sup>1</sup>. Between βασίληιος (or βασίλῆος, cf. Attic βασίλειος) and βασιλήιος there is a far greater difference than between ἀνδρήιος and ἀνδρῆος,—the important difference of the accent position. While MS. testimony possesses slight, and even inscriptions but little more value (the ordinary ΗΙ, e.g. in such a form as ΚΑΗΙΩ, being indifferent to the question at issue), the evidence in favour of the existence of the long vowel and of diacresis in certain Ionic prose authors is drawn (1) from the cases of ηῖ in the poets; (2) from the Attic ΤΕΗΙΟΙ, Τῆῖοι or Τῆῖοι, C. I. A. I

<sup>1</sup> In Hdt. the correct form is ῆε, not ῆε.

234<sub>15</sub> (446 B.C.) and TEIOI = Τήϊοι, C. I. A. 229<sub>11</sub> (451 B.C.), forms whose ηī, even if not Attic, is certainly Ionic; cf. THIOΣ Naukratis 700<sup>1</sup> (cf. K. Z. XXVII 264); (3) from Kyprian μνάνιο(ν) (?), Meister. G. D. II 144; (4) from Boiot. μαντεία, = Delph μαντήια, cf. Aiol. or Thess. μαντήιον, C. D. I. 1558. In any event Hippokrates certainly made use of ηι much less often than Hdt. See below, § 286.

### 232.] Medial HI before vowels.

(1) In this category fall chiefly the derivatives in -ήιον, -ήϊη = Attic -εϊον, -εϊη, from stems in -ηυ. In dealing with the much-vexed problem of the interrelation of these terminations it must be borne in mind that originally an -ηυ- stem yielded -ηιη or -ηιο-, except in the case of such feminines as had adjectival motion (§ 174); while sigmatic stems produced -εϊη and -εϊο-. This original mark of distinction has been obliterated to a great extent in all the dialects, and especially in Ionic. The retention of the traditional accentuation in this treatise does not imply that in all cases, notably in that of the pseudo-Ionists, ηι was pronounced with ι as a distinct phonetic power. The conduct of ηι upon Attic inscriptions shows that at an early period ι was a vanishing sound. ηι must sometimes have been written when it was not diphthongal, e.g. μουσηιον Herodas 1<sub>21</sub>.

All the forms of the ηυ stems have been collected by Fritsch, *F. H. D.*, pp. 9 ff.; e.g. Hdt. ἀριστήιον, ἀρχήιον, ἱερήιον (Greg. Kor. 3), μαντηίη (μαντείας Tyrt. 4<sub>1</sub>), μαντήιον Pherek. 60 (Herakl. 11 -εϊον), πολιτηίη, πρυταιήιον, as Prokon. 103 (fifth century), στρατηίη (and στρατιή), ταριχηίη, χαλκήιον, &c.

Also from -ηυ- stems adjectives and nouns in -ηιος, -ηιον, -ηϊη, = Attic -ειος, -ειον, -εϊα. βασιλήιος Theog. 1191, Hdt., Hekat. 175, Charon 2, βασιληίη Hdt., Herakl. 79; and the following forms in Hdt.: δουλήιος<sup>2</sup>, ἐξοδηίη (Stein -δίη), κηρυκήιον, Ὀδυσσήιος, ἀρήιος, ἔρμηι ηϊη, as in Diog. Apoll. 1. Mimn. has Νηλήιον 9<sub>1</sub>; θεραπηίη Hippokr. VI 492, 586, VII 172, 180, IX 268, v. l. -εϊη, no v. l. VII 246, but θεραπείη V 686, II 14, 110, III 72.

In the pseudo-Ionic prosaists we find the -ηι- forms are not so prevalent as in Hdt. and are largely artificial: θεραπείη Lukian, *Syr.* 31, Aretaios often; θεραπηίη occurs only in the letters of Hippokr. 15<sub>7</sub>, 16<sub>7</sub>, 17<sub>20</sub>, 23. -ηι- forms occur as follows: μαντηι- Luk. *Syr.* 36, *Astr.* 8, 23, 24; πολιτηίη Hipp. ep. 17<sub>32</sub>; βασιληι- Luk. *Syr.* 18, 25, *Astr.* 12, Arr. *Ind.* 3, 8, 39, Hipp. ep. 17<sub>34</sub>, 41; ἀρήιος Arr. *Ind.* 7, 11, 12, Euseb. 2; παιδηίους

<sup>1</sup> Coins of Teos have THΙ Head *H. N.* 511, and so THIOΣ Naukr. I 209, II p. 68 a late metrical inser.).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Anakr. 114, epigram. δουληίην. Hdt. has also δοβλῖος VII 8 γ; cf. πολεμήιος and πολέμιος, ξεινήιος and ξείνιος.

Euseb. 2; ἱρήιος Luk. *Syr.* 42, 58, 57, cf. Arr. *Ind.* 18. The following have no variant in -ηι-: μοιχείη, δυναστείη, γοητεία, προφητεία, φαρμακείη, πρεσβείη, ἐρμηνείη. στρατηγία is the only example in the *Vita Homeri*.

Fritsch's thoroughgoing examination (*V. H. D.* pp. 8-30) shows that here and there the Attic forms have forced themselves into the MSS. of Hdt.; and in the inscriptions we meet with the following forms in εἰ where we might expect an Ionic -ηι-:—ἀρχεῖον Iasos, 105<sub>12</sub> (end of third cent.); πολιτεία Zeleia, 114 ABC (late), Samos, 221<sub>27</sub> (322 B. C.); πρυτανεῖον Kyzikos, 108 B (first cent.); καπηλεῖον Iasos, 104<sub>44</sub>; πορεία Samos, 221<sub>21</sub> (322 B. C.).

All these forms occur in inscriptions so late that they may be ascribed to Attic influence.

(2) Furthermore, -ηιο- occurs (Attic -εῖο-) where there is no -ην- stem involved. Herodotos has ἀνδρήιος (Protag.), ἀνδρηγία, (cf. Arrian 17<sub>4</sub>) but ἀνδρειότερος I 79, ἀνδρειότατος I 123, IV 93, IX 37, γυναικήιος (where Homer has, λ 437, γυναικείας, Phokyl. 3<sub>2</sub> γυναικείων (cf. Fick, *B. B.* XI 272), Archil. γυναικείον, 9<sub>10</sub>; Rutherford's γυναικήιον, Hrd. 6<sub>1</sub>, is incorrect). Hdt. has also ἀχρήιος (Hom.), ἐργαλήιον, ἐταιρήιος, -ηγία (Sim. K. 118 -εῖη), Καδμήιος but Καδμεγία I 166, and Καδμεῖοι often. Hdt. μνημήιον (Arr. 10), οἰκήιος, -όω, -ότης, cf. Demokr. 94, 124, 168, σημήιον, Diog. Apoll. 5 is not found in Simplicius. σημήιον is hesitatingly adopted by Littré in Hippokr. Demokr. 6 ἐμψυχήιον.

(3) -ηιο- = Attic -εῖο- from non -ην- stems: Hdt. has ἀνθρωπήιος (Hippokr. VI 468, v. l. -ίνην; and -εῖος, as Herakl. 91, 96), βορήιος (Phoenix *apud* Athen. 495 E), Εὐρωπήιος, κηλωνήιον, (κηλωνεύω is late), Φοιβήιος, φοινικήιος<sup>1</sup> (φοινικήια Teos 156 B 38, 470 B. C.), ἀγγαρήιον, λαισήιον, Ἀλήιον, Λιμενήιον. Hipponax, 57, has τροπήιον from τροπέω, an Ionic verb.

(4) Non -ην- stems yield -ηιο- in the later Ionists in the following cases:—

οἰκήιος Luk. *Syr.* 22, 53, 54, 57, Arrian, *Ind.* 20 (elsewhere -εἰ-); ἀνθρωπήιος Luk. *Astr.* 27, ἐμψυχήιον Luk. *V. A.* 6. From consonantal stems we have ἀνδρήιος Luk. *Syr.* 15, 26, 27, Euseb. Mynd. 56 (Hippokrates has -εἰ- always); γυναικήιος Luk. *Syr.* 15, 27, 51, Arrian, *Ind.* 8, Aret. 60, 61, 62, 285 (Hippokrates -εἰ-, and also Euseb. Mynd. 54); σημήιον Luk. *Syr.* 15, 17, 49, *Astr.* 4, 7; Arrian, *Ind.* 28. Hippokrates and Aretaios adopt the Attic σημεῖον rather than the Ionic -ηιον. We have here a line of distinction drawn with tolerable distinctness between the medical writers and Herodotos, Lukian, and Arrian. Arrian, *Ind.* 10, has μνημήια, θήρεια 17, 24, and Αἰθιοπέϊω 6.

<sup>1</sup> Hesychios has, however, Φοινικκία· Λυδοὶ καὶ Ἴωνες τὰ γράμματα ἀπὸ Φοίνικος τινος . . . ; purple in Hdt. is φοινίκεος.



The grammarians call -*ηιος* Ionic: ἀρήιος, Ὀδυσσῆιος An. Ox. I 36<sub>20</sub>, Πηληιάδεω An. Ox. I 346<sub>27</sub>; μνηστήιον, σημήιον, βασιλῆιον An. Ox. II 123<sub>21</sub> (Theogn., ξυστήιον Et. Gud. 416<sub>29</sub>, Schol. Ven. A on A 124, An. Par. III 124<sub>8</sub>; οἰκῆιος is called Doric by Hdn. II 558<sub>21</sub>, though he reserves -*ηιος* for Ionic; cf. I 361<sub>1</sub>).

(5) The inscriptions have *ηι* in *πρυτανήιον* Prokon. 103 (600 B.C., the Attic copy has -*είον*), *φουινικήια* Teos, 156 B 38, *ιερήιον* Oropos, 18<sub>33, 38</sub> (see § 234); *ἡμιμνήιον* and *σπονδήιον* Paros, 62; *Σαραπήια* Naxos, 28<sup>1</sup>; *Τήϊιος* Naukr. I 62, No. 700. *Ποσιδῆιον* C. I. A. I 283<sub>17</sub>, is probably Ionic as the Attic form is *Ποσειδεών* usually, cf. *Ποσιδηίου* Maroneia 196<sub>5</sub>, and *Ποσιδηίων* Anakr. 6. *Ποσιδήιον* and *Φοιβήιον* in Hdt., other names of festivals having -*ιο-*.

On inscriptions we find *ει* where *ηι* might have occurred: Ἀνδρείων Eryth. 206, B 48, 56 (278 B.C.). οἰκειότητος Ephesos, 147<sub>1</sub> (300 B.C.). οἰκεῖοι Lykia, 263 (perhaps an Attic form). Εὐφρονεῖοι, Θαλεῖοι Eryth. 206 B 46. Λυκείου Eryth. 206 A 20 (Steph. Byz. Λυκήιον). ἱερητεῖαι Eryth. 206 A 44, B 1, 45, 60, C 7; ἱερητεῖων A 14, 36, ἱερατεῖαι C 13; Priene, 144<sub>7</sub>, ἱερατεῖης. ὀρκυνεῖον Halik. 240<sub>44</sub> (fifth cent.). See under (1) above.

(6) -*ηιο-* in Ionic has, as Fritsch has shown, in the class ἀνδρήιος and ἀνθρωπήιος extended by analogy its sphere beyond that of the -*ην-* stems. In no case is there any justification for the adoption of -*ηι-* even in such -*ες-* stems as yield abstract nouns, *c.g.* ἀληθινή, which has been foisted upon Herodotos by the Aldine edition. Even the *Διολ.* of Lukian has ἀληθείης (§ 1). The few instances which occur of *ηι* = *ει* are of late date. Ἀργήιος, Ditt. *Syll.* 421<sub>5</sub> (400-350), which is certainly on the stone, may be an error as it dates from a period when there was a fluctuation in the orthography. Sim. Amorg. 27 has Ἀργεῖη, Hdt. VI 52 Ἀργεῖην.

For examples of forms in -*ειη*, see § 175 ff.

Ξεροκρατήια is not to be classed with Delphic Καλλικράτηα, &c., where the *η* is a late graphical expression for *ει*, as often, *c.g.* ἐπιμέληαν *Mitth.* X 314, No. 2, l. 9 (Odessos), πολιτήαν *Mitth.* XI 83, l. 3 (Amorgos). It is scarcely probable that a stem in -*ησιο-* should manifest itself so late as the first century B.C. when it is not beyond peradventure proved in the case of older forms.

If it can be shown that there are stems in -*ησιο-*, which have as yet not been shown to exist, such apparent anomalies as Aiolic *κυπρογένηα*, and Boiot. names in -*γενεῖος*, -*μειδεῖος*, may be cleared up. See Johansson, *H. B.*, XV 181. Ξεροκρατήια Eryth. 208 is an hyper-Ionic form, and not to be regarded

<sup>1</sup> In Doric inscriptions *πρυτανήιον*, *ἀνδρήιον*, *πρεγῆια* (πρεσβεία, οἰκῆιος, μαντήιον).

as an example of -ησια. That *yod* should lengthen a preceding vowel, as G. Meyer, *Gramm.*<sup>2</sup> § 67, still holds, is of course out of the question.

ἀγγήιον without variant, Hdt. II 121 β, δ, IV 2, Lukian, *Syr.* 20, 48. This is the sole support for this supposed Ionic form. Keos 43<sub>10</sub>, with ἀγγεῖα, is not free from the suspicion of being Attic, though this form is undoubtedly Ionic too. Cf. ἀγγεῖον and κενεαγγεῖη in Hippokr. and Aretaios.

κρήιον in Hesychios is probably Doric, not Ionic as was held by Curtius Et.<sup>3</sup> 155.

(7) Feminines derived from masculines in -eus have ει, not ηι. In Keos, 48, ἱέρεια; Pantikapaion, 123, ἱερῇ; Ephesos, 150, ἱερῇ. In Herodotos, the MSS. have generally ἱρείη, but occasionally the shibboleth of the Ionic ηι is disclosed (II 53, 54, 55). Cf. also βασίλεια, not -ηίη. So αἰδρείη not -ηίη Hdt. VI 69.

### 233.] Medial ΗΙ before consonants.

#### 1. Masculine patronymics<sup>1</sup>.

In but one case in Hdt. VIII 132 Βασιληίδεω, which must be an error. Cf. [B]ασιλείδης Chios, 179<sub>9</sub>, the same form on a Chian coin, *Denkmäler der Wiener Akad.* IX 322 (400–350). If Σελληίδεω in Archil. 104 is correct, it is the only instance in the lyric poets, and Σκηβηίδης Teos, C. I. G. 3064<sub>28</sub> (late), the only instance in the inscriptions. In all other cases -ειδης, on which see § 235.

#### 2. Feminine patronymics<sup>2</sup>.

Hdt. Νηρηίδων II 50; Νηρηῖσι VII 191 (cf. Νηιρείδων Eryth. 206 B 27); Βοιβηίδα VII 129, not to be written ηῖ, a poetical form introduced by the grammarians. Doubtless -ήιδης and -ήις (-ῆς) are here correct. Upon Attic inscriptions of the fourth century we sometimes meet with the spelling -εῖς, -εῖδος.

#### 3. Dat. Plur. of Ἀ (η) stems.

-ηισι (-ησι) was the regular Ionic form in the fifth century in Hdt. and in the inscriptions. The last Ionic -ηισι of which we have any knowledge dates from 394 B. C. (Erythrai, 199<sub>6</sub>). After this, αῖς is the normal ending. See under *Declension*.

#### 4. In compound names (two stems).

Δηιδαμαντ- Aigiale, 28 A; Δηιλέων Smyrna, 153<sub>18</sub> (cf. Bechtel, *ad loc.*); Δηίλλεος Thas. (L) 7, B 9; Δηιθράσης Th. (L) 3 A 8; Δηιπέτης Styra 19<sub>181</sub>, perhaps; Δηίαλκος Thas. (L) 9<sub>9</sub>, (cf. Δεῖαλκος Thasos 81 B 14, Δέαλκος 83<sub>8</sub>; § 236). Ἀλεξι]δήιος Naukr. 667, 838; Ἀρηίθους Th. (L) 14 B 2, 16 B 7; Ἀρηιφίλου<sup>3</sup> Anakr. 106, as ἀρηιφάτους Herakl. 102.

5. Greg. Korinth. p. 377, quotes κληισθέντες as Ionic. Μαρω-νηιτέων Maroneia, 196<sub>2</sub>, though from the same period (before

<sup>1</sup> Πηληίδης Greg. Kor. 379, together with Πηλειάδης and -ηιάδης (p. 488); the Et. Gud. 466, has Πηλειάδης Πηληιάδης. -ηιάδης Eust. 1277, Πηλειάδεω Joh. Gr. 239 B, Πηλειδεω and Πηλειάδεω Meerm. 655.

<sup>2</sup> Νηίδες, Νηρηίδες Eust. 622<sub>21</sub>, 1954<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>3</sup> An. Ox. I 28<sub>21</sub>, I 36<sub>20</sub>.

400) we have *Μαρωνειτέων* 196,<sup>1</sup> cf. § 197. *ηι*, as augment, is preserved e.g. *ἡιρημένους* Samos, 221<sub>35</sub>.

6. *δνήστος* Phoinix in Athen. 495 E, Anaxag. 10, Herakl. 114, *κλησκεται* Hippokr. IX 84, cf. *θνήσκω μιμήσκω* according to the grammarians. *θνήσκω* occurs in Attic inscriptions and *κικλήσκω* in MSS.

### 234.] Medial HI becomes H.

*ιερήιον* Oropos, 18<sub>3, 36</sub>, about 400 B.C. Greg. Korinth. p. 379, mentions *ιερήιον* as Ionic. Also Aiolic and Delphic.

A remarkable form is *λητουργεῖν*, on a Teian document in Kourή, Ditt. Syll. 126<sub>72</sub> (306-301 B.C.).

### 235.] Medial HI passes into EI.

#### 1. before vowels.

Here belong the forms mentioned under § 232 from inscriptions, from the lyric poets *γυναικεῖον*, Archil. and Phokyl., unless Fick's defence of the form as it stands (= *γύναιον*) holds good. Or shall we read *γυναικῆον*? [*ἀ*]γγεῖα Keos, 43<sub>10</sub>, while Hdt. has *ἀγγῆια* IV 2; Homer, 1222 *ἀγγεα*. Fritsch holds that *ἀγγεῖον* alone is correct, which is probable (cf. *ἀγγος*).

#### 2. before consonants.

In all masculine patronymics, except those mentioned § 233. Hdt., as Attic writers, uses *-ειδης* with but the single exception of *Βασιληίδεω*: *Αἰγείδαι*<sup>2</sup> IV 149; *Ἀριστείδης* VIII 79-82; *Ἀτρείδαι* VII 20; *Νηλείδαι* V 65; *Περσείδαι* I 125; *Ἀλκείδης* VI 61. *ΕὐθενΕιδης* Styra 19<sub>14</sub>, *ΝικολΕιδης* 19<sub>22</sub>, *ΠερικΕιδης*(s) 19<sub>283</sub> are transcribed *-ειδης* on account of the extreme rarity of *-ηιδης*. *Πιθείδης* Keos, 44 A 10, *Ἀρι](σ)τείδης* Thasos, 77 A 9, *Ἀριστείδης* B 14, are all too late to be of moment, though they apparently support the general conduct of the patronymic in Ionic prose. As Attic inscriptions of the fourth century have *-ηιδης*, the older form existing parallel to the younger *-ειδης* (to say nothing of the fifth century with its *ΕΙΔΕΣ*), so in Ionic we might assume the contemporaneous existence of both forms. In this case *Βασιληίδεω* would be correct despite the numerical weight of evidence against *-ηιδης* in Hdt., though the weakening of *ηι* to *ει* in the majority of the instances is surprising. The Ionic dialect is usually tenacious of *ηι* and *ηφι* < *ἐνι* generally becomes *ηι*. He who with Fritsch holds that *Βασιληίδεω* represents the only correct form of the patronymic ending must have the heart to expel every case of *-ειδης* from the text of Hdt., even though *-ειδης* can be shown to have existed before the fifth

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Hdn. II 867.

<sup>2</sup> In a fragment (99) attributed to Anakreon we read *Αἰγείδεω*.

century. If -είδης is Homeric Ionic, it may well be Herodoteian Ionic. The cases (§ 232, 1) in which Attic forms have forced themselves into the text of Hdt. belong to a different sphere and are numerically insignificant in contrast with the almost total extinction of -ηίδης in the MSS. of Hdt. See also §§ 238, 239, 286.

**236.] Medial ΗΙ becomes Ε.**

The month Ποσειδεών from -δηιών, C. I. G. 2309<sub>4</sub>, Delos, 3664<sub>27</sub>, Kyzikos (Attic?). With Δέαλκος Thasos 83<sub>6</sub>, cf. Δηίαλκος § 233, 4. Δείαλκος Thasos 81 B 14 is not to be explained with Bechtel according to § 237.

**237.] Medial ΗΙ becomes ΕΙ.**

This *metathesis quantitatis* was first proposed by Fick (B. B. XI 267) on the score of Anakreon's four syllable Θρηκίη (96) by the side of Θρηκίη (49, 75), Hipponax' Θρηκίων 42 (ἐπ' ἀρμάτων τε καὶ Θρηκίων πάλων). Bechtel, *Ion. Inschr.*, p. 13, goes so far as to claim for Ionic and Attic that, wherever εἰ appears for ηἰ, ηἰ passed through the stage εἰ. On any view -εἰ < ηἰ is found chiefly in Eretrian Ionic, since in Asiatic Ionic -ηἰ lost its *iota* and did not become εἰ. From prose inscriptions we can scarcely expect proof, and even if we accept Θρεῖκίων, we are not compelled to extend this *metathesis quantitatis* over all the territory claimed by Bechtel. The parallelism of later λειτουργεῖν and τεῖ does not disprove the *vocalis ante vocalem corripitur* rule, or necessitate the hypothesis that in Ionic-Attic there was a middle stage εἰ. See § 232. The form Θρηῖκιον occurs in an hexameter, Hdn. I 118<sub>6</sub>, Θρεῖσσα Hrd. 17<sub>9</sub>.

**238.] Final ΗΙ is retained.**

1. In the dative singular.

νηί, perhaps from νῆ from the analogy of νηός, &c. (Alkman has νῆ according to Blass, *Hermes*, XIII 25). On Πριη[ν]ῆι see § 510.

2. In the subjunctive (Island and Asiatic Ionic, but not generally in West Ionic). See § 239.

The ι ἀνεκφώητον is but rarely misplaced; e.g. εἴηι (opt.), Teos, 158<sub>15, 30</sub>, (second cent.). Cf. the similar form on an old papyrus, Blass, *Ausapr.*<sup>3</sup> 48, and the confusion between εἴη and εἴη, H 340, Σ 88. εἴηι occurs on the papyrus that has θείηι.

**239.] Final ΗΙ becomes ΕΙ.**

1. In the dative singular of Ἀ(η) and -ην- stems.

For the forms from Euboian Ionic, see § 433, 3. The Herodoteian βασιλείι, or βασιλεῖ, is due to the analogy of other cases. Ἄρει, found Sim. Amorg. 1<sub>13</sub>, may be read Ἄρηι; Ἄρει in Homer will readily yield to Ἀρεῖι, or Ἀρηι (Φ 112, 431, B 479). Smyth, *Diphthong EI*, pp. 36, 42.

2. In the subjunctive. Here we have to distinguish between (1) εἰ, an original form with short modal vowel (Schulze, *Hermes*, XX 491 ff.).



κατάξει Teos, 156 B 37,  
 ἐκκόψει(ι) Teos, 156 B 38,  
 ποιήσει Teos, 156 B 39,  
 ποιήσει Chios, 174 A 12,  
 ἀποκρύψει Ephesos, 145<sub>1</sub>, 8,  
 ἐπάρει Ephesos, 145<sub>1</sub>.

} of the fifth century.

Cf. παραμείψεται Mimn. 3, and also in Kretan (Bannack, in his *Studien*, I 3; Bechtel, *Gött. Nachr.*, 1888, p. 402).

(2) ει < ηι in later inscriptions.

ἀναψηφίσει Amph. 10<sub>10</sub> (middle of the fourth century).

παρέλθει Orop. 18<sub>3</sub>,

ἀδικεῖ Orop. 18<sub>3</sub>,

ἐκτίνει Orop. 18<sub>12</sub>,

ἀδικηθεῖ Orop. 18<sub>14</sub>,

συνχωρεῖ Orop. 18<sub>10</sub>,

παρεῖ Orop. 18<sub>28</sub>, = παρῆι < παρέηι;

cf. εἰ 18<sub>34</sub>, = ῆι,

ἐμβάλλει Orop. 18<sub>40</sub>,

} between 411-402 or  
 387-377.

This ει < ηι is restricted in Ionic to the division of the West<sup>1</sup>, and in so far presents a proof of the progression of West Ionic and Attic along the same phonetic lines<sup>2</sup>. In Attika the change of ηι to ει occurs about 376 B.C., the sound being represented either by ει (βουλεῖ) or by ε (αὐτῇ). ηι has here become a closed ε. There are no examples of this later ει from other portions of Ionic territory, and even in West Ionic the change has not been thoroughgoing (Olynthos, 8 A 6, B 17 ἱηι; B 14 δοκῆι). In the Kyklades and in Asiatic Ionic we have -ηι in the verb and nouns, except where ι has fallen off. The change of -ηι to -ει precedes in Amphipolis that of -ωι to -οι. In Olynthos, 8 A 6, Bechtel reads π]ολέμοι whereas we have κοινῶι in 8 B 4 (as well as -ηι).

#### 240.] Final H from III.

Rarely, and then not in West Ionic, in the dative: Μάρη Kyzikos, 108 (sixth century); τῇ βουλῇ Eryth. 199<sub>1</sub> (after 394 B.C.); Μαλυνείη Eryth. 201<sub>1</sub> (fourth century); τῇ Zeleia. 113<sub>1</sub> (after 334); δημοσίη Mylasa, 248 C 15 (355/4); θύη Chios, Paspates 9.

#### 241.] ΩΙ.

προίρης in Hesychios has been regarded as an example of an Ionic change of medial ωι to οι. Final ωι becomes οι only in the

<sup>1</sup> ἐὰν δὲ δεῖ Teos, Ditt. Syll. 126, 306-301<sub>1</sub>, is Attic.

<sup>2</sup> The editor of the Oropian inscription No. 18 in *Hermes* XXI 91 regards as due to Boiotian influence the shortening of diphthongs whose prior member is a long vowel. Both this and the use of ττ for σσ seem to be Attic rather than Boiotian in colouring.



inscriptions of Western Ionic. See § 461 for examples. The *i* of nom. -*ωι* in the declension of nouns in -*ώ*, -*οῦς* has been lost at a very early date in Ionic as elsewhere. On *ω + ι*, see § 299. *λάβωισιν* Chios 174 B 16 is an Aiolism. In an Eretrian inscription (Ἐφημ. 1888, 83 ff. l. 180 C, ΣΟΙναργο has been read Σοιναύτο(υ) = Σωι-γινώισκειν Hrd. 5<sub>21</sub> is a slip rather than an analogue of μιμνήσκω, Aiolic μιμναίσκω.

### 242.] AY.

Hipponax 2 has *καύης* or *καύηξ*, whereas in o 479 we find *κήξ*, though ACKQSV have here *κῆϋξ*, cf. Lobeck's *Paralip.* 101 ff. Kretschmer's attempt (*K. Z.* XXXI 354) at explaining the interrelation of the two forms is unsatisfactory. *δεδαυμένων* is found only in Sim. Am. 30. The above mentioned forms and Homeric *κήξ* may be referred to *κωκύω*. According to Schol. V on Il. XV 421 *δauλός* was New Ionic for Homeric *δᾱλός*; *δαλός* is from \**daF-ελός* (cf. *δᾱνός*), *δauλός* from \**daF-λός*. *daFελός* was Lakonian (Hesychios s. v. *δαβελός*). In Ionic and Attic before sonant vowels, *αυσ-*, *εχσ-*, *οχσ-* became *α*, *ε*, *ο*, e. g. *ἄκοή*. *ἄκούω* contains an *ου* reinstated from the fut., aor. &c.

### 243.] AY = AO in inscriptions.

*Ἀδοκλῆος* Latyschev, II 140, Pantikar., *ἀδοί* Priene, 144<sub>9</sub>; *ἀδός* Chios, 184; *ἀτόν* Samos, 221<sub>14</sub>; *ἀδ[τῶ]* Eryth. 202<sub>11</sub><sup>1</sup>, 263 (Asiatic); *ἀδοίς* Samos, 221<sub>21, 27, 28</sub>, Eryth. 203<sub>2</sub> (*ταῦτα* l. 8); *ἀτούς* Samos, 221<sub>21</sub>, Leros, 107<sub>7</sub>; *ταῶτα* Leros, 107<sub>12</sub>, Chios, 184, Eryth. 202<sub>10, 18</sub>, Samos, 221<sub>14</sub>, Halik. 240<sub>7</sub> (the only example of the change in the dialect of Halikarnassos); *ἑαστῶν* Samos, 221<sub>20</sub>, 263 (Asiatic); *Γλαῶκος* Eryth. 209<sub>1</sub>; also Imh.-Bl. G. M. 290 Erythrai; *Ταορέας* Eryth. 209<sub>2</sub>; *Καοκασίωνος* Chios, 183 A 33; but *Κα]υκασίων* Chios, 177<sub>9</sub>, and *Καυκασέ[α]ς* B. P. W., 1889, p. 1195; cf. Eryth. 206 A 19; *Ναόλοχον* Priene, 141, an inscription not in Ionic dialect but in Ionic orthography; *Ναῶκλος* Paus. VII 3, 6 may be compared; Styra, 19<sub>264</sub>, has *Ναυστείρης*; Olynth. 8 B 2 *ναυπηγησίμων*. In *ναυμαχίη*, *ναυπηγήσιμος*, &c., we find *ᾱ* not *η*.

The graphical substitution of *ο* for *υ* is practically confined to Ionic territory. Kumanudes, Ἐπιγρ. Ἀττ. ἐπιτύμβιοι, 2597 (*Ἀδοκρά[τ]ης*), offers the only example from extra-Ionic territory. So far no evidence for this *ao* has been found in any portion of Ionic except that of the Asiatic mainland and adjacent islands.

This method of writing, however, does not of itself necessitate the conclusion that Ionic *ay* was of different colour from Attic *ay*. Perhaps the Naxian AFYTO represents nothing more than an attempt at showing the pronunciation of *ay* in a clearer manner

<sup>1</sup> About 350 B.C. No. 199, Eryth. (394 B.C.) has *ἀδτῶι* twice.

than by AY, Blass, *Aussprache*<sup>3</sup>, pp. 74 ff. The suggestion that AFTO was meant, and AFYTO was a correction of the engraver (*afύτοϝ*) is excluded by the Old-Attic *afύτάρ* (Δελτ. ἀρχ. 1890, p. 103). See under *ῥ*. This *af* for *av* before a consonant is chiefly the property of Kretan, and sporadically of Lokrian and Korinthian.

244.] AY = Ω.

See §§ 205, 258, for τρώμα, διφώσκω, &c. The substitution of *o* for *u* is more frequent in Ionic than that of *u* for *o*. At present but one example of the latter orthography is known to us in Ionic: Μύλαυρος, Styra, 19<sub>133</sub> = μυλωρός < -αυρος. Cf. πυλαυρός = πυλωρός in Hesychios and the other examples quoted, G. Meyer, *Gramm.* § 120. Hdt. III 72 has πυλουρός with the *v. l.* πυλωρός. The grammarians went so far as to hold that *av* became *ωv* in a supposititious form *ώυτός*. Greg. Korinth. p. 419.

On OT from AY, see under OT, § 256.

245.] A from AY.

In late inscriptions *u* is sometimes not written before a consonant. In Kaibel's *Epigrammata* I find τοῖνομα τάρων 311 Smyrna; ἀτῶν 321 near Sardis; ἐατοῖς 340, valley of the Makestos; ἀτῆς Sterrett, *Papers of the Amer. School*, III 235, ἀτῆς Latyschev, II, p. 305 (199<sup>1</sup>).

246.] EY.

On Δεύρυσος, see § 138, on Διέρυσος, § 137.

EO for original EY is not specifically Ionic, though this orthography was more extensively adopted by the Ionians than by any other Greek people. EO is here invariably diphthongal.

1. Inscriptions of the fifth century<sup>1</sup>.

Βασιλεός Chios, 174 C 10; Κεφαλεός Adesp. 266, see Bechtel *ad loc.*

2. Inscriptions of the fourth century.

φεόγειν Amphip. 10<sub>3</sub>; φεογέτω Amphip. 10<sub>24</sub>; φεόγο[υσιν] Chios, 185<sub>15</sub>; κοπρεόων Chios, B. P. W. 1889, p. 1195; Εὐνομίδης Miletos, 102<sub>1</sub>; Εὐέλθων Ephesos, 151<sub>3</sub>, Mionnet, VI 122; Εὐπαθίδης Ephesos, 151<sub>4</sub>; Εὐχωρος Ephesos, 151<sub>6</sub>; εὐνοίαν Samos, 221<sub>8</sub>; εὐργέτην Eryth. 202<sub>π</sub><sup>2</sup>; Εὐθύδαμος Klazom., Le Bas, *Joy. Arch. Inscr.* III 1, No. 86, Head, II. N. 491; Λεοκαῖος Klazom. 169<sub>3</sub>, Head, II. N. 491. Cf. λεοκοῖς Priene, 141, Ionic orthography as in Ναόλοχος; Θέοττις Chios, *Zeitschr. f. Numism.* XIV 153, No. 3. Cf. Θεῦττις[ις], I. I. No. 4 = Bechtel, 194 (both fourth century). Λεόκωνος (and Λεύκωνος) Latyschev, II 296.

<sup>1</sup> εἰδοξε I. G. A. 390 Amorgos, an obscure inscription, placed by some as early as the first half of the seventh century.

<sup>2</sup> Bechtel's [εὐργ]έτην Eryth. 199<sub>π</sub>, is doubtful on account of ἀντῶι l. 5, 12.

## 3. Inscriptions of third century.

Εδαγόρης Thasos, 83<sub>3</sub>; cf. 83<sub>4</sub>.

## 4. Of uncertain date.

Εδρύδα(μος) Eryth. 209<sub>3</sub>; Σινωπέος Sinope, 116.

On coins Εδσεβής Imh.-Bl. *G. M.* 324 Miletos, cf. 290, ἱερεός Chios, Pasp. 9<sub>11</sub>, Εόπαθίδης *ib.* 39.

Εδπάμονος (Bechtel, *Ion. Inschr.*, p. 104), held by Boeckh (C. I. G. 2121) to be Phanagoreian, cannot well be Ionic on account of -παμων = κτήμων, despite πολυπάμονος Δ 433, which must give place to πολυπάμμονος of many MSS.<sup>1</sup> That εο = ευ is not confined to Ionic is clear from the following list: Εδβωλος Knidos, C. D. I. 3550; ἄνεο Sunium, C. I. A., III 73<sub>12</sub> (period of the empire), the only instance in Attic; Ὀρφεός C. I. G. 7049; Ξεῶν C. I. G. 3423, δῖς κνέσσα Kos in *J. H. S.* IX 334 ll. 57, 61, Εδρυνόμο[υ], Herakleia, the Megarian colony, C. D. I. 3083; cf. ε[ὺ]ο[ρ]κέοσι, Krete in *Mus. It.* III 563 ff. l. 38 (Itanos). See Hausoullier, *B. C. H.*, III 51. Bechtel proposes to refer Εδπάμονος to Knidos.

This εο is sporadic merely, and does not indicate that the pronunciation of ευ (*i. e.* I. E. *e* + *u*) was different in the localities where these εο forms were at home from that prevalent among all Ionic speaking Greeks. The following list shows the retention of ευ in words that in the above list had εο.

φεύγοι[το]ς 13<sub>6</sub>, Chalkis (?), found at Olympia; φεύγων 13<sub>8</sub>; φεύγειν Iasos, 104<sub>6</sub>; Εὐαγόρης Thasos, 83<sub>4</sub>; Εὐθύδαμος Klazom. Head, *H. N.* 491; Εὐ(π)ορία Pantik. 121; Λεύκων Theod. (?) 127; Λευκ[ά]ριος Styra, 19<sub>124</sub>; Λεύκαρος 19<sub>389</sub>, Λεύκωνος Phanag. 164; Λευκαῖος Klazom. Head, *H. N.* 491 (4th cent.); [ε]ὺώνυμον Eph. 145<sub>5</sub>; Εὐκράτου Teos 159<sub>3</sub>.

There are no indications of εο for ευ in the literary monuments.

On ευ for original εο, see also under *Contraction*, § 287; on -ευ in the genitive singular, § 426.

247.] ενο represents the diphthong ευ in Πιθνεος = Πιθνεύς, Ephesos, *Num. Chron.* 1881, 16, with an υ between εο that recalls the *F* of Naxian αῖντοῦ, Attic αῖντάρ, cf. Prellwitz, *Deut. Litt.-Zeit.* 1890, p. 1538. εον stands for εο = ευ in Δεουνῆς, Maroneia, on a coin in Imhoof-Blumer's collection, referred to by Bechtel on 196. εον = ευ also in Ἀριστοκλεοῦς Thasos, 72<sub>1</sub>, Εὐρυσθένης Eοῦς Samos, 217. Analogous is αον in Παουλλίνα C. I. G. 6665, *G. Meyer, Gr.* § 120. Cf. § 529, Baunack's *Studien*, I 72, *B. B.* II 269.

An hyper-Ionic ευ, due to a supposed fondness of the dialect for this sound, takes the place of ου in MSS. of Hdt. (§ 690), and in such forms as χασκεύση Herodas 4<sub>42</sub> (§ 44).

β takes the place of υ in the late κατεσκέβασεν Kyzikos, C. I. G. 3693. Cf. the same form C. I. G. 2015 (Gallipoli), and

<sup>1</sup> On Παλυντημονίδας = 305, see Wilamowitz, *Hom. Untersuch.* 70, note. See §§ 169, 344.

such forms as Boiot. *εὔδομον* C. D. I. 491<sub>17</sub>, *εὔδομέκοντα* 3206<sub>47</sub> (Korkyra).

**248.] Loss of Υ in ΕΥ.**

Before vowels υ, like ι, may be expelled. Scanty evidence of this phenomenon is furnished by the Ionic poets, Hipponax using *ευ* as a short syllable in *εῦωνον* 22 B (cf. *Ἐωινμεύς* Kumanudes, *Ἐπιγρ.* Ἀττ. ἐπιτύμβιοι 501<sub>3</sub>), *θηρεύει* 22 A, according to the scholiast on Hephaistion (p. 156, Gaisf.<sup>2</sup>=p. 106, Westph.), who says that Hipponax often treated *αι* and *οι* as short. Herodas 3<sub>71</sub> has *ικετεύω*. The shortening of *ευ* is very rare; cf. Pind. *P.* VIII 35 *ιχνεύων*.

Inscriptions offer us but doubtful evidence:—

*Ἐαλκίδης* Styra, 19<sub>183</sub>, may be due to carelessness, as Blass suggests; at least we have *Εὔαλκίδης* Thasos, 77 B 10, and *Εὔαλκίδεω* Th. (L.) 3 A 10.

*πρυτανε(ο)ντος* Priene, 144<sub>10</sub>, Ross' conjecture for *-εωντος* of the transcribers. Johansson, *D. F. C.*, p. 61, retains *-εωντος*, which he explains as *=-ηοντος*, comparing Lesbian *ἀδικήω*. This is, however, entirely unwarranted and has in fact been partially withdrawn by the same scholar, *B. B.* XV 171.

[*βασιλ*] *έοντος* C. I. G. 2107 c, Pantikapaion, is not free from suspicion, since Ionic verbs in *-εω* retain the υ<sup>1</sup>. e.g. *βασιλείοντος* Pantik. 118, Mylasa, 248 ABC; *ἐξαιθραπέοντος* 248 A 2; *θεραπεύεσθαι* Oropos, 18<sub>21</sub>; [*κιξα* | *λλεύοι* Teos, 156 B 19; *μνημονέοντος* Halik. 238<sub>12</sub>. There is no confusion here between *-εω* and *-εω* verbs such as is discussed by Bredow, p. 81.

**249.] ΕΥ for ΑΥ.**

*πέτευρον* Oropos, 18<sub>42</sub>, deserves notice as it has been called the Ionic form, found also Theokr. XIII 13. *πέταυρον*, expelled from Nikander on the authority of π, occurs now only in the Septuagint. *πέτευρον* < *πετ* + *ηυρον* = *πετ* + *αυρον*, *πέταυρον* < *πετ* + *αυρον*.

*εῦληρον* = Doric *αῦληρον*, < *α-φλη-*, cf. Hesych. *ἀβληρά*. Cf. Bekk. An. I 464<sub>2</sub>, Bachm. An. I 164<sub>20</sub>.

**250.] Genuine ΟΥ.**

The diphthongal *ου* is generally represented upon inscriptions by ΟΥ or in a few cases by ΩΥ (*ΩΥ* = *οὐ*, and *ΩΥΔΕ* = *οὐδέ*, Thasos, 68). ΟΥ in *ΤΟΥΤΟ*, Halik. 238<sub>21, 23, 31, 36</sub>, *ΤΟΥΤΟΣ*, Amphipolis, 10<sub>20</sub>. *TOTO* = *τοῦτο* 175 = Roberts, I 150 (Chios), and Thasos, *J. H. S.* VIII 402, 14, as occasionally in pre-Eukleideian Attic documents<sup>2</sup>. *ΑΡΟΔΗ* Teos, 156 B 17 = *ἀρούρη* (?)

<sup>1</sup> *κατεσκέασε* Magnesia *Ἰον. καὶ βιβλ. τῆς ἐκπαγ. σχολ. Χμυρν.* 1878, p. 46), is late. Cf. similar examples from Kyme (C. D. I. 311<sub>13</sub>), Korkyra (C. I. G. 1838 B 6), Tenos (C. I. G. 2344<sub>2</sub>); *κατασκεύασται* Delphi (W-F), 263<sub>4</sub>.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *E. Z.* XXIX 140.

is a vexatious spelling, compared with Kyprian *a · ro · u · ra ·* where the diphthong is genuine, and due to the ground-form *āro-ur-a*. The suffix *-ur-* is the weak form of *-far-*. On a Thessalian inscription, C. D. I. 371, we find *ἀρΟρ[as]*, and in one MS. of *Acharnians*, 762, *ἀρωραῖοι* (Rav. *ἀρουραῖοι*), where the *ou* would seem to be adulterine. Misteli (*K. Z.* XVII 178) suggested that *\*āropfā* is the ground form. Cf. Archil. 148.

Genuine *ou* (*i. e.* *o + u*) is retained in Ionic as in other dialects. It occurs in ablaut forms, such as *σπονδή* and probably in *βροῦκος ἀκρίδων εἶδος*. *Ἴωνες* (cf. *βρεῦκος ἡ μικρὰ ἀκρίς*), since an Ionic *ū* is not, despite its pronunciation, represented in Hesychios by *ou*. *ou* also occurs where *u* has been joined to *o* as in *το(δ)-υ-το* (particle *υ*). On genuine *ou* from contraction, see §§ 295, 312, 317.

*οῦα* Hippokr. II 500 and in Theophrastos, from *οῦον sorb-apple*, contains a genuine diphthong despite *ὠά* Plato, *Symp.* 190 D (so the MSS.). *ῶα* was found in the text of Hipp. by Galen.

### 251.] Spurious OΥ.

The monophthongal *ou* is generally written O; *e. g.* :—

*ὀρκΟυ* Halik. 238<sub>28</sub>, = *ὀρκουῖν*; *τορμοκράτεος* Prokon. 103<sub>2</sub> = *τοῦ Ἑρμο-*; *βολεύοι* Teos, 156 B 24 *ΒΟΛΗ* Thasos, *J. H. S.* VIII 401<sub>21</sub> and *Δι]ονύσΟ* l. 17, an inscr. that has also OΥ l. 21, 23; *τιμΟχέοιτες* Teos, 156 B 29; *ΤειχιΟσης* Miletos, 98.

Sporadically OΥ appears:—

*ΤΟΥ* Amphipolis, 10<sub>13</sub>, only case in older Ionic of this writing of *τοῦ*.

*βαρβαρΟΥΣ* Teos, 156 B 26; in every other case of the accus. pl. OΣ.

Spurious *ou* by contraction of *o + o*, see § 266.

### 252.] Spurious OΥ before nasals<sup>1</sup>.

*μοῦρος* < *\*μονφο-s*, Hom., Hdt., Herakl. 65, Demokr. 70, 107, Archil. epod. 89<sub>4</sub>, Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>24</sub>, 14<sub>3</sub>, Anakr. 84<sub>2</sub>, Kall. 1<sub>21</sub>, Solon, troch. tetr. 33<sub>8</sub> (§ 52); *μουνόκερα* Archil. 181; *μούναρχος* Theog. 52, Sim. Keos, 87, but 88 *μόνος*, as Solon, 24<sub>3</sub>, 9<sub>3</sub>. In Herodas we find *μοῦνος* 2<sub>89</sub>, 3<sub>4</sub>, 6<sub>16</sub>, 7<sub>8</sub>, *μόνος* only once (6<sub>10</sub>). Aischylos and Euripides have the Ionic form occasionally in dialogue parts (§ 77). *μοῦνος* survives in late inscriptional poetry; *e. g.* *Papers of the American School*, III 341<sub>6</sub> (Pisidia). Lukian, Abydenos, Aretaios, and other later Ionic writers have *ou*. Arrian varies between *μοῦρος* and *μόνος*, but the prevalence of the former in Aretaios and Hippokrates is so striking that there can be no question but that *μοῦνος* was accepted by all the pseudo-Ionists,

<sup>1</sup> Joh. Gr. 241, Greg. Kor. p. 390, 453, Et. M. 607<sub>11</sub>, An. Ox. I 296<sub>17</sub>, An. Bachm. II 64<sub>11</sub> (Max. Plan.), Tzetz. Ex. II. 61<sub>23</sub> and on Hed. W. D. 12.



except the author of the *Vita Homeri*. Attic Μοῦν- in Μοῦνυχία, Μοῦνιχίων, see § 75.

γούνατα < γοῦν-; Hdt., Theog. 978, Tyrt. 10<sub>10</sub>; Archil. tetr. 75 γοῦρουμέμφ; Lukian, *d. d. S.* 22 γούνων; Arrian, 36 γόνατα. Hippokr. and Aretaios have the ου form, which is found in Hom., Hrd. 5<sub>19</sub>, 7<sub>10</sub>, cf. Greg. Kor. 489. χλούνης, of the wild boar, *H.* IX 539, and in Hipponax, 61, where it is generally translated 'robber,' is from χλοσν-, cf. Skt. *ghṛāṣi*, 'boar.'

The etymology of οὔν is uncertain. It is found Hipponax, 61, though there probably an Atticism. Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>11</sub>, has the genuine Ionic form. Wackernagel *K. Z.* XXIX 127 suggests that οὔν was extracted from μῶν. μῶν is not found in Ionic, save Hipponax, 52. See § 206.

The principle that the exigencies of the Homeric verse cannot force any Greek form<sup>1</sup> upon the ordinary dialect life of the people is fatal to a genuine Ionic οὔρομα<sup>2</sup>, despite the fact that Lukian, &c., read it in their copies of Hdt., and that it is supposed to have been used by Pherekydes of Syros. Steph. Byz. attributes it to Hekat. (frag. 180), while Herodian reports οὔρομα (frag. 328). In Herakl. 60, 65, 66 οὔρομα is the best MS. reading, yet Bywater writes οὔρομα in all three passages, despite οὔρομάζεται 36. In 65, Clemens has οἰρομα almost side by side with μοῦρον, while οὔρομα is found in Eusebios cod. *D.* Hellanikos, frag. 150, has οὔρομα. Stein writes οὔρομα in Hdt. although the MSS. are in a constant flux, and οὔρομαίω, οὔρομάζω. οὔρομα is the genuine Ionic prose form, found Oropos, 18<sub>31</sub>, and so also in 'Ονομάστου Kyme (Roberts, I 174). οὔρομα is found in poetry, Theog. 246, Tyrt. 12<sub>31</sub>; οὔρομαστός Theog. 23, 'Ονομάκριτε 503, cf. Hdt. VI 127, VII 6. οὔρομα receives poor support from Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>87</sub>, κοῦρομάκλυτον, a form alien to the genius of the folk-dialect (misread from KON?). In Hippokrates, II 190, VI 392, VIII 186 (θ), Lukian, *d. d. S.*, *de Astr.* (*Vit. Auct.* 5, οὔ- poorly supported), Arrian, Aretaios, οὔρομα prevails over οὔρομα; in the *Vita Homeri*, οὔρομα over οὔρομα. οὔρομάζω is the accepted form in later Ionic prose, while οὔρομαστί varies with οὔρομαστί. The Homeric form and the possibility of misunderstanding τοὔρομα brought into the texts of the Ionic prose writers all the instances of οὔρομα.

### 253.] Spurious OT before ρ<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> εἴνεκα was not completely enfranchized until the imperial period.

<sup>2</sup> Joh. Gr. 240 B, Birnbaum 677<sub>w</sub>, Meerin 652, Aug 667.

<sup>3</sup> τὸ οὔρος interlinear schol. Ven. A on A 157, Joh. G. 240 B, Greg. K. 390, Meerin. 652, Aug 667, Bachm. An. II 64<sub>31</sub>, Max. Plan., οὔρος, boundary, Birnbaum 677<sub>50</sub>, Eust. 23<sub>26</sub>, 488<sub>7</sub>, 1774<sub>8</sub>, 1871<sub>2-4</sub>, cf. 1282<sub>3</sub>, 149<sub>1</sub>, 194<sub>2</sub>, 1121<sub>10</sub>. οὔρος is called Achaic or Ionic through the grammarians muddling it with the τὸ of εἰρηλατῶν, see An. Ox. III 398<sub>10</sub>, οὔροπόγιον Eust. 1871<sub>43</sub>; κοῦρος, κοῦρη Et. M. 607<sub>6</sub>, Eust. 23<sub>27</sub>, 488<sub>1</sub>, 1515<sub>30</sub>, G. K. 387, An. Ox. I 242<sub>11</sub>, I 296<sub>17</sub>, Bekk. An. III 1096, Bachm. An. II 64<sub>33</sub>, Max. Plan., Tzetz. Ex. II 124<sub>2</sub>, schol. Ven. A on A 175 (interlin. schol.).

## I. -ορϝ-.

οὔρος<sup>1</sup>, *mountain*, Simonides of Amorgos 14<sub>1</sub>; Theognis 881 οὔρεος, &c.; Hekat. 172, 173 οὔρεα, οὔρεσιν. In Hdt. and Homer we find both οὔρος and ὄρος. The latter is the sole reading of the MSS. in about nineteen passages in Hdt. In other places where the word occurs, *ABR* have ὄρος, *CPd* οὔρος; whence Stein concludes, in opposition to Dindorf and Bredow, that ὄρος is the genuine reading in Herodotos. Of the pseudo-Ionists, Lukian has οὔρος, *d. d. S.* 8, 28; Arrian has οὔρος but once (§ 11), ὄρος fourteen times. Hippokr. II 58, 70, 72, &c., and Aretaios have the ο form, as the *Vita Homeri*; ὄρος in Hekat. 44, 227, 344, Tyrt. 5<sub>7</sub>, Archil. tetr. 74<sub>9</sub>, epod. 115 (hexameter peritissyll.), Anakr. 2<sub>5</sub>, Theog. 1292. The Hipponaktian (35<sub>6</sub>) ὄρειας is suspicious, and was attacked by Renner (p. 179), whose πέτρας γέρας has not met with favour. The form ὄρειοι is certain, Arrian, 17. Ὀροβιή[της] or Ὀροβιέ[ύς] Chalkis, Roberts, I 172, an inscription not adopted by Bechtel. Οὐράλιος is an uncertain conjecture of Roehl, No. 394 = Bechtel, No. 42. From Homer we obtain no information as to the character of the ου, since all the forms in ου are found under the ictus (23 times).

οὔρος, *boundary*, Hom., Chios, 174 A 6, 8, 10, οὔροφύλακες 174 A 15, 19 with O; ὄμουρος Halik. 240<sub>61</sub>; οὔρος, not ὄρος, Samos, 216; and if I. G. A. 406 is Ionic, then HOPOΣ must be read Ηοὔρος. In Herodotos οὔρος, ὄμουρέειν, οὔρίζειν (a form found only<sup>2</sup> in MSS. of Hdt.), &c., Herakl. 30, Demokr. *Mor.* 8, 9, οὔρος. The MSS. of Hippokrates have ὄρος very frequently. In Arrian 2 ὄρος, 40 οὔρος, Euseb. Mynd. 13 οὔρος. Solon, trim. 36<sub>4</sub>, has the Attic form. Upon a term-stone from Thera, οὔρορ Cauer, 147, οὔροι Dittenb. *Syll.* 377, Kretan οὔρεια Cauer, 121 B 9, οὔρεύωντι C 41.

δοῦρ- is not found in MSS. of Hdt. except I 79, where Stein reads δόρατα, cf. VII 89, 224, IX 62, δόρασι VII 41. δούρατα is here correct. Tyrt. 11<sub>20, 37</sub>, Archil. eleg. 3<sub>5</sub>, Anakr. 21, have the ου form, which alone is genuine Ionic (Greg. Kor. 489). Cf. Δουρίης Adesp. 21 (Western Ionic) of the sixth century. δορί Archil. eleg. 21, 2, recalls epic δόρυ, though Hom. has δοῦρί, etc.

κοῦρος, κούρη, Hom. κούρη is also found on Knidian documents, C. D. I. 3538-41, 3543-44. On κούρη in Attic, see § 75 (2). Φούρη Naxos, 23 (but Κόρη Paros, 65 (late); Κόρης Eryth.

<sup>1</sup> Οὔρειος, οὔρεσιβώτης in the tragedians make for an Ionic οὔρ-. Solmsen, K. Z. XXIX 358, goes so far as to hold that in ὄρος Dor. and ὄρος, ω and ο are ablaut vowels, and that by qualitative assimilation of open pan-Hellenic ω and closed ο, a closed ω = ου resulted in οὔροι. The etymology of the word is uncertain, and is here only tentatively regarded as based upon ορϝ; cf. Johansson K. Z. XXX 419.

<sup>2</sup> The Hesychian gloss οὔρσαι· ὄρσαι. παρασκευάσαι has been referred by some to οὔρίζειν from οὔρος 'favourable wind' in tragedy.

206 B 22, almost an Attic inscription); Διοσκουρίδης Halik. 240<sub>32</sub>; Διοσκούροισι Naukr. 665, cf. 675-682, 833-836; Διοσκούρο[ι]σι 257 (unc. loc.); but Διοσκόρων Eryth. 206 A 7 (Attic); Διοσκουρίδεις Thasos (L.), 11 C 11; Διοσκουρίδου Pantikap., Lat. II 239, Thasos (L.), 20 B 3. In the poets we find κουρ-, Tyrt. 10<sub>6</sub>, 15<sub>2</sub>, 16 (Doric!); Anakr. 69, 76; Hrd. 1<sub>32</sub>, 3<sub>66</sub>, 4<sub>64</sub>, 4<sub>71</sub>, Bergk. *P. L. G.* III 710; Διόσκουρος Hipponax, 120, and so in Hdt., who has also κουρίδιος. Aret. 18 has κούρησι.

κόρος, Attic, Hdt. only IV 33, 34. Archil. 120, in the iobacchics, uses κόρης.

In Attic we find Διόσκουροι (Thuk. III 75, IV 110), see § 77, 78; in Seleukeia, Διοσκουρίδου Imh.-Bl. G. M. 573. For κωρίδες Sim. Am. 15 we expect the ου form, which Athen. III 106 D strangely enough declares to have been used by Sophron and Epicharmos. The ω form is attested in Epich. 67 (Lorenz, p. 244). Epicharmos may have used Ionic words (Phot. 183<sub>9</sub>), but not Ionic vocalism. On Ἐπίκουρος Styra, 19<sub>35</sub>, Samos, 221<sub>2</sub>, cf. Schulze, *Quaest. Hom.* 17, Solmsen, *K. Z.* XXX 600.

2. -ορα. οὔρον Hdt., οὔρα Hipp. II 682, and often.

οὔρη tail, illustrates Wackernagel's theory (*K. Z.* XXIX 127) that the Greek accent was partly expiratory in character, ὄρρος becoming ὄρρος, ὄρρη becoming οὔρη.

## 254.] Spurious ΟΥ before λ<sup>1</sup>.

1. ολφ.

οὔλαι Hdt., τρίχουλος Archil. 196 = οἰλότριχες, Hom., Hdt. (Syrak. ὀλβαχόιον), < φολφ. The accent is troublesome on account of the probability of λφ, when preceding the accent, becoming λλ. Hdn. II 110<sub>20</sub> cites οὔλας from γ 441. Schmidt, *Neutra*, p. 48 note, thinks the old-time explanation of οὔλαι as ὀλαι κριθαί may explain the accent in Hdn.

Hom., Xenoph. ἀποφθεγ. 2, οὔλος<sup>2</sup>, entire, < ἰλφο- is, it is claimed, not represented by the same form in later Ionic. If there is no form except ὄλος, the parallelism between Hom. Ionic ου by compensatory lengthening = Doric ω = Attic ο would not be complete. In Herakl. (59) some MSS. have οὔλα, which Bywater reads. We look in vain to Herodotos, who does not use the word in any form. Herodas has ὄλος only. Theognis 73 is the first occurrence of ὄλος and here the initial ο is not specifically Ionic. Hippokrates certainly has ὄλος, e.g. II 612. Greg. Kor. 80 says that οὔλειν was used instead of ὑγιαίνειν; cf. Hesych. s. v. οὔλε (ω 402).

If κολεόν in Hekat. (Hdn. I 61<sub>12</sub>) is Ionic (as it is Attic), κολεόν Γ 272 is not from κολφεφον, but due to metrical lengthening.

<sup>1</sup> Μούλιος from μολεῖν (!) Eust. 804<sub>37</sub>, 882<sub>25</sub>, 1852<sub>10</sub>; οὔλην !, Eust. 46<sub>16</sub>, ὄλ- being called Doric.

<sup>2</sup> Joh. Gr. 241 B, Vat. 694.

Proper names in Πουλυ- have come to light in Megarian, Thessalian, and Attic as well as in Ionic. Hdt. has πολλός<sup>1</sup>, a form that is found in Arch. 81, 101 epod., 103 epod., Herodas, Anakr. 11, 43<sub>3</sub>, 93, in a metrical inscription from Abdera, 162, in Demokr. *e.g.* 185, &c. πουλύς in Theog. 509 need not be Megarian, but is to be classed with such Ionisms as πουλύποδος ε 432, Hymn Apoll. 77.

Πουλυδάμας Smyrna, 153<sub>7</sub>, Eretria, 16 B 5, -χάρου Eretria, B. C. H. II 277, Πουλύωνο[s] Chios, 187, Πουλυάναξ Thasos (L.), 8 B 1, Πούλυος Thasos, 78 B 11. There are no names in Πουλυ- in Hdt.

Cf. also in other dialects:—

Πουλυτίων in the Hermokopidai process (Thuk.), Megara, Πουλίας C. D. I. 3025<sub>59</sub>, Πουλυχάρης C. D. I. 3029<sub>28</sub>, Πουλυδόμας C. D. I. 3021<sub>28</sub>, Πουλυ- 3025<sub>40</sub>.

There are no names in Πολλο-, but those in Πολυ- are abundant. Πολυάρκης Styra, 19<sub>287</sub>, and perhaps 19<sub>408</sub>, Πο]λυαρ[κίδης] Naukr. I 195, Πολύδωρος Styra, 19<sub>288</sub>, Π[ο]λυξειν[ίδης] Styra, 19<sub>407</sub>, Πολλυξίδης 19<sub>286</sub>, framed from Πολύξενος, Πολύθρους Thasos, 75 B 11, Teos, 158<sub>27</sub>, Πολυάρητος Abdera, 163<sub>12</sub>, Maroneia, 196<sub>15</sub>, Thasos, 72<sub>3</sub>, Πολύνικος Maroneia, Head, *H. N.* 216, Πουλυδάμας Thasos, 76<sub>8</sub>, Πολυαίνετος Thasos, 81 B 11, Thas. (L.), 3 A 7, 6 A 9, 15 C 10, Πολύοκτος Eretria 16 B 37, 49; also Thessal. 345<sub>75</sub>, Πολύχαρμος Smyrna, 153<sub>11</sub>, Πόλυος Smyrna, 153<sub>12</sub>, Πουλυπέιθης Erythrai, 206 A 28, Πολύϊδος Halik. 240<sub>46</sub>, Πολύφαντος Thasos (L.), 6 D 9, Πολυάλλθης Thasos (L.), 10 A 11, Πολύτμος Thasos (L.), 21<sub>5</sub>, Πολυ- Thasos (L.), 16 A 17, B 3, Πόλυ[β]ος Volci, Roberts, I 188 H.

Bechtel holds that the names in Πουλυ-, in whatever dialect found, are due to the influence of the epos. This, even if true, would not render nugatory our contention that the Homeric verse cannot impose its forms upon the dialects. Proper names have their own peculiar history. But that πουλυ- is a genuine prose form<sup>2</sup>, from contamination of πολυ- and πουλ- (πουλ- originating in the oblique cases, *e.g.* πολυ-ός) is evident from the Attic πουλύπους, πουλυπύδειρον, Πουλυτίων in comedy.

In Hdt. πουλύς is not supported by MS. testimony of such a character as to demand its insertion. It is but sparingly attested in the late Ionists. Lukian and Arrian follow Hdt., while the medical writers use now πουλυ-, now πολυ-. πουλύ occurs in the letters of Hippokrates (XVII 16 in c); elsewhere πολύς and πολύ should probably be read (Lindemann, p. 12 ff.). Cf. § 479.

It is no contradiction of the laws of phonetic development that πουλ- and πολυ- (*e.g.* πολυκρότη Anakr. 90<sub>2</sub>) should be co-

<sup>1</sup> Greg. Kor. 12 quoting Homer only.

<sup>2</sup> Ionic according to An. Bachm. II 64<sub>22</sub> (Max. Plan.).



existent at one and the same time in a single dialect. As in Ionic, so too in Megarian (Baunack, *Stud.* I 229) both forms are permissible. A πωλ- is, however, foreign to Ionic, despite πώλυπον in Sim. Amorg. 29. Perhaps Sim. of Keos is the Simonides referred to by Athenaios, VII 318 F. In Hippokr. VI 214 the oldest MS. (θ) has πώλυπος, and so in VII 50, 52 (with variations in -ο- and -ου-) of the excrescence in the nose. In VII 222 πολύποδας (θ), VI 550 πουλύποδες (θ), VII 276 (the animal).

2. -ολν.

οὔλη, *scar*, Lat. *volnus*.

οὔλος, *crisp*, < φολνο-?

βούλομαι, probably from βολνο-, from βωλν-? Forms with O are: βΟληται Oropos 18<sub>31</sub>; ΚριτοβΟλης Kyme, 2; Θευβούλου and Βουλοθέμιος Naxos, 28 with ΟΥ (late).

The ου of Οδλυμπος<sup>1</sup> appears to be due to the metre alone in Homer and Theog. 1136. In Herodotos 'Ολ- is to be written, a form attested by Xenoph. 21, Theog. 1347, Solon, tr. 36<sub>1</sub>, Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>21</sub>, Arch. tetr. 74<sub>2</sub>, Hipponax, tr. 30 A, Anakr. 24; 'Ολυμπίω dat.) Miletos, 101 (late), and 'Ολυμπιδωρος, Smyrna, 153<sub>37</sub> before 350 B.C.

Likewise due to the ictus is the ου of οὔλόμενος Hom., Tyrt. 7<sub>2</sub>, Theog. 156, 1062. Cf. Anecd. Bachm. II 64<sub>35</sub> (Max. Plan.), Tzetz. Ex. II. 61<sub>21</sub>.

### 255.] Other cases of ΟΥ.

Editors of Hdt. rightly reject οὐδῶν, *ways*, I 123, which is found in R. Samos, 220<sub>70, 76</sub>, has ὀδοῦ (346/5 B.C.). οὐδόν, *threshold*, I 90, is from ὀδός and is the form proper to Ionic prose and poetry, cf. *Od.* ρ 196, Hrd. 17<sub>2</sub>, 33<sub>3</sub>.

ροῦσος<sup>2</sup> Herakl. 104, Hdt., Mimm. 6, Solon, 24<sub>10</sub>, Theog. 274, Hrd. 4<sub>8, 17</sub>, Pindar, &c., is not from \*ρογκίος = \*ροισσος, as Curtius held in his *Studien*, X 328. I formerly derived the word from σροστίος, = Old Norse snauðr, *stripped, poor, bereft*, suey diligr, *destitute* (Germ. *schuöle*), but now am inclined, in view of the co-existence of ροσέω and ροῦσος, to set up with Aufrecht, K. Z. I 120, as a ground-form \*ροσφο-, which would yield ροῖσος or ροσέω in accordance with the accentual principle mentioned, § 164, whereby ροῦσος<sup>3</sup> would depend upon \*ρόσφος, ροσέω upon \*ροσφός. ρούσ[ου] must be read in Teos 156 B 1, where Rob. 142 B 1 has νόσ[ου]. That ου is not due to metrical necessity is clear from Mimm. 6. Lukian (π. δ. ι. σ. § 16) says that ροῦσος was a part

<sup>1</sup> Οδλυμπος Vat. 694, Anecd. Bachm. II 64<sub>35</sub>, Max. Plan., Tzetz. Ex. II. 61<sub>21</sub>, called poetic merely Choir 516<sub>10</sub>.

<sup>2</sup> ροῦσος is found twenty-one times without variation in the MSS. of Hdt.; ρόσος comes to light about ten times. ροῦσος is called Ionic by J. G. 240 B, Greg. Kor. p. 390, Gram. Meerm. 652, Et. M. 607<sub>2</sub>, An. Ox. I 296<sub>24</sub>, Apoll. A 10, p. 149<sub>2</sub>, Schin., Anecd. Bachm. II 64<sub>35</sub>, Max. Plan.; poetic Bekk. An. II 694<sub>21</sub> and Choir. 516<sub>10</sub>.

<sup>3</sup> Schuize *Quaest. Hom.* p. 35 thinks the proper Homeric form is νόσος, for which ροῖσος is an error of transcription.



of the medical language of his day. A list of the occurrences of *νοῦσος* upon late epigrams will be found in Wagner, *Quaest. de epigram.* 27, to which add Lat. II 167, II p. 303, *B. C. H.* VIII 502, No. XI, from Phrygia, *Papers of Am. School at Athens*, III 341<sub>3</sub>. Lukian adopts the form seven times in the *Syria dea*, Arrian has it chap. 15, Herakleitos, epist. V, Pherekyd. and Hippokr. epist.; and so too Aretaios. Hdt. always uses *νοσέω*, if MS. authority means anything, sometimes in conjunction with *νοῦσος* (III 33, 149). Hippokrates, Lukian, and Aretaios agree in adopting *νοσέω*, cf. Lindemann, 6. The MSS. of these authors (cf. also Demokr. 67) fluctuate constantly between *νόσημα* and *νούσημα*, to the former of which preference is generally given. Sim. Amorg. 1<sub>12</sub> has *νόσοι*, which was changed by Ahrens and Renner (see especially the latter in Curtius' *Stud.* I 178). In Hymn XV 1 we find *νόσων*. The author of the *Vita Homeri* used the *o* form only.

*Συρακούσιος* appears to exist in Ionic side by side with *Συρακόσιος*. That the latter is not a fictitious form is evident from its occurrence in Latyshev, II 300 (fourth century, from Pantikapaion), in C. D. I. 1200, incorrectly supposed to be Arkadian, and in inscriptions from Agrigentum, Cauer<sup>2</sup>, 199<sub>9</sub>, 13, &c. *-κουσα* is from *-κοντῖα*, *-κοσα* from *-κοτῖα*, instead of *-κατῖα*, by influence of the former termination.

*μουσα* (An. Ox. I 278<sub>15</sub>) from *μοντῖα*; on *οὔς*, see §§ 266, 292, 545. *ῶς* is Doric, *ἄτα* Tarantine; Sim. K. 37<sub>14</sub> has *οὔας*. *οὔς* is from *ῶος*, *ῶς* from *ὀφατ-*.

### 256.] Interrelation of OY and AY.

*ἔουτῶν* Panionion, 144 (=C. I. G. 2909), an inscription but indifferently written.

*ἐντοῦθα* Oropos, 18<sub>17</sub>, whereas Sim. Amorg. 23 has *ἐνταῦθα*, Hdt. *ἐνθαῦτα*. This and the preceding example present no slight difficulties, since in no Greek dialect is there a well-attested instance of an interchange of *av* and *ou*. These forms if genuine at all may be rescued on the view that they show the influence of other pronominal forms (*οὗτος*, *ἐν τούτῳ*).

In the Attic *Οὐλιᾶται* C. I. A. I 231<sub>7</sub> = *Αὐλιᾶται*, C. I. A. I 226<sub>13</sub>, this recourse to the influence of analogy being out of the question, we find that we must accept a change of *a* to *o* under the influence of a following *v*. This change is unique, recalling only indirectly *ω* for *av*. See § 244.

### 257.] HY.

In the dialect life of Greece wherever *ηv* appears before a consonant it is not an original diphthong<sup>1</sup>. So in Ionic *γρηῦς*, *νηῦς*

<sup>1</sup> In a pre-dialectal period *eu*, *du*, *du*, having become *eu*, &c., before consonants, their history is the same as that of I.E., *eu*, &c.

with  $\eta$  from the oblique cases ( $\nu\eta\acute{\sigma}$ -ός  $\gamma\eta\eta\acute{\sigma}$ -ός); so too in  $\pi\eta\eta\acute{\sigma}$ , whence  $\Pi\eta\eta\acute{\sigma}$ , a Thasiote name (and  $\Pi\eta\eta\acute{\sigma}$  Keos, 50, IV 65), from root  $\pi\eta\eta$ .  $\eta\upsilon$  in the augment (e.g.  $\eta\upsilon\acute{\sigma}\eta\sigma\alpha\tau\epsilon$  Solon, 113) is not proethnic  $\bar{e}\upsilon$  or  $\bar{a}\upsilon$ . In Attica  $\eta\upsilon$  as augment of  $\epsilon\upsilon$ -verbs held its ground until the second half of the fourth century. Hipponax, 632, has  $\kappa\alpha\tau\eta\upsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}\sigma\theta\eta\upsilon$ , but Hdt. often avoids  $\eta\upsilon$ .

### 258.] ΩΥ.

Like  $\eta\upsilon$ ,  $\omega\upsilon$  is not an original diphthong in the dialects.  $\omega\upsilon$  originates in Ionic chiefly by crasis, as in  $\tau\acute{\omega}\nu\tau\acute{o}$  (E 396  $\omega\iota\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ )<sup>1</sup>,  $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\epsilon\omega\nu\tau\acute{o}\upsilon$ ,  $\sigma\epsilon\omega\nu\tau\acute{o}\upsilon$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu\tau\acute{o}\upsilon$  <  $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma$  +  $\alpha\iota\tau\acute{o}\upsilon$ . All the Ionic forms in the other cases are based on the genitive. Attic  $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\upsilon$ ,  $\sigma\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\upsilon$ , are from analogy to  $\acute{\epsilon}\mu(\epsilon)$  +  $\alpha\iota\tau\acute{o}\nu$ ,  $\sigma(\epsilon)$  +  $\alpha\iota\tau\acute{o}\nu$ . Whether  $\kappa\acute{o}\upsilon$  in  $\kappa\omicron\tau\kappa$ , on a papyrus, cited Blass, *Ausprache*<sup>3</sup>, 43, is for  $\kappa\acute{o}\upsilon$ , as in Sappho's  $\kappa\acute{o}\upsilon\kappa$  124,  $\kappa\acute{o}\upsilon\delta\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ , Epicharmos, 192, may well be doubted. The same Ionic papyrus has KEN, i.e.  $\kappa'$  +  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ , and Sappho's  $\delta\alpha\upsilon\tau\epsilon$  by the side of  $\delta\eta\upsilon\tau\epsilon$  shows the possibility of elision, i.e.  $\kappa'(\alpha\iota)$  +  $\acute{o}\upsilon$ . Nor would I agree to Blass' explanation of  $\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu\tau\acute{o}\nu$  Priene, 144 = C. I. G. 2909 (Mykale), from  $\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu\tau\acute{o}\nu$ . A form  $\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu\tau\acute{o}\nu$  is utterly unknown on Ionic inscriptions. The  $\alpha$  of  $\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu\tau\acute{o}\nu$  became  $\omicron$  either through assimilation to the following  $\upsilon$ , as  $\epsilon$  became  $\omicron$  in Kretan  $\psi\omicron\upsilon\delta\acute{\iota}\alpha$ , or  $\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu\tau\acute{o}\nu$  is due to the influence of  $\acute{o}\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$ , &c. See § 256.

To a limited extent outside of crasis,  $\omega\upsilon$  appears in Ionic. The cases are however all suspicious. Herodoteian MSS. have  $\theta\omega\upsilon\mu\alpha$ <sup>2</sup>,  $\theta\omega\upsilon\mu\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$ ,  $\tau\omega\upsilon\mu\alpha$  IV 180, in one MS.; Dem. *Mor.* 20,  $\theta\alpha\upsilon\mu\alpha\zeta\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega\upsilon$ , 2014  $\theta\alpha\upsilon\mu\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega\upsilon$ ; Luk. *Astr.* 3, *Syr.* 7, 8, 10, 30, has  $\theta\omega\upsilon\mu\alpha$ ,  $\theta\omega\upsilon\mu\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$  13, 32, 36,  $\theta\omega\upsilon\mu\alpha\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}$  *V. A.* 6, and the *Vita Homeri*,  $\theta\omega\upsilon$ -. Arrian, *Ind.* 15  $\theta\alpha\upsilon\mu\alpha$ , but  $\theta\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha$  40, as Euseb. § 3. The epistles of Hippokr. as the genuine works (cf. Galen, XVIII A 443) have generally the Attic form.  $\tau\omega\upsilon\mu\alpha$  is found in the majority of the MSS. *Syr.* 20, while Arrian, *Ind.* 19 has  $\tau\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha$ <sup>3</sup>. Greg. Korinth. p. 420, in quoting  $\acute{\omega}\nu\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$  as Ionic for  $\alpha\iota\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ , seems to regard  $\omega\upsilon$  and  $\alpha\upsilon$  as interchangeable. Aretaios abounds in forms which indicate that the grammarians were ignorant of the true interrelation of  $\omega\upsilon$  and  $\alpha\upsilon$ . See §§ 205, 244.

Lindemann (*de dial. Ion. rec.* p. 30) suggests that the  $\omega\upsilon$  of  $\theta\omega\upsilon\mu\alpha$  is due to the influence of  $\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu\tau\acute{o}\upsilon$  &c. Perhaps  $\theta\omega\upsilon\mu\alpha$  may be explained as the ablaut form of  $\theta\eta\eta\acute{\sigma}$ -ος (Hesych.  $\theta\eta\eta\sigma\acute{o}\varsigma$   $\theta\alpha\upsilon\mu\alpha$ ), cf.  $\theta\acute{\alpha}\eta\acute{\iota}\sigma\mu\alpha\iota$  = Ionic  $\theta\eta\acute{\iota}\sigma\mu\alpha\iota$ , § 685; and

<sup>1</sup> This thorn in the flesh of Aristarchos with his views as to the power of  $\delta$  in Homer, forced the Alexandrian to the assertion that  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$  was an Homeric form for  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ .

<sup>2</sup> Struve *Quaest. de dial. Herod. specimen* III, 1830) first treated the occurrences of  $\theta\omega\upsilon\mu\alpha$ . He compared the  $\omega\upsilon$  of the Ionic pronoun (Attic  $\alpha\upsilon$  with the  $\omega\upsilon$  of  $\theta\omega\upsilon\mu\alpha$  ( $\theta\alpha\upsilon\mu\alpha$ ). See § 565. Cf. Birnh. 678<sub>10</sub>,  $\theta\omega\upsilon\mu\alpha\sigma\iota\omega\upsilon$  Eust. 482<sub>70</sub>.

<sup>3</sup>  $\tau\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha$  Eust. 893<sub>6</sub>, cf. 102<sub>21</sub>, 991<sub>10</sub>, 1653<sub>24</sub>. Ionic  $\tau\acute{\omega}\mu\epsilon\upsilon$  = Attic  $\beta\lambda\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\epsilon\upsilon$ , § 25, note.

was thus the incentive to the formation of a *τρωῦμα*. This suggestion must, however, fall to the ground in case an original *ων* became *ω* and had *ων* as its ablaut.

Outside of Ionic the diphthong *ων* is due solely to crasis, and in Ionic we must abandon *θωῦμα* and *τρωῦμα*.

### 259.] Vowel Contact.

I. Contact of like vowels.

II. Contact of unlike vowels.

III. Contact of vowels and diphthongs, diphthongs and diphthongs.

Under these heads will be treated actual contraction, poetical synizesis, diaeresis, and crasis.

Both medial combination of vowels and diphthongs and sentence phonetics are thus included.

Under the head of a short or long vowel + *η*, *ω*, are included *ηι*, *ωι*. Examples of the crasis of *ι* and *υ* diphthongs are placed under the head of *α*, *ε*, *ο* + the vowel in question (e.g. *οι* + *ε* under *O* + *E*). In citing inscriptions I have generally selected only those of considerable antiquity. Fuller information as to such contractions as occur in the inflection of nouns and verbs is to be found under the head of *Declension* and *Conjugation*.

260.] It is almost a canon of current belief that the Ionic dialect, in its impatience of all contraction<sup>1</sup>, occupies a position entirely unique. New Ionic has been regarded as more pronounced in its hostility to the closed forms than even Homer himself. The MSS. of Herodotos and of the other early Ionists have been made the corner-stone of this belief from the time of the *editio princeps* of Herodotos to the present day, and in justification thereof the pseudo-Ionists have been called upon to give their testimony. In the history of no dialect is there a parallel to the retention, for such a period as that from the time of Homer to that of Herodotos, of vowels brought into contact by the disappearance of the spirants *yod*, *sigma*, and *rau*.

The Homeric language is, on the one hand, not an appellate court to determine the genuine reading of the text of the Halikarnassian historian. Where Homer discloses strata of various periods, the stratum of latest date is apt to recur in the fifth century. On the other hand the evidence of Lukian and Arrian, and the other pseudo-Ionists, is conclusive only for the text of Herodotos current in their day.

In but few cases do the Ionic lyric poets and the inscriptions desert us in the endeavour to discover the principles regulating vowel contraction. These trustworthy witnesses tell us that with but few, and these clearly marked, exceptions, vowels of

<sup>1</sup> *ἄνευ διασπικέσθαι* Apoll. Pron. 121 A.

like nature are fused (δοκεῖ, δοκεῖν, ἐπολεῖ, βασιλεῖς<sup>1</sup>), while dissimilar vowels are either contracted or kept open. Cases of synzesis in the lyric poets, such as πορφυρέη, ποιέει, are manifestly nothing more than accommodations to the theory that the Ionians preferred open vowels. The test to which we put the prose monuments by no means disproves the statement that the Ionic dialect dislikes contraction. In a majority of cases inscriptions and poets agree with Herodotos. When disagreement occurs (chiefly in reference to combinations whose first member is ε), the text of Herodotos refuses to adopt the forms preserved in the iambic poets and current in his time, and either accepts or extends the system of Homer—a system that in the main was obsolete in the fifth century. In many cases dissimilar vowels are either kept apart in the Ionic orthography even when they may be contracted, or contraction has actually ensued. Orthography is here as elsewhere no exact test of pronunciation, and scope must be left for minor dialectal variations. When the first vowel is not original contraction may not have resulted in certain cases.

The artificiality of the Herodoteian system is patent if we reproduce the results of Merzdorf's careful investigations in the eighth volume of Curtius' *Studien*.

## Subject to no change :

αεῖ  
αεε  
οιεε  
  
οιεεε  
  
ιεα  
υεα  
  
ιεω  
υεω  
οεω

## Subject to change :

εεε becomes εε  
ιεε    "    ιει  
υεε    "    υει  
ηεε    "    ηει  
οεε    "    οει  
οεεε   "    οει  
ιεεε   "    ιει  
εεα    "    εα  
εεαι   "    εαι  
(ιεεαι   "    ιη)  
εεο    "    εο  
εεω    "    εω  
  
οιεη   "    οιη  
οιεοι   "    οιοι.

It is impossible to conceive of a system more perverse. We ask in vain, if οεεε, ιεεε, οιεη, οιεοι grated upon Ionic ears, how could οεεε be regarded as vocalic harmony?

Diaeresis is relatively more frequent in the Ionic lyrists than

<sup>1</sup> To preserve inflectional endings, like vowels may not coalesce, e.g. ἡρώες. The only case of open εη in inscriptions is that of names in -κλέης in Western Ionic.

in Attic poetry. Whether the MSS. of Hdt. represent in regard to diaeresis the usage of the language of his time is impossible to discover. ΘΡΗΙΚΗ is either Θρηίκη or Θρήκη. Open -εῖ in the dative cannot be supported. As regards crasis, no rule can be formulated. Even when the *scriptio plena* occurs in the inscriptions, we dare draw no conclusions as to ordinary Ionic pronunciation. As might be expected, the forms of the article present the majority of instances in the inscriptions. On *Apocope*, see § 322; on *Elision*, § 323.

The ancients adduce as proof of the love of the Ionic dialect for διάλυσις such examples as the following:—ἄκρη πόλις, Πέλοπος νῆσος, ἄγριον ἔλαιον, ἄγριον αἶγα, σὺς ἀγρίου, ζῶα γράφειν, εὖ- in εὐτρέφω, εὐπλήσασα (cf. An. Par. III 310<sub>1</sub>), ἦια for ἦειν, Οἰδιπόδαο from Οἰδιπόδου (Tzetzes on Hsd. W. D. 162). Tmesis is Ionic, Joh. Gr. 241, Tzetz. Ex. Il. 83<sub>23</sub>, hyperbaton is Ionic, *ibid.* 124<sub>1</sub>.

### I. Contact of Like Vowels.

#### 261.] A + A.

1.  $\check{a}f\check{a}=\bar{a}$  in ἄτη (except Archil. 73, where ἀάτη is possible); ἀάτη is generally permissible in Homer and occurs in Kallim.; ἄτηρός Theog. 433, 634, ἄτη Solon 436, 1313, 68, 75. Open in ἰγλαά Hom., Anakr. 94<sub>3</sub> (eleg.).

2.  $\check{a}s\check{a}=\bar{a}$ ; κρέα Sim. Amorg. 24, and Hdt. (Schmidt, *Neutra*, p. 321 ff.); otherwise -as stems have -εα in Hdt. καρᾶδοκέω in Hdt. with καρᾶ from \*καρᾶσα.

3. In the verbal forms ἰστᾶσι, ἔστᾶσι.

4. Hdt. τᾶλλα, τᾶγάλματα, &c. (Bredow, 201). τᾶλλα we find in an almost Attic inscription, Teos, 158<sub>13</sub>; τὰ ἄλλα Eryth. 204<sub>18</sub>; and τὰ ἀγάλματα Miletos, 93.

5. Crasis of AI + a = Ionic  $\bar{a}$ ; κᾶνεπίφραστοι Sim. Am. 1<sub>21</sub>; κᾶποθυμῖη Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>35</sub>; κᾶσκερίσκα Hippon. 18; κᾶναρίθμιος Arch. tetr. 63; κᾶλαλητῶ Anakr. 63<sub>8</sub>; κᾶγαθός Sol. tr. 36<sub>16</sub>, Iasos, 105<sub>2</sub>, as in Hdt. I 30, κᾶγαθοῖσιν Sim. Am. 1<sub>10</sub>; κᾶτιμος Chios, 174 A 14; κᾶπόλλωνι Thas. 68, κᾶπόλλων Hipp. tr. 31, κᾶπέλουσεν 33, κᾶλειφα 58, κᾶμαθουσίων 82, κᾶρι-  
ρεπής Sim. Am. 7<sub>88</sub>. Crasis with καί is almost always omitted in inscriptions: καὶ ἀγαθοί Samos, 221<sub>5</sub>; καὶ ἄρσεν Thasos, 68; καὶ Ἀναξίλεως Miletos, 93.

#### 262.] E + E.

1. εφε.

(a) uncontracted; in the MSS. of Hdt. we find ρέεθρον, as in Homer (εὐρεέτης, εὐρρεέος *sic*), though there is no reason to doubt that ρεῖθρον was the genuine Ionic form of his day. Hippokr. has ὀξέες, πρηέες, &c.



εε < ηφε < ēve is kept open in the MSS. of Hdt. (βασιλέες, νέες<sup>1</sup>), but is closed in the inscriptions in the forms of the -ην- declension (see under H + E). ἡχέεντα Archil. 74<sub>B</sub>; τελέεντ' Tyr. 4<sub>2</sub>; χαιτέεσσ' Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>57</sub><sup>2</sup>; Περικλέες Arch. 9<sub>1</sub>, 16; Ἡράκλεες 119<sub>2</sub> (hymn).

(β) contracted in Κλεῖτος Th. (L.) 20 C 9, &c., late inscriptions. κλειτός, in Theog. 777, Mimn. 17; Κλειτώνυμος Thas. (L.) 8 A 9. κλειτός is from \*κλεέω as αἰρετός from αἰρέω (cf. Κλεήσιππος, and κλειτ- in Argolic, Arkadian and Oinoian, I. G. A. 16). Contraction also results in ἀναχέλσθων Anacr. 42, εἴθισθε Hrd. 7<sub>128</sub>.

2. εσε contracted to ει, e.g. in εἶχον, εἶων, and in like augmented forms. In the ες declension the inscriptions have without exception -εις, the prosaists -εες; in the future of liquid verbs the MSS. of Hdt. do not contract εε, save when an ι precedes. Unfortunately there is no evidence from the stone-records to test this principle of the MSS. which seems to lack foundation. In Ionic on the expulsion of intervocalic *sigma* and *yod*, no *metathesis quantitatis* took place.

3. ειε becomes ει in Ionic. Examples of -εε-, such as Hdt. I 39 φοβέαι, III 34 ἐπαινέαι, I 41 ἀπολαμπρυνέαι, IV 9 εὐφρανέαι, IV 163 ἀποθανέαι, and other similar monstrosities in the imperative act., imperfect active and middle, present indicative and inf. mid., occurring only in the texts of the prosaists, are to be found under the sections on the verb<sup>3</sup>. All these forms are probably figments of grammatical doctrine. In nouns, pronouns and adj. ειε yields ει invariably: πόλεις, τρεῖς, ἡμεῖς (ἡμέες is pseudo-Ionic), (ἐ)κείνος (see § 224, 15).

Whether the infinitive ending is *φεν*, *σεν*, or *ιν*, the result of the combination of this ending with the final ε of the stem is always -ειν (e.g. ἐκχεῖν Keos 43<sub>22</sub>, ἐπιτιθεῖν, &c.); also in θείναι, &c.

4. Contraction does not ensue in the case of iteratives, but there is no basis for the belief that in the fifth century εε in the pluperfect (ἐώθεε, &c.) had not been contracted. See § 597.

263.] E + H (see Fritsch, *V. H. D.* p. 31 ff.).

I. εFη.

(a) contracted in νήνι < νεήνι, Anacr. 14<sub>3</sub> (Et. M. 448<sub>20</sub>, Drakon

<sup>1</sup> Cf. -έες for -ῆς in Attic Ἀλαίees, &c.

<sup>2</sup> Pick, *B B* XI 266, 271, writes εη < ηε in all these cases. This *metathesis quantitatis* is however not a necessary, only a possible, change in Ionic. Forms in ηε are usual, see § 164. Ἀλέεντος Mimn. 9, may be correct. Hdn. II 921, calls ἡχέεις, θρωμέεις instances of poetic shortening.

<sup>3</sup> ἐπτέετο, ἐχρέετο, αἰκέετο, Πυθέεω, in Hdt. are forms due to grammatical theories, and do not represent any actual dialect. The only rule deducible from the study of the MSS. of Hdt. as regards the imperfect active is that after a consonant and οι, εε was written; after vowels, ει. Oftentimes good MSS. have the contracted form, e.g. in II 1 the *Romanus* has ποιεῖσθαι.

46<sub>13</sub>); *νήνις* on an Athenian lekythos, C. I. G. 7629. *νή* = Attic *νέᾱ*, Hdn. II 912, quoted from *Σαμίων ὄροι*, and *νής* Aristoph. frag. Kock I 395<sub>9</sub>. Sim. K. 84<sub>8</sub>, Hippon. tr. 49<sub>4</sub> have *κληδών*, a form found also in Hdt. IX 91, 101, properly without the *iota*; epic *κληδών* and *κληηδών*.

On *-κλής* and *κλέης*, see § 526. Western Ionic has the open, Island and Asiatic Ionic, the closed forms.

(b) uncontracted in *δέηται* Olynth. 8 B 4, *Νεήπολις* Neapolis 4<sub>1</sub>, parallel form to *Νεο-*; *κενεή* Aret. 146, *κενεής* 170. Adj. in *-αλέη* generally remain open, but in Arch. 89<sub>8</sub>, Anakr. 43<sub>8</sub> the forms with synizesis occur. Attic *κερδαλέᾱ* to differentiate the word from *κερδαλέη*, *fox.* *ἀδελφῆ* Roberts, I 158 B (Amorgos-Arkesine), is not in itself an obstacle to the validity of the Herodoteian *ἀδελφεή*, though we have *ἀδελφή* Mykonos, 92<sub>22</sub> (Attic?), and Halik. 240 D 34, feminine to the masc. *ἀδελφός*<sup>1</sup>.

*εη* < *ηf(ι)η* < *ēviā* in *πλέη* Hdt. I 178 (*πλή*, Diogenes of Apollonia, Hdn. π. μ. λ. 7, 8).

*εη* < *ηfη* < *āvā* remains open in *θέη*, *θήημα* Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>61</sub>, *θεήσεσθαι*, *θησάμενον* Hdt. I 11 (but *θησάμενος* Abdera, 162, eleg.).

*εη* < *ηfε* in *λεηλατέω* < *ληf(o) + ἐλατέω*, K. Z. XXVII 269.

2. *εση*.

On *ἔη*, *ῆ* in *παρεῖ* Oropos, 18<sub>28</sub> and on *ἔην*, *ῆν*, see §§ 706, 711.

3. *ειη*.

(a) In substantives.

In the nouns in *-έης*, *-ῆς*, we find that the poets use the contracted forms: *ῥοδῆς* Arch. 29<sub>2</sub>, *γαλῆς* Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>60</sub>, *συκῆ* Arch. 19, Hipp. 34, Anan. 5<sub>2</sub> (*-έης*). *κωλῆν* Xenoph. 5<sub>1</sub>, *Θαλῆς* six times in Herodas, and in Phoinix of Kolophon in Athen. 495 E, *γενῆ* Hrd. 2<sub>1</sub>, 3<sub>2</sub>. *Ἑρμῆς* Hipponax, 32, 55 B, Anakr. 111<sub>3</sub>, eleg. (voc. *Ἑρμῆ* Hipp. 1, 16, 21 A, 89), *Ἑρμῆ* Abdera, 162 (metr.), Lampsakos, 171; *Ἀπελλῆς* Iasos, 104<sub>18</sub>, 4<sub>2</sub>, Imh.-Bl. G. M. 385 Chios (and so probably Anakr. 72 B, where Bergk writes *έης*), *Μεγίστης* = *Μεγιστῆς*?, Anakr. 16<sub>2</sub>, 41, 74<sub>3</sub>.

In the inscriptions, *κωλῆν* Miletos, 100<sub>2</sub>, *Λεωνῆς* Keos, 44 A 5; *Δημῆς* Thasos, 78 C 14, Thas. (L.) 13 A 10; *Θαλῆς* Miletos, 93 (sixth century). Hdt. has also *Θαλῆς* I 74. Cf. § 415, 3. With such authoritative testimony in favour of the contracted form, we cannot but conclude that *Βορῆς* is the genuine Ionic form, despite the fact that the MSS. of Herodotos prefer *-έης*, though in VII 189 there are four occurrences where the MSS. with but one dissenting voice speak in favour of *-ῆς*. The same con-

<sup>1</sup> That the contraction of *ἀδελφεή* took place early is evident from the form *ἀδελφός*, appearing first in Aischylos (Hom. *-ειός* and *-εός*), which is in reality formed from influence of *ἀδελφή* < *ἀδελφεή*. Cf. Wackernagel, K. Z. XXV 271.

elusion will hold good in the case of *βορῆς*, *Ἀριστῆς*, *Πυθῆς* (not *Πυθῆς* as Steph. Byz. has it). Pherekydes Syr. used the form *Ῥῆ* according to Hdn. π. μ. λ. 7, 5 = II 911<sub>23</sub>, cf. I 405<sub>0</sub>. Cf. *Ῥέα* O 187 and *Ῥέη*, Hymn to Demeter, 460, Luk. *Syr. D.* 15. *Μαρτινῆ* or *Μαρτίνη* Hdt. IV 161, where C has *Μαρτίνης*, Aldus and Stein *Μαρτινέης*, following the Homeric *Μαρτινέη*.

*γῆ* is from *γέα* < \**γῆα* from *γᾱῖᾱ* as is shown under *Declension*, § 421.

Kallim. fr. 241 has *γενῆν*; cf. Et. M. 225<sub>24</sub>, and *γονή*. *γενεή* is open in Solon, 27<sub>10</sub>, Paros, epig. 59, Hdt. (§ 43.5).

Avoidance of contraction will have to be accepted in a few proper names: *Αἰνετῶν* Ainea, 12 (550 B.C.), later, *Αἰνητῶν* (end of fourth century); *Νεμέη* Thasos, 69 (fifth century); *Κρηήτη* Archil. 175 = *Κρήτη* (a pun on *κρέας*?); Hdt. *Τεγέη*, *Θυρέη*.

(b) In adjectives (masc. -eos; fem. -εη, -η).

The forms will be quoted under the *Declension*. The inscriptions prove that when *η* follows *ε*, contraction ensues, when *ο* or *α* follows *ε*, the forms are kept open till the latest period of declining Ionism. In the poets -*ῆ* almost without exception (*κυρέην* *κυρέη* Tyrt. 11<sub>32</sub>), *χρυσῆς* Mimn. 11, Theog. 1293, 1381, *πορφυρέη* Anakr. 141; *πορφυρέη* Anakr. 23; *πορφυρῆς* Sim. Amorg. 11<sub>16</sub>. If it is certain that Anakr. 33 contains a 'choriambic' monometer with anacrusis + a first pherecratic, as Sappho 54 may be scanned, we must admit the existence of one open form *ἀργυρέη* (the schol. Pind. *Isth.* II 9 has οὐδ' ἀργυρέη κότ' ἔλαμπε). Hiller reads *ἀργυρῆ* correctly. In Herodotos we find -*ῆ* generally, but not without exceptions; e.g. *διπλέη* III 42, for which Stein correctly reads *διπλῆ*, a form found in Hippokr. V 640. Attic *διπλῆ* from *διπλε(ί)α*, cf. Kret. *διπλεία*.

(c) In adverbs *Δεκελῆθεν* Hdt. IX 73 from *Δεκελέη*. Cf. Steph. Byz. s. v. *Δεκελειάθεν*.

(d) As regards the forms of -ΕΩ verbs, Merzdorf's 'law' that after consonants *εη*, *εη* remain open, but are contracted after vowels (e.g. Hdt. *στρατηλατέης*, *ποιῆς*) has been accepted in many quarters; but incorrectly, as is clear from the fact that his contention is based upon a mere numerical count of MSS. For the establishing of the dialect of Herodotos we cannot assume that a given form is genuine Ionic merely because a varying per cent. of Hdt.'s MSS. speaks in favour of its adoption. The inscriptions proclaim that the Ionians in their decrees adopted the contraction without exception<sup>1</sup>; and the poets unite with the inscriptions in their opposition to the Merzdorfian view. In the aorist passive *ε* + *η* are invariably fused. Bekker sought

<sup>1</sup> The forms of *δέω* and *δέομαι* occupy a special position.

in vain to discover the uncontracted form  $\delta\epsilon\eta\theta\acute{\epsilon}\eta$  in Hdt. IV 154. On  $\acute{\epsilon}\theta\epsilon\eta\tau\omicron$  in Hippokr. see § 685. The  $\mu\iota$  verbs contract  $\epsilon + \eta$ .

### 264.] H + E.

#### 1. $\eta\epsilon$ .

From  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon$ , contracts in  $\eta$  or, from  $\eta + \acute{\epsilon}$  (Lat. *ve*); but remains uncontracted in a few forms of the  $-\eta\nu$ -declension, as in  $\phi\omicron\nu\eta\epsilon\varsigma$  Archil. 59. See under E + E.

$\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon$  in  $\eta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\iota\omicron\varsigma$ <sup>1</sup> ( $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\iota\omicron\varsigma$ ): the elegiac poets adopt this form only (Tyrt. 11<sub>6</sub>, Mimn. 1<sub>8</sub>, 2<sub>8</sub>, 12<sub>1</sub>, 14<sub>11</sub>, Solon, 13<sub>23</sub>, 14, Theog. 168, 1183, &c.). The iambographers contract:  $\eta\lambda\iota\omicron\varsigma$  Archil. tetr. 74<sub>4</sub>, Hipp. tr. 15<sub>8</sub>, Sim. Amorg. 1<sub>19</sub>, Herodas V 1, 3<sub>28</sub>, 8<sub>3</sub>, Anak. 27; and upon an inscription Arkesine, 33,  $\text{Ze}\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma \text{H}\eta\lambda[\iota\omicron]\varsigma$  (fifth century), Hekat.  $\eta\lambda\iota\omicron\varsigma$  173, 190, 193, Pherek. Leros, 33  $\lambda$ , Diog. Apoll. 6, Anaxag. 6 (Simplik. 156<sub>27</sub>, Diels), and 10 (Simpl. 157<sub>13</sub>), Hipp. II 24, and so Herodotos II 92 (Bredow, 45), as Arrian 11; Lukian uses  $\eta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\iota\omicron\varsigma$  *Astr.* 3, 5, &c., *d. S.* 29, 34. Both  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\omicron\varsigma$  and  $\acute{\alpha}\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\iota\omicron\varsigma$  form a part of the poet's material in Aiolic (Sappho, 69, 79).  $\text{Ποι}\eta\eta\sigma\alpha$ , i.e.  $\text{ποι}\eta\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\sigma\alpha$ , is the name of a city in Keos.

$\eta\epsilon$  also in adjectival forms (nom.  $-\acute{\eta}\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ ), Kall. 1<sub>6</sub>  $\tau\iota\mu\eta\epsilon\nu$ ; Mimn. 5<sub>8</sub>  $\tau\iota\mu\eta\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\sigma\alpha$ ; 12<sub>7</sub>  $\tau\iota\mu\eta\epsilon\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$  as Sim. Keos 84<sub>8</sub>; Phok. 3<sub>3</sub>  $\chi\alpha\iota\tau\eta\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\sigma\eta\varsigma$ . On Fick's  $\epsilon\eta$ , Archil. 74<sub>8</sub>, Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>57</sub>, Mimn. 9<sub>6</sub>, see § 262.  $\eta\epsilon$  in these forms is found often in Hdt.,  $\eta\epsilon$  in the poets and in prose writers only when  $\acute{\epsilon}$  followed  $\eta$ . Forms with  $\eta\epsilon$  seem to be obsolescent in the seventh century.  $\phi\omega\nu\eta\epsilon\nu\tau\alpha$  remained uncontracted in Attic as a technical term, originally Ionic. On  $-\eta\epsilon\iota\nu$  see § 319.

$\eta\eta\mu\iota < \acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\mu\epsilon\tau-$ , in  $\eta\eta\mu\iota\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\iota\alpha$  Mimn. 12<sub>10</sub>, as in Homer.  $\eta\acute{\epsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$ , &c., must be kept distinct from  $\eta\eta\rho$ , Hdt.  $\eta\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha$ , § 169. Notice also  $\xi\alpha\rho\iota = \eta\eta\mu\iota$ , Ananios, 51.

#### 2. $\eta\epsilon$ .

$[\chi]\rho\eta\sigma\theta[αι]$  Keos, 43<sub>12</sub>, is not necessarily for  $\chi\eta\eta\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ , since it may be formed directly from  $\chi\eta\eta + \sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ . Cf. § 167.

$\acute{\epsilon}\chi\eta\eta$  in Tyrt. stands for  $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\eta\eta\epsilon$  or for  $^*\acute{\epsilon}\chi\eta\acute{\epsilon}\eta$ , if we assume that  $\eta\epsilon$  in Ionic becomes  $\epsilon\eta$ .  $\acute{\epsilon}\delta\iota\psi\eta$  Hippokr. III 36, 42,  $\delta\iota\psi\eta\nu$  Hdt. II 24, i.e.  $\eta + -\acute{\epsilon}\nu$  or  $-\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ .

#### 4. *Crasis and Aphaeresis*:

With  $\eta\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\eta}$  Teos, 156 B 36 ( $\tau\eta\pi\alpha\rho\eta\iota$  B 24, Chios, B. P. W. 1889, p. 1195, as  $\tau\eta\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\eta$  Arch. 93<sub>2</sub><sup>2</sup>),  $\mu\grave{\eta}$   $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\omicron\nu\epsilon\varsigma$  Chios, 174 B 24,  $\eta$  's Chios, 174 A 2, compare  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\epsilon\tau\acute{\eta}$  'στιν Theog. 147 and Phokyl. 17 (oldest example of aphaeresis in the case of  $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\mu\acute{\iota}$ ),  $\eta$  'κ

<sup>1</sup> Hdn. II 229<sub>14</sub>. 490, = Et. M. 261<sub>10</sub>.

<sup>2</sup> TETEPEI =  $\tau\eta\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\eta\iota$ , Rob. I 167, of uncertain dialect. Bechtel suggests Asiatic-Ionic. Cf. § 134 note.



Theog. 577 (in *A*), δὴ 'πίκουρος Arch. tetr. 24, perhaps Μιμῆ 'κατομήχανε Hippon. 49, δδύνη 'πιαλεῖ 21 B, and Hrd. δουλή 'στι 4<sub>53</sub>, μὴ 'λασσον 3<sub>68</sub>. There is no example of the crasis of τῇ in Hdt.

### 265.] H + H.

η + η is contracted almost universally. On ἡῆρ in Hippokrates (*af*ῆρ), see § 169. Ionic of the post-Homeric period does not possess such subjunctives as στήη, φανήη, σαπήη. On ἐθηῆτο, v. l. Hdt. I 10, &c., see § 685. ηε held its ground longer than ηη.

### 266.] O + O.

So far back as we can follow the history of Ionic, o + o became ου. In view of this fact the position assumed by many scholars that in Ionic o + o first became ω and afterwards ου is without foundation. The Doric dialects, which at different stages of their existence had ω and ου, offer but a specious parallel to an Ionic ου < ω. οσο in Homer never becomes ω as εσε never = η.

#### I. of o.

οὐρανός with spurious diphthong (Οὐρανίη on an old amphora, C. I. G. 8412, οὐρανίη Phanag. 164, 168) from δ-Foranós, whence Aiolic and Doric ὦρ-; Aiolic ὄρανος from Foranós.

C. I. A. I 322 A 93, OΣ shows that οὐς has an adulterine ου. οὐς, probably from \*οὔ(σ)ος; ὦς in Delos, B. C. H. II 322 (before 167 B. C.) is formed like φῶς. Theog. 1163 οὔατα, Anakr. 21<sub>4</sub> ὦσί, Hdt. ὦτα; Lak. ἐξωτάδια, ὦφατα have their ω from the nom. ὦς, as ἐνώδιον < ἐνουσίδιον has its ω from ὠτός. See Wackernagel, K. Z. XXIX 141, Schmidt, *Neutra*, 407.

In a few nouns<sup>1</sup> and adjectives of the O declension ω is apparently kept open to a limited extent: the MSS. of Hdt. have νόος, εὔνοος, πλόος (Hekat. 303 -ου-), σόον, but χοῦς II 150, &c. Love of the old-fashioned orthography dictated νόος in the MSS., Sim. Amorg. I 3, where νοῦς, or νόος, must be read<sup>2</sup>. νόον in the same poet (71) must be an archaism, if the authority of the inscriptions is accepted. π[ρ]όχουν occurs upon a vase from Naukratis, Roberts, I 132 *lit.* Perhaps contraction resulted during the seventh century, since Archil. 89 epod. and Mimn. 5<sub>8</sub> have νόον. Homer preserves νόος, but the beginnings of the later forms appear Ω 354, κ 240 (Menrad, p. 46). Later inscriptions have 'Αστύνοος Eryth. 206 C 9; Καλλίνοος Thas. (L.) 7 A 7; Ἐκπλουν, Ἐσπλουν Eryth. 202<sub>7</sub>; Πολύθροος Thasos, 75 B 11 (Πολύθρου Teos, 158<sub>7</sub>). χοῦν Hdt. II 150, χοῦ Arr. *Anab.* II 27, 4 (χόου

<sup>1</sup> J. h. Gr. 241 B, Greg. Kor. 479 cite νόον, ῥόον, Grani. Meerm. 654 ῥόος, χνόος, θρόος, but cf. Hdn. II 921<sub>9</sub>. ἀκηκόες, &c. do not contract.

<sup>2</sup> νοῦς Theog. 1185; νοῦν Theog. 350, 898, Sol. 27<sub>3</sub>, νοῦν. βοῦν 41. It may be noticed in passing that Cobet's εἶνοι δύντες in Lysias VIII 19 is at fault. εἶνον, found in a Palatine MS., is proved by Attic inscriptions to be correct.



C. I. G. 1838<sub>6</sub>, Korkyra). In Herodas 1<sub>68</sub>, 4<sub>75</sub> we find νοῦν, 3<sub>27</sub> ἀνουν. The attitude of the κοινή towards such forms as πλόος has not received deserved attention. That the κοινή admitted only those forms which had already suffered contraction in Attic, is an entire misconception of the nature of this phase of Greek. πλόος in a Lykian inscription in Le Bas, 1311, was not newly constructed by the κοινή. In fact in its literature this 'dialect' contrives to effect a union of the living language with imitations of the dead language. In this light many of the open forms collected by Lobeck, *Phryn.* p. 453, may be regarded as parallel to the Lykian πλόος. Cf. also Lobeck, *Patk.* p. 300.

νόος, ρόος, πνόος, -χροος, ἀθρόος, generally are found in the resolved forms in the pseudo-Ionists.

In composition: σκηπτούχος Sim. Am. 7<sub>60</sub>, Ἀθηναίη Πολιούχ[ωι Eryth. 200 (epigr.), and so Roberts, I p. 64; Πολιούχου Paros, 64<sub>16</sub>, and Hdt. I 160; τιμούχοι Teos, 158<sub>26</sub> (τῆμος in Aischylos); Ἀριστοῦχον Ross, 148; εὐνούχος Hippon. 35<sub>3</sub>, [σ]αμβαλούχην Hrd. 7<sub>19</sub>.

2. οἰο.

Σαπφόος, Λητόος, called Ionic by Herodian II 338<sub>15</sub>, 755<sub>21</sub>, and ἡοῦν by Greg. Korinth. § 35, are supported by no such formations in the existing monuments of the dialect. Hdt. has Λητούς, Λητούν, &c., and φλοῦν; ἡοῦς Orop. 18<sub>46</sub>. On the retention of -οιο < ο(σ)ιο, see under O declension.

In διπλόος, ο + ο was probably not separated by *f* but by *yo*, though Hdt. has the open form. The pseudo-Ionists have διπλόος, though they avoid the open forms in the compounds in -πλόος. See on E + H.

3. In verbs in -οω, ου, and never εὔ, arises from ο + ο whether *yo* or *sigma* intervened. The examples of εὔ collected by Merzdorf in Curtius' *Studien*, VIII 218, show the confusion as to the character of the Herodoteian dialect in the minds of the diasceuaists.

4. *Crasis.* ο + ο = ου in τούνομα; ου + ο = ου as in τούρνιθος Hrd. 4<sub>20</sub>.

267.] O + Ω.

1. οῶω.

χῶν Keos, 43<sub>9</sub>, fifth century; cf. π[ρ]όχουν Naukratis, § 266, 1. The MSS. of Hdt. keep νόω, συμπλόων, σόων uncontracted. In the dative -οω is generally kept open in the MSS. of Hdt., though contraction ensued by the fifth century.

2. οσω.

Always contracted, e. g. in gen. plural, O declension.

3. οἶω.

Contracts in verbal forms (δικαιῶ). ζῶμεν Sim. Amorg. 3<sub>2</sub>,

from ζώμεν < ζώομεν (so the MSS. 1<sub>4</sub>), and ριγῶ Hipponax, 16<sub>2</sub>, 17, from ριγῶω < ριγῶω, cf. ριγῶσα Sim. Am. 7<sub>2</sub>; λαγῶς Hipponax, 36 < -ωος, from -ωους (Hdt. uses λαγῶς), if we extend the limits of *metathesis quantitatis* beyond those ordinarily set up for Ionic.

4. προώσας becomes πρώσας Hippokr. VII 314.

268.] Ω + O.

1. ωφο.

ἥρωος, Μένωος Hdt.; ζωός<sup>1</sup> Hdt. Meliss., 17, &c., Tyrt. 10<sub>30</sub>, with ω preserved before a short vowel by the interposition of F; ζοοῦ<sup>2</sup> is the correction of Porson for the traditional reading ζωοῦ Archil. 63. Σῶος Styra, 19<sub>23</sub>, 300.

2. ωφο.

ἔζων Hdt. IV 112, ζῶντων I 86, but ζῶντα *ibid.*, ζῶσα IV 205. The latter appear to be regular, yet the uncontracted participial forms may be defended. See *B. B.* XV 170, 175, and *M. U.* I 8. On ζῶμεν, see § 267.

269.] Ω + Ω.

ωτω.

ωω preserved in ζῶω, Hdt. ζῶων, Kallinos, 1<sub>19</sub>, Demokr. 206. Anan. 5<sub>5</sub> λαγῶν is either from Hom. λαγῶος or Hdt. λαγῶς.

270.] I + I.

1. ιῖι.

The Ionic dialect permits, but does not require, contraction: Δί Paros, 65, a late inscription, Mylasa, 248 C 6 (fourth century), both examples probably Attic; Δί Eretria, 14 (fifth century), Samos (?) in Roberts, 157, Asiatic-Ionic, Bechtel, No. 260. Hdt., Pherekyd. Leros, &c. have Δί. I do not find either form in the poets. Δί is doubtless from analogy to Διός, Δία.

2. On ī in the dat. sing. of *iota* stems, see under *Declension*. In the optative of roots ending in *iota*, contraction of ι + ι is pan-Hellenic.

271.] Before passing to the concurrence of unlike vowels, we may here treat of υ + ι, strictly not a diphthong, but a phonetic combination, the υ of which was probably *u*. On the treatment of the υι of υιός, see § 229. In the forms from which ι is absent, Caier held (Curtius' *Studien*, VIII 275) that υ and ι had been fused as in δύη, υ 286. Whether δύη was the model for ἐκδύμεν, or whether the length of the υ is due to the fact that ιι in the ground-form \*ἐκδυῖμεν was followed by a consonant, cannot be made out. λσχύι, νηδύι, as edited by Herodoteian scholars (cf. -ει in the dat. of -εις stems), probably do not represent the pronunciation current in the fifth century.

<sup>1</sup> ζωός Greg. Kor. 57.

<sup>2</sup> ζοός Epicharmos and Theokr.

## II. *Contact of Unlike Vowels (horizontal and vertical vowels).*

### 272.] A + E.

#### 1. *ǎfe.*

(a) Uncontracted in *ἄκων* Theog. 371, 467, 471, 1379, *ἀκούσιος* Theog. 1343; both forms in Hdt. and in Lukian. Hippokr. III 216 has *ἄκων*, Aretaios, 58 *ἀκουσίλου*. *ἄκων* may be read in every case in Homer. The contracted form is best supported in Homer in τὼ δ' οὐκ ἄκοντε πετέσθην. In Attic the form is open in the law of Drakon (C. I. A. I 61<sub>34</sub>), but contracted before the middle of the fifth century in *ἀκούσι[α]* C. I. A. I, 1 B 1. In Ionic, contraction must have taken place in Herodotos' day.

*ἀεθλον* Archil. ep. 104, Tyrt. 12<sub>13</sub>, Mimn. 11<sub>3</sub>; *πενταεθλεύων* Xenoph. 2<sub>2</sub>; Hdt. *ἀεθλον*, *ἀεθλοφόροι*, *πεντάεθλον*, &c. (*ā*?). Contracted *ἄθλα* Theog. 971, 994, 1014, Hrd. 1<sub>51</sub>, Hippokr. II 64; *πενταθλεῖν* Xenoph. 2<sub>16</sub>; *ἄθλοισ* Roberts, I 174, Kyme, and in *ἄθλον* Kolophon, *Miltth.* 1889, p. 317; *ἄελπτος* Arch. tetr. 74<sub>1</sub>, Solon tetr. 35; *ἄελπτῆ* Arch. tetr. 54<sub>3</sub>; *ἑξηκονταέτης* Mimn. 6<sub>2</sub>; *ὀγδωκονταέτης* Sol. 20<sub>4</sub>; *πενταέτης* Hdt., cf. Attic *πειταέτης* and *πεντέτης*; *ἐκάεργος* Tyrt. 3<sub>2</sub>, Solon, 13<sub>53</sub>; *ἀεργός* Theog. 584, 1177, *ἀεργοί* Hippokr. VI 22, but *ἀργός* Hipp. tr. 28, Hdt. III 78; *ἄέξω* Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>85</sub>, Sol. 27<sub>5</sub>, Theog. 1031, 1276, Sim. K. 84<sub>5</sub>. Hippokr. *αὔξω*, *αὔξάνω*, Mimn. 2<sub>2</sub>, Theog. 362 *αὔξεται*, Sol. 11<sub>3</sub> *ἠύξήσατε*, are from *ἄf(ε)ξ-*.

*αἰέλουρος*, not *ἄελ-*, is the Herodoteian form.

(β) Contracted *ἄρθεις*, preferred by MSS. of Hdt. to *ἄερθεις* (Bredow, 193, Merzdorf, Curtius' *Stud.* VIII 186), is undoubtedly the genuine form. Anakreon, 19 *ἄρθεις*. See on *ἀείρω*, § 305.

*ἄλης* in Hdt. from *ἄfελής*, not from *ἀολλέες* as Wilamowitz claims (on Eurip. *Herakles*, 411); cf. *ἀλίζω* in Hdt., *ξυραλισθῆ* Hippokr. VI 102.

Contraction of *afe*, both in a privative and other forms seems to have been possible at least as early as the sixth century. In the ordinary speech of the people many forms were doubtless contracted which were kept open by the artificers of poetical expression.

In the inf. active *a + -fen* (or *-sen*, e.g. *ἴσορᾶν*; see § 305. Hippokr. MSS. have often such apparent Doric forms as *ὀρῆν*, *μελετῆν*, *συνορῆν* but *-ᾶν* II 440 in A) which are due to the supposed tenacity of *η* after *ρ* in Ionic. *ὀρῆν*, once created, was the cause of the creation of a *μελετῆν*. On *τεθνᾶναι* Amphip. 10<sub>10</sub>, and Mimn. 2<sub>10</sub>, as the MSS. read, or *τεθνᾶναι* < *τεθνα* + *εἶναι* (cf. *γεγον-ῆναι*), see § 700, 3.

2.  $\tilde{a}\sigma\epsilon$ .

= $\tilde{a}$  in  $\lambda\alpha\rho\iota\nu\omicron\upsilon$  Xenophan. 5<sub>2</sub>, as in Homeric  $\lambda\alpha\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$ .  $\tilde{a}\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\nu$ , breakfast in Hom., Hdt. III 26 is from  $*\tilde{a}\nu(\sigma)\epsilon\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\nu$ .

3.  $\tilde{a}\iota\epsilon$ .

Always contracted in verbal forms:  $\delta\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon$ ,  $\delta\rho\alpha$ ,  $\tilde{\omega}\rho\alpha$ ,  $\delta\rho\acute{\alpha}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ ,  $\beta\iota\acute{\alpha}\tau\alpha\iota$ ,  $\delta\iota\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\phi\omicron\iota\tau\alpha$ ; Hdt.  $\chi\rho\acute{\alpha}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$  from  $\chi\rho\acute{\alpha} + \epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ , Keos, 43<sub>12</sub>,  $\chi\{\rho\eta\sigma\theta[ai]\}$ <sup>1</sup> from  $\chi\rho\eta + \sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ , or from  $*\chi\rho\eta\lambda\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ <sup>2</sup>.  $\chi\rho\eta\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$  is found in all MSS. of Hdt. I 47, 210; in I 196  $\chi\rho\acute{\epsilon}\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$  B<sup>2</sup>C,  $\chi\rho\eta\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$  *reliqui*. Cf. §§ 167, 687.

In the MSS. of Hippokrates such Doric forms as  $\lambda\eta\tau\alpha\iota$ ,  $\iota\eta\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ ,  $\nu\pi\omicron\theta\nu\mu\iota\eta\sigma\theta\omega$ ,  $\delta\delta\nu\nu\eta\tau\alpha\iota$  II 424 (but correctly  $-\acute{\alpha}\tau\alpha\iota$  in A) come to light. In the forms after  $\iota$ , the error was caused by such forms as  $\iota\eta\tau\iota\acute{o}\varsigma$ , after  $\rho$ , by the analogy of  $\tilde{\omega}\rho\eta$ .

4. Crasis of  $a + \epsilon$  in  $\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu$  Chios, 174 C 19 =  $\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu$  174 C 22;  $\tau\acute{\alpha}\mu\acute{\alpha}$  Theog. 346, Archil. tr. 50, Hdt. 5<sub>2</sub>, but often kept apart:  $\tau\acute{\alpha}$   $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\acute{\alpha}$  Hdt. VIII 101.  $\theta\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha$  IV 157, according to the MSS., is doubtful.  $\theta\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha$   $\theta\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\epsilon\rho\omega\nu$  Hippokr. IX 30.  $a + \epsilon$  in  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\sigma\theta\lambda\omega\iota\sigma\omega\nu$  Theog. 355;  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\kappa\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\eta$  Hippon. 29;  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\gamma\acute{\omega}$  (?) Amorg., Rob. I 160 A;  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\mu\omicron\iota$ ,  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha$ ,  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\kappa\epsilon\iota\theta\iota$ ,  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\kappa\epsilon\iota\nu\omicron\nu$  Hdt. (see § 564 on  $\kappa\epsilon\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma$ );  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\pi\iota\tau\epsilon\tau\rho\iota\phi\theta\alpha\iota$  Sol. 33<sub>7</sub>;  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\gamma\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\sigma\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omega\nu$  Chios, 174 B 22;  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\pi\iota\epsilon\lambda\pi\tau\alpha$  Archil. 74<sub>5</sub>;  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\pi\iota\pi\epsilon\iota\theta\epsilon\iota\eta$  Sim. A. 1<sub>6</sub>;  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\pi\alpha\acute{\epsilon}\xi\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$  Sim. Am. 7<sub>85</sub>. Herodas has (1) Ionic  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\gamma\acute{\omega}$  *Class. Rev.* V 481 (2),  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\pi\iota$  3<sub>90</sub>,  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\phi'$  2<sub>28</sub> and five similar forms, and (2) Doric forms, e.g.  $\kappa\eta\gamma\acute{\omega}$  2<sub>9</sub>, 6<sub>18</sub>,  $\kappa\eta\pi\iota$  4<sub>54</sub>,  $\kappa\eta\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega\nu$  7<sub>14</sub> and ten other examples of  $\kappa\alpha\iota + \epsilon = \kappa\eta-$ , all of which must be ascribed to the native Doric of the poet. In 4<sub>80</sub>, 9<sub>3</sub>, 5<sub>3</sub> (?) the *scriptio plena* occurs.  $\kappa\alpha\iota \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{o}\nu$  Anakr. 8<sub>3</sub>, by synizesis.

$\kappa'$   $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$  l. 6, but  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\mu\omicron\iota$  on an archaic papyrus, *Philol.* XLI 746, cf.  $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\nu\kappa\alpha\upsilon\sigma\iota\omicron\varsigma$  Epidauros, C. D. I. 332<sub>5206</sub>.

## 273.] A + H.

1.  $\tilde{a}\phi\eta$ .

Open in  $\acute{\alpha}\eta\delta\acute{o}\nu\omicron\varsigma$  Archil. 156, contracted in  $\Delta\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}$  Hekat. 358; on the other hand in  $\Delta\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}\iota\eta$  Miletos, 99, a glide *iota* has been generated between  $a$  and  $\eta$ , as in  $\Pi\alpha\mu\phi\alpha\iota\eta\varsigma$  from  $\Pi\alpha\mu\phi\acute{\alpha}\eta\varsigma$ ; cf.  $\Delta\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}\eta\varsigma$   $\Xi$  319.  $\tilde{a}\phi\eta = a$  also in  $\acute{\alpha}\delta\eta\varsigma$   $\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\rho\pi\eta\varsigma$  Hesychios, cf. Phryn., Bekk. Anecd. I 22, 3:  $\omicron\iota$   $\tilde{\iota}\omega\nu\epsilon\varsigma$   $\tau\eta\nu$   $\acute{\alpha}\eta\delta\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$   $\sigma\upsilon\nu\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota\phi\omicron\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$   $\tau\rho\iota\sigma\upsilon\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}\beta\omega\varsigma$   $\gamma\rho\acute{\alpha}\phi\omicron\nu\sigma\iota$ . See under O + A.

2.  $\tilde{a}\iota\eta$ .

In verbal forms:  $\tau\iota\mu\acute{\alpha}$ ,  $\tau\iota\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon$  (Doric  $\eta$ ).  $\text{Νικᾶν}$  Thasos, 72<sub>8</sub> <  $\text{Νικάη}$ ; cf.  $\iota\epsilon\rho\eta$  <  $\iota\epsilon\rho\epsilon\iota\eta$ .  $\mu\tilde{\nu}\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$  Hippon. 20 <  $\mu\tilde{\nu}\acute{\alpha}\eta\varsigma$ , Attic  $\mu\tilde{\nu}\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$  from  $\mu\tilde{\nu}\acute{\alpha}\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ .

3. Crasis of  $\kappa\alpha\iota + \eta\nu = \kappa\acute{\alpha}\nu$ , Ephesos, 145<sub>3,4</sub>, Chios, 174 C 5 (in both inscriptions  $\eta\nu$ , not  $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$  or  $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ ); Hippokr.  $\kappa\alpha\iota \eta\nu$  V 594,

<sup>1</sup> Blass reads  $\chi\rho\epsilon\iota\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ .

<sup>2</sup> Schmidt follows Baunack in deriving  $\chi\rho\eta\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$  from  $\chi\rho\eta\phi\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ .

606, as Hrd. 391 (κῆν 264, 7102), κῆν V 646, 692, 698, 720, II 48, &c.; κῆλειφόμην Sim. Amorg. 16; χῆμέρη Theog. 160, κῆμέρης Anan. 510, cf. Hrd. 7112, who has also κῆπιώ 48, χῆρακλῆς 296. Where crasis might take place in the inscriptions it is omitted in καὶ Ἠγήσανδρος Miletos, 93; καὶ Ἡρακλείοισιν Teos, 156 B 33; καὶ ἠθμόν Prokon. 1038.

## 274.] A + I.

ǣ̃F̃i.

= aī and ai. παῖς<sup>1</sup> occurs in but one passage in older Ionic poetry (Archil. tetr. 70 παῖ). Renner (Curtius' *Stud.* I 189) seeks to find an excuse for the *se judice* irregularity of the Archilochian παῖ by assuming a 'poetic diaeresis.' No such license can be admitted; and these forms find their explanation, in comparison with Hipponax' παῖδα 1, παῖδας 141, and αἰ in Solon, in the fact that the disyllabic aī in nominative and vocative and the monosyllabic ai in oblique cases are an inheritance from Homeric times. παῖς is, however, not an archaism whose observance was enforced. Sim. Amorg. 1, has παῖ, Hipponax, 38 παῖς. Anakreon has παῖ 12, 41, 621, 631; παῖς 2113 (? *vulgo* παῖς, Herm. παῖς ὁ), παῖς 242. Oblique forms: παῖδα Hipp. 1, παιδί Anakr. 173 (aī possible, Wilamowitz conj. παρ' ἰάμβη); παῖδες Anakr. 45; παῖδων Mimn. 213 (aī possible); παισὶν Mimn. 19, 32; παῖδας Hipp. 141; Hdt. παῖς. This shows clearly that παῖς, and not παῖς, was the form as pronounced in the fifth century; and with this knowledge falls the view that vowels originally separated by F remain open as a characteristic of Ionic. παῖς is nowhere necessary in Herodas.

κλαῖων Archil. 13, is possible, κλαῖω 20, necessary; πυρκαῖης Anakr. 1002, el. (aī possible); αἰδηλος Tyr. 117 (cf. v. l. E 757, Δ 897), αἰστώσει Hdt. III 69, ἡίστωσε III 127. See § 160 on Ἀίδης. αἰδρις Theog. 683; αἰδρή Solon, 94; αἰδρήν Hdt.; αἰκίζοίμεθα Sim. Amorg. 124, from αἰκ- rather than αἰεικ-. So too in the case of αἰκέλιος Theog. 1344. On αἰω, see § 275.

In suffixes: δαῖζω Tyr. 117; παῖζω Anakr. 53, but παῖζω 755; σαλαῖζω Anakr. 167, Hippokr. ραῖζει VII 122, ρήζει VIII 38, ραῖση VIII 20, 266 and 34 in θ, δαῖδος VIII 22, δαῖδοισι VIII 50, but δαῖδος VIII 92, σφαδαῖζει VIII 92 (θ, -aī- Littré), cf. § 182; ἀγλαῖζομαι Sim. Amorg. 770; Σαῖων Arch. el. 6; and in the suffix -aῖkos in Hdt. Hrd. 235 has δαῖδας.

## 275.] Â + I.

ǣ̃F̃i.

Πολυπαῖδη Theog. 25, 57, 61, 541, from παῖ, § 169, or due to the ictus and = παν; Ἀριστολαῖδης Hdt. I 59.

<sup>1</sup> παῖς Ionic, Drakon 1576, cf. 1612.



Αἶδης is probably the Ionic form of the fifth century. See § 160.

αἶδιον Iasos, 104<sub>6</sub>, Melissos, 9, Diog. Apoll. 3, may be a later form, built out of αεί. The length of the α in αἶδιος is attested but rarely, e.g. Hymn 29<sub>3</sub> where it may be due to the ictus, i.e. = αυ. αἶδιος contains the suffix -διος.

ἐπαίω in Hdt. III 29, Herakl. 73, 107 should be read ἐπάω if the α is long, as it is generally in Attic. See Schulze, K. Z. XXIX 253 ff.; αἶω Xenoph. 6<sub>3</sub> may be a present derived from the aorist.

Ἀχαῖη Sim. Amorg. 23<sub>1</sub>, where αἰῖη might be expected. Hrd. 5<sub>61</sub> has ἀχαῖκας *fetters* (?). Since the reduction of αἰ to αῖ in Attic ensued as early as the fifth century (Φωκαῖδε[s] C. I. A. I 199<sub>7</sub>), the traditional reading in Sim. may be correct. See § 209, on α from antevocalic αι.

### 276.] Â + H.

Original ā + η did not remain in Ionic; see H + H.

### 277.] A + O.

On the theory that in primitive Greek α, when followed by an ο sound, became εο, see under Contract Verbs, § 688.

#### 1. αφο.

αἶναιος Hdt.; σαόφρων Phok. 9, as in Homer, but σωφρονεῖν Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>108</sub>, σώφρων Theog. 756, σωφρονέστατον Hippon. 45<sub>2</sub>, need not contain a contraction. These forms are placed here tentatively, as it has not been shown that φ intervened between α and ο in σάος. Certainly Roehl's reading σαφοί, in his No. 532, is too much a matter of dubitation to be admitted in proof. Perhaps σάος stands for \*σασος. See Ruehl in *Philol. Anzeiger*, 1886, 14, note 8, and § 294.

θυρωρός Anacr. 52 < θυρά + φορός as θεωρός < τηράφορός. On Doric θεᾶρός see Kretschmer, K. Z. XXXI 289. θυραφορός, or -φωρός, occurs in Kyprian. Fick derives θυρωρός from θυρεωρός < θυρηφορός. Since, however, τιμωρός not τιμεωρός is the only correct form, τιμαῖφορός (and θυραῖφορός) must be the ground-form. (cf. Ἀλκαῖθος.)

#### ἀγλαός:

(1) Not contracted: ἀγλαόν Kallinos 1<sub>6</sub>. Ἀγλαοκίδης Thasos (Louv.) 20 A 8 (about 175 B.C.); Ἀγλα(ό)ρικος Styra, 19<sub>131</sub> (fifth century). The preponderance of names in Ἀγλω- has made Bechtel question whether we should not read Ἀγλώρικος. Ἀγλαοκίδης shows that Bechtel's statement (that Ἀγλω- is the invariable rule in Ionic inscriptions) is not accurate. It must, however, be confessed that this form of the name is, if Ionic, an obsolete form for its period. Ἀγλα[ο]φών Kyzikos, C. I. G. 1780

is late. A noteworthy feature of the naming system of the Ionians is their fondness for names compounded with ἀγλαός, whereas in Attic these are not very frequent. Adjectives containing ἀγλαός were too elevated for the *sermo familiaris* of the classical period. The open form is found in Boiotian, Ἄγλαος C. D. I. 413<sub>35</sub>, Ἀγλαοφαῖδαο 478.

(2) Contracted: Ἀγλώχαρος Amorgos, 227 (sixth century); Ἀ(γ)λωθέστης Amorgos, 37 (unc. date); Ἀγλώνικος Keos, 50, II 11 (fourth century); Ἀγ]λωφῶντος Thasos, 78 A 2 (beginning of third century); Ἀ[γ]λωφῶντος Thasos (Louv.) 6 B 14 (third century); Ἀγλωγένης Delos, 55 I 7 (282 B. C.); cf. also Ἀγλῶν Thasos (Louv.) 2<sub>14</sub>. We find Ἀγλωφάνης Thera, C. I. G. 2460 (late).

φάος Archil. tetr. 74<sub>3</sub>, Sim. Amorg. 1<sub>19</sub>, Skythinos, 1, Theog. 569, 1143, Herakl. 77; on the oblique cases of names in -φῶν, e. g. Ἡροφῶν Thasos, J. H. S. VIII 402, 22, see Spitzer, *Laatl.* p. 41, Johansson, *D. V. C.* p. 16.

### 2. ᾶσο.

Archilochos 116 γήραος; also in Hdt. III 14, in the phrase ἐπὶ γήραος οὐδῶ, with the unusual form on account of the stereotyped nature of the expression. Hdt. generally has -εος in -ας nouns. -ασο, or more strictly, -ασφο, in the second pers. sing. of imperfect and aorist middle: Archil. epod. 94 ἐφράσω, 101 ἐδέξω, where Hdt. has ἐξεργάσαιο I 45 and Xenoph. 5 ἦραο. It is scarcely doubtful that αο had become ω in the dialect of people before the time of Hdt.

### 3. ᾶμο.

On the relation of -ᾶω to -ᾶω (-ηω) verbs in ᾠρεον = ᾠραον, &c., see § 688. αμο becomes ω in the Ionic verb (ἐῶμεν, ἀρριχῶμαι), despite fluctuations in MSS. of Hdt. in the direction of εο.

On αο, written for -αυ, see § 243.

4. *Varia*. Ὠσπραόννωι Halik. 240<sub>43</sub>, is non-Hellenic; Μάοψος Roberts, I 193 D, is of uncertain connections (ΜΗόψος? cf. Μείξιος).

5. *Crasis*. κῶμφαλός, Hippokr. VII 326 = καὶ + δ + δμφ. καὶ + δ + α = κῶ in κῶπόλλων Hippon. tr. 31, according to Bergk's reading, which is doubted by Renner, p. 199; Hrd. 4, χῶπόλλων. τῶμματα VIII 84, Hrd. 6<sub>68</sub>, κῶμμασιν 3<sub>32</sub>, χῶστις Sol. 13<sub>37</sub>.

### 278.] ᾶ + Ο.

ᾶο became ηο and underwent all the changes incidental to the history of ηο (§ 288). On the retention of ᾶο in λαός, see §§ 140, 4, 160, 170.

### 279.] Α + Ω.

#### 1. ᾶψω.

παρεστῶς Tyrt. 12<sub>19</sub>, and Attic ἐστῶς are probably not from

Hdt. ἐστεώς, but from -αῖώς, as πυλωρός, Doric πυλαρός, < πυλαῖωρός. Also in proper names in -φῶν, and in Ἀγλῶν Th. (L.) 2<sub>14</sub>, § 277. Cf. Ἀγλάων Boiot., C. D. I. 418<sub>3</sub>, 534<sub>8</sub>. Συλοσῶν Hdt.

2. αῖω.

For the treatment of -αῖω verbs, see § 688. The contracted forms alone seem genuine Ionic. When verbs in -εω exist side by side with those in -αῖω, this -εω is uncontracted.

3. α privative; αῖωρος Amorgos 35. αῖωρή Hrd. 3<sub>27</sub>.

4. Crasis of αι + ω in χῶς Sim. Amorg. 24 (but καὶ ὦς Halik. 238<sub>44</sub>).

280.]  $\tilde{A} + \Omega$ .

1. αῖω.

Ποσειδάων Theog. 692; -άωνος in Arch. eleg. 10, by conjecture, the MSS. having ω. Is -ήωνος correct? See § 140. If Attic Ποσειδῶν is from -έων, this instance deserves note as being a rare case of contraction of vowels originally separated by *F* (ἔως, βασιλέως). Attic πρῶν, παιῶν (Παιῶνος Solon, 13<sub>57</sub>), Ἴωνες, arose directly from -ᾶων-, -ᾷων, not through -εων (Bechtel, B. B. X 283). See on πρῶν, Hom. πρῶων, Hsd. πρηῶν, Chandler, Accent, § 569.

On the treatment of pre-Hellenic *āio*, see under E + O and E + Ω. On the relation of verbs in -εω parallel to those in -αῖω, see § 688.

281.] E + A.

ε before a vowel does not become ι in Ionic.

1. εῖᾶ.

Remains open in feminine of adj. in -υς (δασέαν Miletos, 100<sub>2</sub>, &c.), in Κλέαριος Thasos (L.) 4 A 13; Κλέανδρος Styra, 19<sub>220</sub>; Λεάνακτος Thasos (L.) 3 B 7; Λεάδης Styra, 19<sub>24</sub>; Πρεάνθης Keos, 50, IV 65. Cf. πρηῖς and the Thasiote Πρηύλος; ἐδάσεις Anakr. 56, εἰᾶσον 57 (§ 165).

ἦνδανε, the legitimate form for the Ionic of the fifth century, is preserved in Hdt., though in IX 5 ἐάνδανε comes to light.

βασιλέᾶ = Attic βασιλέᾱ (βασιλῆ Teos, Ditt. Syll. 165<sub>18</sub>, about 261 B.C.); νεᾶ = Attic ναῦν, βασιλέᾶς = Attic βασιλέας (Curt. Stud. IX 213). After a vowel, *ā* as in Ἐρετριᾶς, Ἴσστιαῖᾶς Eretria, 15<sub>17</sub>, 18, cf. Θεσπιᾶς, Ἐστιαῖᾶς in Attic inscriptions of fifth century. Εὐρυμεδοντιάδες Hipp. 85 (patronymic in -άδης, as Ματαδεῦ Hipp. 16<sub>1</sub>), from εα (or εᾶ?). κενεά Dem. Mor. 18, Luk. vil. auct. 13.

2. εσαῖ.

In the MSS. of Hdt. ἔαρος, ἔαρι, &c. (12 times), as in Homer, ἦρος not appearing till Hymn Dem. 456. Hdt. I 77 has however ἦρι in the MSS. except C (Stein ἔαρι). Hipp. ἦρος II 44, 46, 54, 598, 616, 668, III 70, 76, 80, 94; ἦρι II 24, 42, 44. In

II 598 both Ermerins and Littré have ἦρος, the former reading ξαρ (*bis*) on the same page, the latter ἦρ; Littré reads ἦρ (*v. l.* ξαρ) III 68 (ξαρ Erm.) ἦρ II 640 (*v. l.* ξαρ). In III 98 Littré must adopt ξαρ. ἦρ II 42, 44, 616, VI 594 (*θ, vulg.* ξαρ), 600. There can be no question but that Littré has gone too far in adopting the contracted form, which seldom occurs without a variant. Variations similar to that between ξαρ and ἦρ occur in MSS. of Attic authors, though contraction is properly in place in forms of three short syllables in that dialect. ξαρ occurs upon an Old Attic vase (Klein, *Vasen*, 133). Ordinarily the fusion of εα was avoided in Ionic. For the κοινή form ἦρος in Arrian, 14, we should expect ξαρος, cf. *Vita Homeri*, 34. In the poets we find ξαρ Anan. 51, ξαρος Mimn. 23. Ἐαρίωνος Styra, 19<sub>184</sub> is doubtful. Cf. § 221.

In the -εσ- declension, we find in Homer sporadic occurrences of εα (τεύχεα H 207, ἄλγεα Ω 7, in the sixth foot; τεμένεα λ 185, στήθεα Λ 282, βέλεα O 444, σάκεα Δ 113). See §§ 533, 536 for the occurrences of the open and the contracted forms. -εα is not so frequent as -εσ in poetry. -εα remains open in the heteroclite accus. of the Ἀ declension (which is frequent in Hdt.). This is invariably the case in the -εσ declension in Ionic prosaists.

In εαρε and in the pluperfect, which had the terminations of the sigmatic aorist, we find the open forms (έώθεα, ἦδεα).

### 3. εῖᾱ.

Abstract nouns in εα from εια do not contract: έξώλεα, πανώλεα, Bechtel, No. 263.

δοτέα Arrian, 30 (δοτᾶ 29 in MSS. may be an error), Aret. 42, 88, Hippokr. often; δοτρεα Arrian, 21, 29, 39; υπέατι Hdt. IV 70. In adjectives χρύσεα Anakr. 21<sub>12</sub>.

ἡμέας Archil. eleg. 9<sub>1</sub>, σφεας tr. 27<sub>2</sub>, Hdt. ἡμέᾱς.

Blass (Kühner,<sup>3</sup> I p. 210) refers to Hekataios Φαναγόρη < -εῖᾱ, Hdn. I 280<sub>9</sub>, 341<sub>4</sub>, Θυρή, Hdn. I 284<sub>23</sub>, 341<sub>17</sub>, Ψυττάλη, Ζέλη, Ἐρύθη Hdn. I 275, 321, Οἰάνθη Hdn. I 276<sub>8</sub>, 312<sub>17</sub>, Αἰθάλη Hdn. I 275<sub>32</sub>, 320<sub>25</sub>; cf. ἱερῆ, § 177. Πανάκη Hrd. 4<sub>8</sub> < Πανά-κεια?

On κατέαται and ὀρμέατο < ηα-, see § 611. εἴρηται Oropos 18<sub>17</sub>, compared with έκκεκωφέεσθαι Anakr. 81<sub>1</sub>, κεινέεσθαι Hipponax 62, πεπλέεσθαι Sim. Amorg. 31 A, seems to represent a difference in writing merely. Whether or not the passage from original ηα to η was made in Ionic through εῖ or εῖ in the verbal forms is not as yet clear. Analogy would seem to incline in favour of εῖ, but there are many forms in the perfect where -ηᾶται has become -εᾶται. Here no sound has been lost between ε and α from η + α. See § 612.

ἦν, έάν, see Bredow, 38, Merzdorf, Curtius' *Studien*, VIII 143, § 75, 3, and § 716. In Theog. 682, Schneidewin rightly preferred ἦν. έπήν Homer, Mimn. 3, Keos, 43<sub>17</sub>, Hrd. 5<sub>27</sub>, 6<sub>61</sub>, 3<sub>43</sub> (έπέεον 3<sub>20</sub>, 43, 5<sub>24</sub>); Hdt. έπήν, though έπέάν is often met with in the



MSS. and is defended by many editors (Greg. *Korinth.* p. 465), and ἦν. Hippokr. has ἐπὶ according to Littré.

4. εα from dissimilation from αα in ἐπιστέαται and in -εατο.

5. *Elision* is frequently avoided in the inscriptions: με ἀνέθηκε Naukr. 139 B, Naukr. I 5, 202, 186, 220, II 777, but with elision I 137, 223, 259, II 778.

### 282.] E + Ā.

1. εῤῥ̄:

ἐγχεῖας Xenoph. 42, Anacr. 63, a surprising synizesis, with which cf. χῆς ἐγχεῖας in Galen's *Lex.* to Hippokr. The Herodoteian φρέαρ I 68 probably has ā as the Attic word; cf. Hom. φρήαρ. φρέατι is found in a puzzling verse (99) of the Hymn to Demeter. εῤῥ̄ in εῤῥ̄ Archil. 51, cf. ἦσεν εἶασεν Hesychios, and εῤῥ̄ *Antig.* 95, *Oid. Tyr.* 1451, εἶασον *Oid. Kol.* 1192.

2. εῤῥ̄.

In the inflection of nouns in -ει the accus. plural remains open: κυέας, μνέας, αλγέας, &c., § 453. εῤῥ̄ from εἶας, also in δωρεάς Ephesos, 147<sub>15</sub>; δωρεά appears to be later than δωρεῖα in Attic. ἀργυρεῖα Woud, *Disc. at Ephesus*, App. 6, No. 1, with Attic εἶ, but with the absence of contraction in adjectives of material, which is the rule in Ionic even in the imperial period.

In proper names in -ās it has been commonly held that -ās is from -εās. Bechtel on No. 76 *Νασσιεās*) remarks with appropriateness that this is impossible, since Attic names in -εās could not be contracted to -ās. See § 165, note. εās occurs in two names, Ἡγέας Keos 44 B 4; Ἐλνέας 44 B 16. Cf. Hdn. I 51<sub>10</sub>, II 657<sub>1</sub>.

On πεπλέαται < πεπλήαται, see § 281, 3, note.

### 283.] H + A.

η before the ā of substantival and verbal inflections is regularly shortened to ε. It is a matter of indifference whether this η = I.E. ē or I.E. ā: νεῖᾱ, νεῖᾱς; βασιλεῖᾱ, βασιλεῖᾱς; κατεῖᾱται, ὀρμέῖᾱτο. Traces of this shortening are sporadic in Homer: Τυδῖᾱ Z 222, Κωνεῖᾱ A 264, εἶαται, εἶατο. In πόληας Abdera, 162 (fifth century), η has the quantity of η in βέβληαι A 380 or of ω in ἥρωος, § 303. In Homer, πόληας ρ 486. -ηας in Ἡσιονῆας Kall. 5; βασιλῆας Tyr. 43. η is retained before α only when f intervened (except Hom. πόληας). In Ionic these -ηας forms were obsolescent even at a very early period.

By *crasis*, τὰφροδίτῃ inser. of a Teian (Naukratis, I, No. 700). On a Naukr. inser. τῇφροδίτῃ II 701 and very often τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ c.g. 707, 710, 794. In 729 τῇ Ἀφρ- (but the ι has probably been omitted by a slip). τῇ φρ- also occurs. ἐπειδάν Hdt. I 193, VIII 144, &c., Zeleia, 113<sub>21</sub>; Hippokr. V 622, Hrd.



4<sub>21</sub>, 5<sub>14</sub> ἦρα from ἦ ἄρα, also Aiolic. Archil. 86, 95 has ἄρα. Cf. Apoll. *de Conj.* 223<sub>24</sub>, 227<sub>24</sub> Schn. By *synizesis*, μὴ ἀποπέμψης Hippon. 43, ἡ ἀνθρώπου Sim. 7<sub>104</sub>, ἡμῖν ἡ ἀλεωρή Hrd. 2<sub>25</sub>.

### 284.] E + I.

#### 1. εῖ.

εῖ in the dative-locative singular of -υ- and -ευ stems had probably been contracted by the fifth century.

#### 2. εῖ.

Becomes εῖ in the dat.-loc. sing. of -ες- stems: except in Hipponax, 11, where ἀγέῖ is necessary if the long α of ἀγεί is to be removed<sup>1</sup>: Sim. Amorg. 1<sub>13</sub> Ἄρει (Ἄρη?); ξίφει Tyrt. 11<sub>30</sub>, κράτει Solon tr. 36<sub>13</sub> (or κράτη), Theognis γένει 928, δυσμενεῖ 1219. -εῖ in Hdt. does not represent the stage to which Ionic had advanced in the fifth century. See § 416. In adj. from sigmatic stems εῖ, as in Ἀργεῖη Sim. Am. 27.

3. In suffixes -ιτης, -ωος, &c. In Hdt. Ἀταρνεῖτρω, Βορυσθενεῖτης (but cf. Hdn. II 866<sub>40</sub>), ὀστέϊνος, ἰτέϊνος, κρανεῖνος.

### 285.] E + I.

εῖ by *metathesis quantitatis* has been assumed by Fick, *B. B.* XI 267, Bechtel, *Ion. Insch.* p. 14, in Θρεῖκίων Hipponax, 42, εῖ standing midway between ηι (Θρηῖξ Archil. 32, Θρηκίης Anakr. 96, Θρηκίφ Sim. Keos, 120), and εῖ. Fick suggests that Anakr. Θρηκίην 49, Θρηκίη 75 should be read Θρεῖ-. As held above, § 237, this assumption is based on slight foundations. On Θρεῖκίων, see Osthoff, *M. U.* IV 209. Meineke suggests κατὰ Θρηκίων in the passage in Hipponax. In Herodotos the *iota* was probably silent.

### 286.] H + I.

ηι is very common in Ionic, both from ηι = I.E. *ēi* and I.E. *āi*, separated originally by some spirant.

#### 1. ηῖ.

#### (a) ηῖ < *ēvi*.

It should be noticed that of the forms which have preserved η before ι most had *f* between the η and ι. The exceptions are all either peculiar forms or are due to the influence of analogy, *e.g.* πόληι Tyrt. 12<sub>16</sub> is a double locative (\*πόλη + ι) and not developed from πολεῖ-ι. See § 481. -ηιος in ἀνδρήιος, &c. is from the analogy of δουλήιος < δουληῖ-ιος.

On -ηιος from stems in ηυ/ευ, and on the extension of the termination to stems to which it did not originally belong, see § 232. On ηι from ηυ/ηῖ in patronymics, in its relation to εῖ in -εῖδης, see §§ 233, 235.

<sup>1</sup> ἀγέῖ should be read.

Either *Κείος*, or *Κήιος*, is Ionic from *Κέος*. Hdt. VIII 1. 46 *Κείοι*; IV 35, V 102 *Κήιοι*; Sim. Keos 129 *Κεί*; Bacchyl. 48 *Κηί*; Timokreon 10 *Κήια*, and *Κείων* *ἰουλιῆται* C. I. A. II 17 B 22. See Wackernagel, *K. Z.* XXVII 265, who regards *Κείος* as certainly Ionic whatever may be said of *Κήιος* \**Κηΐος*, (cf. Ionic *λεΐος*, from \**ληΐος*). *Βασιλεῖ* is due to the influence of *βασιλεος*, &c. *Βασιλήιος*, &c., amply prove that I.E. *fri* is represented in Ionic by *ηι*. On *Πριηνῆι*, on a Samian inscription, No. 212, see § 510.

Whether Hom. *χρήος*, *χρεῖος*, Hom., Hdt. *χρέος* is from \**χρηΐος* or \**χρημος* see Wackernagel, *K. Z.* XXVII 264, Danielsson, *Grammat. und etymol. Stud.* 52 and *Grammat. Ann.* I 17, § 272, 3 above is uncertain. *χρηίζω* Hom., Hdt., Greg. Kor. p. 442, Hdt. (MSS.), Phokyl. 7, Theog. 1333 but *χρηίζων* 958, as Hrd. 121, 210, 230, *χρεΐζεις* 781. *χρήζω* is doubtless the correct form in Hdt. *χρηίσκομαι* in Hdt. only. Does Hesychios' *χρήια* *πενία*. ἢ *χρήματα* contain *χρηίη* *πενία* (Ionic usually *χρείη* Theog. 62, Hrd. 714 and Kretan *χρήια* *αὐτὸς τε καὶ χρήια τὰμὲν* Dreros, Cauer 121 B 41)?

*κρήμιον* *κρεοθήκη* is not necessarily Ionic.

(β) *ηφι* < *āvi*.

This *ηφι* appears in Ionic as *ηι* without exception. Attic differs from Ionic in its treatment of pre-Hellenic *āvi* and *āvi*, in that the former is generally represented in Attic by *ει* (except in patronymics as *Αἰγής*, *Νηρής*, which was probably also the Ionic form, § 233, 2), the latter by *η* (*κλής*, *λήζομαι*, *λητουργός*, *ἦθεος*, *προνῆον*) which in the fourth century has become *ει*. Ionic represents both by *ηι*, though *-ηιδης* from *-ηυ-* stems has been generally supplanted by *-ειδης*.

*γήινος* Sim. Am. 721 is probably from \**γηΐνιος*.

*δηϊόω* in MSS. of Hdt., *δήιος* Sol. tetr. 342, Tyr. 1118, 30, *δηιοτήτα* Kall. 114; Theog. 552, Tyr. 1212 (*δηϊών* Bergk), Mimn. 143 (*δηϊών* Bergk) Solon, 1321, have *δηόω*. Homeric *δηϊοιο* B 415 = *δηιοίω* or *δηοίω*. Homer has *δήιος* and *δηῖος*.

*ἦίθεος* Hdt.

*ἦιών* Hdt. (An. Par. III 1491).

*Θρηῖξ* Arch. 32, cf. *Θρηίκιος*, Anakr. 96, Hippon. 42, 120 *Θρηίκιος*, Anakr. 49, 75 (§ 285). Hom. has *Θρηῖκες* (Nauck *Θρέικες* Ω 234, cf. Steph. Byz. s. v. *Θράκη*), *Θρηκῶν*, *Θρηῖκεσσι*, *Θρηῖκη*; Pind. has *Θρηικίων*. In Hdt. we read *Θρηῖξ*, *Θρηίκιος*, *Σαμοθρηῖκες*, *-θρηίκιος*; *η* sometimes occurs in the MSS. Hekat. 116 (*Θρακῶν*), with Attic *α* in Steph. Byz.

*κληίω* Hom., Hdt. (Greg. Kor. § 3); *κληῖδες* in Hdt. V 108 is accented *κληῖδες* or *κληῖδες*; *κληῖδα* Hippokr. II 272. *κλήθρα* hymn Merc. 146; *κλήθρα* Hdn. II 5356, Et. M. 51811, An. Ox. II 23211 (Choir.). *εὐκλείσας* Tyr. 1224, from *κληίζω*, is not Ionic.

*ληίη* (Greg. Kor. 69), Hdt., Hrd. 243, *ληιστής* Hdt., Dem. 209, Teos, 156 B 21, *ληιστὺς* Hdt., *ληίζομαι* Hdt., Sim. Am. 6, Teos 156 B 20. Arrian, 40 *ληισταί*. *ηφι* becomes *ει* but once in Homer (*λείστη* I 408).

λήιον Hdn. I 361<sub>5</sub>, λήιτον, *council-hall*, Hdt.

Μηονιστί Hippon. 1<sub>2</sub> with η as in Hom. Μήων (cf. Hdt. I 7) and Μηονίς; Μήονες and Μηλονες Hdn. II 550, Μήονες Herakl. ap. Eust. 365<sub>25</sub>.

νηί. ἐπίνειον Hdt. VI 116 must be incorrect (cf. Προνήϊη and Attic προνήιον). See Cauet in Curtius' *Studien*, VIII 248. νήιον Hdn. I 361<sub>5</sub>.

Ποσιδηιών Anakr. 6.

ρήιδιος (Apoll. *Adv.* 567 = Schn. 157<sub>4</sub>), Theog. 239, 524, 592, 1027, 1034, but ρήιδιος 574, 577 (cf. ράδιον 120, 1220, Solon, 9<sub>8</sub>, where Diod. Sik. ραίδιον; ρᾶον Theog. 429), ρήτερον 1370 (Hom. ρήτερος), cf. § 182, 555. Hdt. has ρηιδίως IX 2 in MSS., but ρηστώνη III 136.

Τήιος Bechtel, 155 an archaic inscription, Teos, *Mitt.h.* XVI 292, is probably from \*Tāfios, because of Τέως. On THIIOI on an Attic inscr., to be read either Τήϊοι or Τήϊοι, see § 231. See Hdn. II 881<sub>23</sub>.

2. ηι < ασι.

ῆια Sim. Am. 32, see Baunack, *K. Z.* XXVII 561. With ῆια, cf. εἶον, Hdn. I 356<sub>2</sub>, II 457<sub>11</sub>. εἶα has been read ε 266.

## 287.] E + O.

The earliest testimony to an Ionic contraction of εο is the existence in Homer of εο and of a few cases of ευ. In the older periods of the Greek dialects whenever the contraction of εο to ευ appears, it is to be regarded as Ionic. ευ is but sparingly attested in earlier Aiolic, but more frequently in later Doric sources (Ahrens, II 213 ff.). The grammarians frequently give the name Doric to forms in ευ found in Ionic authors, cf. Choir. 528<sub>14</sub>. Kallimachos' hymn to Demeter has θεύς l. 58. τεύς is called Boiotian for τεός, Apoll. *Pron.* 135 B.

As regards the genesis of εο from ηο, it should be stated that Merzdorf's<sup>1</sup> distinction between pre-Hellenic *āo* = Ionic ηο = Ionic εω, and pan-Hellenic *ēo* = Ionic ηο = Ionic εο, a distinction accepted for many years, can no longer be upheld, at least in its entirety. Unaccented, pan-Hellenic ηο may become εω in Ionic. In the gen. of the *Ā* declension, we have -ευ < ηο = *āo*. The occurrence of εο (ευ) makes it appear that the combination ηο is treated in three different ways in Ionic. (1) ηο may be retained as an archaism, see below on H + O, (2) ηο becomes εω, and (3) becomes εο. In Ionic no difference can be detected in the treatment of

<sup>1</sup> Merzdorf in Curtius' *Stud.* VIII 163 ff., IX 226 ff.; Wackernagel, *K. Z.* XXVII 262; Schmidt, *K. Z.* XXVII 297; Osthoff, *Philol. Rundschau*, I 933; Erman, *Stud.* V 294; Brugmann, *Gramm.* § 19; Bechtel, *B. B.* X 280, *Ion. Inschr.* p. 69, 107, 109; Johansson, *D. V. C.* 153, *B. B.* XV 167; Fick, *B. B.* XI 259 ff.; Karsten, 19-22; Blau, *Aussprache*,<sup>2</sup> 72.

long vowel + short vowel whether separated by *F*, *yoð*, or *sigma*, though the dialect bears traces of the fact that the labial spirant disappeared later than either of the others. In Attic *metathesis quantitatis* seems to have occurred even when *sigma* or *yoð* were expelled, though the cases are rare.

To a large extent the question whether *eo* or *ev* should be written, is an orthographical question merely. At one and the same time the same word is written with *eo* or *ev* in the same portion of Ionic territory. In general, however, the inscriptions preserve the form *eo*. In early inscriptions of the same date *eo* occurs both = *ev* and = earlier *e + o*. The *eo* of *φεόγειν* makes it possible that the *eo* of *γεγωνέοντες* is not disyllabic, but a species of diphthong. Cf. *eo* for original *ev* and *ao* for *av*. *ev* is occasionally found (*Εἰρησθένεους* Samos, 217, *Ἀριστοκλέους* Thasos, 72<sub>1</sub>). See § 247. The writing *eo* shows that *ev* was not pronounced *eu*. *eo* especially in the *-es* stems becomes *ev* from about 350 B.C. There can be no doubt that *eo* was pronounced like *ev* more frequently than it was written. Whenever in Ionic lyric poetry *eo* must be read *oo*, it is an archaism. In the earliest lyric poets it is better to write *eo*, in the later *ev*. The difference between *ev* and *eo* is not greater than that between *ea* and *η*. How far the contraction prevailed in the ordinary language of the people is not easy to say. Perhaps one class of words was treated differently from another class. Thus in the case of *-κλεος*, where *hyphaeresis* had been at work, the open form would be more probable than in other names; and syllables following or preceding the accent would be more likely to be contracted than accented syllables. The variations of the MSS. of Hdt. and of the other prosaists reproduce the fluctuation in orthography between *eo* and *ev*. I hold it likely that Hdt. himself may have been inconsistent in this and other cases, where the diphthongal pronunciation was not graphically expressed. Usually in the MSS. the *eo* form prevails. In the literature<sup>1</sup> and inscriptions of the imperial

<sup>1</sup> In the pseudo-Ionists *eo* was carefully preserved. From Lindemann, *de dial. Ionica recentiore*, p. 53, I construct the following table:—

	<i>eo</i>	<i>ev</i>		<i>eo</i>	<i>ev</i>
Dea Syria	112	0	Eusebios	4	0
Vit. auct.	6	0	Euseb. Mynd.	55	4
Astrol.	49	0	Ep. Thales	1	0
Arrian	118	1	Aretaios, I, II	39	13
Abydenos	4	0			

period there existed a preference for open forms, which is evidenced also in Attic (*νεομηνία* and *Θεο-* in proper names for the older *νου-*, *Θου-*). Most forms of this kind represent a fashion in writing, not genuine survivals of the older speech.

#### 1. *εφο*.

Becomes in Ionic *εο* or is contracted to *ευ*. In the case of *-τέος*, contraction never occurs in Ionic or any other dialect.

Names with *νέος*, *κλέος*, as first parts of a compound name show both forms.

*νεο-* in *Νεοπολιτέων*<sup>1</sup> Neapolis, 4<sub>2</sub>, *Νεοκλειδης* Styra, 19<sub>265</sub>, *-κλειδης* 19<sub>265</sub>; *-μήνιος* Olbia, *Jahrb. für Philol., Suppl.* vol. X, 26, No. 8, Maroneia, 196<sub>14</sub>, Halik. 240 B 29, D 38; *-μανδρος* Thasos (L.) 17<sub>2</sub>. Cf. *νέους* Arch. 55; *νέοι* Kall. 1<sub>2</sub>; *νεοθηλέα* Anakr. 51; Hdt. *νέος*, &c.; *νεότητος* Dem. 52; *νέον* Samos, 220<sub>25</sub>; *νέωτα* Sim. Amorg. 1<sub>9</sub> < *νεφοφατα* (see E + Ω).

*νευ-* in *-πολίτης* 4<sub>3</sub>, Neapolis (350–300); *-πολιτών* 4<sub>4</sub>, Neapolis (350–300); *Νε]υμηνίου* Olbia, 131<sub>9</sub>; *Νευμην[ίου]* Halik. 240 B 7. Cf. *Νεοβούλης* in Archil. 71, *νεόπλυτον* Anakr. 21<sub>6</sub>, and *νεομηνία* Pind. *Nem.* 4<sub>35</sub> = *ευ*; also *νευμηνία*, later Kretan, and *νευμεινλή* Boiot. C. D. I. 951. *Νουμήνιος* Iasos 104<sub>22</sub>, 4<sub>8</sub> (about 350 B. C.), and upon coins of Maroneia and Olbia, is Attic. On the conclusions as to the (partly) expiratory character of Greek accent to be drawn from the difference between Attic *νέος* and *νουμηνία*, see Wackernagel, *K. Z.* XXIX 138.

*κλεο-* in *-μαχος* Styra, 19<sub>112</sub>; *-μβροτος* Keos, 44 B 10, Thasos, 77 B 12; *-δικος* Styra, 19<sub>222</sub>; *-πάτρα* Delos, 55, VII 27; *-κρίτου* Thasos, 75 B 4; *-νίκου* Smyrn. 153<sub>19</sub>; *-ρρος* Styra, 19<sub>239</sub>; *-μήδεος* Th. (L.) 1; *-μέδων* Th. (L.) 3 A 10, 6 C 6; *-[λο]χος* Th. (L.) 6 C 15; *-φάρ[ης]* Th. (L.) 11 C 5; *-κύδευς* Thasos, 77 A 10; *-γένης* Thasos, 77 B 5; *-τίμου* Chios, 177<sub>10</sub>; *-δημος* Naukr. 775, Thasos, *J. H. S.* VIII 402, 23.

*κλευ-* in *Κλεομάνδρου* Arkesine, 34 (fourth century), epigram. *Κλεύβουλος* Anakr. 2<sub>9</sub>, 31, 2, 3 (not *εο* by synizesis). *Κλευ-* in prose is written in *-πάτρα* Delos, 55, III 34; *-νίκη* Pharos, 87; *-κρίτη* Siphnos, 89; *-δώρου* Hycle, 172<sub>2</sub>. Cf. *Κλεόδαμον* Pind. *Ol.* 14<sub>22</sub>, the names in *Κλευ-* in later Kretan and Rhodian documents.

*-εος* in the genitive of *-υ'εο* stems is closed in *ἄστεος*, Simonides of Amorgos 7<sub>74</sub>, but ordinarily kept open, as is evident from the fact that these genitives are never written *-εως*, as may be the case in the declension of stems in *sigma*. Open *-εος* from *ηυ-* stems in *βασιλέος*, &c. (on *-ηος*, see H + O), on *ρεός*, see § 517, 2. *-εος* < *ηφοτς* in *τεθνεός* Hdt. I 112 (*Studien*, IX 242); *Γελεῶντες* Perinthos, 234 B 13; *Λεοντίσκος* *ibid.* 234 A 4.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Νεάπολις* 4<sub>1</sub> = Attic *Νεα-*. In Attic inscriptions the forms in *νεα-* outlive those in *νεο-*, which obtain from 454 to 356 B. C.



ἴλαος, probably Herodoteian (cf. IV 94, VI 91), from ἰληφος. Cf. Kretan ἰλέος (accus. pl.). ἴλαος is also Ionic, Archil. 75<sub>2</sub>. See § 139.

On πλεῦνες, see § 219, 3.

Adj. in -αλεος: μυδάλεος Arch. 182; on ἀδελφεός in Hom., Hdt., Lat. II 97, Pantikap. (fifth cent.), see under ε + η.

ευ from εο = εω:

θευροί Thas. 72<sub>2</sub>, = θεωροί; cf. ἐθεόρεον Thas. (L.) 7<sub>2</sub>, with θεωρ- from θεωρ-. See B. B. X 282, K. Z. XXXI 289; cf. Λευτυχίδης Hdt.<sup>1</sup> and πυλευρός, in Hesychios, from πυλεωρός. Bechtel has proposed to account for this ευ for εω as follows. Final -εω in the genitive of  $\tilde{A}$  stems having become -εο (by a change unparalleled in the dialects), was written -ευ (§§ 245, 427), and this ευ forced its way into a medial syllable. Brugmann's (Gr. Gr. § 19) attempts to escape from the difficulties in the way of accepting such a change are artificial, and he cannot explain θευρός and πυλευρός. The correct explanation is still to be found.

Joh. Gr. 241, 241 B, Greg. Korinth. p. 447, Gramm. Meerm. 654. August. 669, Birnb 678<sub>111</sub>, Vat. 699, Eust. 1908<sub>34</sub>, say that the Ionic form is ὀρτή, which appears in Anakr. 54 and in Herodotos<sup>2</sup>, Herodas 5<sub>25</sub>, 6<sub>17</sub> (ὀρτή 4<sub>10</sub> is a conjecture). That this statement is only partially true is evident from ὀρτή Oropos 18<sub>34</sub>. That a purely prosthetic vowel should have the *aspir* is irregular cf. Ἐόρτιος in Attic, Roberts I 52), hence Bury's attempt at etymologizing ὀρτή has at least the vantage ground of suggesting an explanation for its presence by attributing to the longer form an initial *f*: ὀρτή = *f*εὐ-ὀρτή, *f*ρ' *f*ορτή, as *ureáta* from *uryáta*; ὀρτή on the other hand is = *erata*. Cf. B. B. XI 333. *Ἐορτίς* is doubtless to be kept apart from ὀρτή.

## 2. εσο.

Yields either εο, εο, or ευ; rarely εεσο = εον (?) as in δέους Hippokr. VI 384, cf. Hom. δέους, Hdt. ἐδέοι VII 161. In the Ionic poets: Archil. ἀγάλλεο 66<sub>4</sub>, ὀδύρεο 66<sub>5</sub>, ἀπάγχεο 67, χαρίζεο 75, ἀλέξεο (-εο?) 66<sub>2</sub>, γενεῦ 75<sub>2</sub> (MSS. -οῦ) Anakr. 2<sub>1</sub>; εὔχεο (or -ευ, MSS. -οῦ) Phok. 3<sub>8</sub>, ἴκεο, or -ευ Anan. 1<sub>3</sub> (MSS. -οῦ). εο in Λυκάμβεος Archil. 28; θέρεος Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>32</sub>, παλιωτριβέος 7<sub>41</sub>. Παιρισάδεος Pantikap. epigram, Kaibel, 773, which form occurs in prose, Bechtel, No. 119. Cf. the Attic Παιρισάδους No. 120, Παιρισάδων No. 122. ευ is written in Hipponax, 19<sub>2</sub> οίγευς, 49<sub>2</sub> τριήρευς, and may be regarded as the successor of εο in Sim. Amorg. But tradition is worth little in such cases, as ευ did not come into vogue at the stroke of twelve. The open forms

<sup>1</sup> Λευκ[α]ρίος Styra 19<sub>131</sub>, regarded by Merzdorf and Wackernagel as containing Λευ = Λεω, is an hypocoristic name for "Λευκόκαρος" Bechtel).

<sup>2</sup> Ἐορτάι Luk. Syr 10, v. l., with ὀρτάι in the better MSS. The MSS. of Anakr. 54 have ὀρτήν.

still hold their ground in the Ionic elegiac poets: πολυανθέος Mimn. 2<sub>1</sub>; ἀνθεος Xenoph. 1<sub>6</sub>, cf. § 532. In the language of the people εο, when contracted, was contracted long before the time of Hdt., who either preserves the open vowels in verbal forms or permits contraction, e.g. ἐπηγγέλλεο, ἐτράπευ, πείθεο and τέρπευ, ἐπείκεο and βάλευ. For a complete chronological list of -εος, -εως in the genitive of κλεῖεσ- stems in inscriptions, see § 527 ff. Herodas has εὔντων 2<sub>88</sub>, εὔσαν 15<sub>16</sub> with an ευ that occurs nowhere else in this participle.

In derivatives from θεός<sup>1</sup>, Θεο-, in Θεοφῶν Thasos, 83<sub>8</sub>; -[κλ]ῶης Keos, 44 B 6; -κύδης Keos, 46; -δωρος Thasos, 77 B 8, Olbia, 131, 3, Halik. 240<sub>31</sub>, Samoth. 236; -δοσιδης Miletos, Imh.-Bl. G. M. 328, -κρίνης 331; -δοτος Iasos, 105<sub>1</sub>, Klazom. Head, H. N. 491, Sam. 221<sub>4</sub>, Chios, Pasp. 13; -δοσίη Phanag. 164, 166, Theodosia, 127 (Stephani, *Compte Rendu*, 1866, p. 128), Lat. II 36; -γείτων Teos, 159<sub>1</sub>, Chios, Pasp. 3. Cf. *Jahrb. für Philol., Suppl.* V 487, No. 47, X 29, No. 21. -γένεως Thasos, 78 C 5, -τιμίδης 78 C 4, -τιμος Styra, 19<sub>316</sub>. -προπος Chios, 174 C 21, Iasos, J. H. S. IX 342; -φάνης Eryth. 206 B 63 (l. 21, 24 have Θευ-); -φρων Eryth. 206 C 11 (cf. Θε[ι]όφρων Eryth. 206 C 12); -πομπος Th. (L.) 6 C 10.

In Attic we often find Θεο- in proper names in sixth, fifth, and fourth century inscriptions parallel to the same names in Θεου-. See K. Z. XXIX 138.

The ε of θεο- is sometimes omitted (Θόκλος 19<sub>206</sub>, Θεόλων 19<sub>215</sub>). Cf. Κλάθεινος 19<sub>221</sub>, and Megarian names in Θε-, *Mittl.* VIII 189, 190. In reverse direction ε is omitted in Θεκλίδης 19<sub>209</sub>. See Baunack's *Studien*, I 229, § 138, and AIOIC, § 188, 16, 3.

Names in Θευ-:

-μαρ[ης] Eretria, 16 B 25 (340-278); -βουλος Naxos, 28; -δωρος Delos, 55, 3<sub>30</sub>, Keos, 169<sub>8</sub>, Eryth. 206 B 42, Eryth. 207, Olbia, 131<sub>17, 21</sub>, Teos, 161 (also Θευ- in *Jahrb. für Phil., Suppl.* IV 478, No. 16; IV 484, No. 45; X 31, No. 3); -προπο(s) Miletos, 102<sub>3</sub>; Θευπροπίδου Smyrna, 153<sub>28</sub>; -δοσίη Pantik. 119, 120, 122, Phanag. 165, 167, 168; -γνητος Smyrna, 153<sub>12</sub>; -τιμίδης Smyrna, 153<sub>19</sub>; -ξεινίδης Smyrna, 153<sub>20</sub>; -ξενος Eryth. 206 B 24; -δάμας Keos, 169<sub>2</sub>; -δοτος (Et. Gud. 139<sub>52</sub>) Eryth. 206 A 26, which is an almost Attic inscription; -κριτος Eryth. 206 A 29; -πομπος Eryth. 206 B 21; Θεύγνιδος Theog. 22. Cf. θεός Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>1</sub>, θεοῦ 7<sub>104</sub>, and elsewhere θεός in poetry. On coins in Imh.-Bl. G. M.: Θεύπορπος (Chios, No. 390), Θεύπροπος (Miletos, p. 646, correcting *Monn. gr.* 97). In the

<sup>1</sup> Brugmann, *Berichte d. königl. sächs. Gesell. d. Wiss.* 1889, p. 41, compares Skt. *ghōvis*. In this paper Brugmann mentions all the etymologies that have been proposed of the much disputed word θεός, except the one which I have here provisionally adopted (θεός = \**thēfēros* = Lith. *dūlētis*).

fifth century we find the names of immigrant Ionians upon Attic inscriptions, e.g. *Θευγόνης* C. I. A. I 324, D 8. In genuine Attic names the contraction (*ov*) varies with the uncontracted form as early as the sixth century. After 200 B.C. we find  $\epsilon + o = \epsilon v$  sporadically even in Attic words; *Θευδόσιος* C. I. A. II 445 E 16 (160 B.C.). Eustath. 775<sub>48</sub> and 1387<sub>27</sub>, Et. M. 448<sub>31</sub>, An. Par. III 242<sub>28</sub>, Choir. 421<sub>28</sub>, make mention of a *θεῦν* ('*Αρτεμις*') without specifying the dialect. Cf. Kallim. frag. anon. 125, and *θεύς* VI 58. In Kretan we find *Τευφίλω* *Mus. It.* III 617, l. 10, 3.  $\epsilon\iota o$ .

$\epsilon o < \epsilon\iota o$  in verbal forms is generally contracted in old Ionic poetry, the contraction being written  $\epsilon o$ . MSS. of the lyric poets vary between  $\epsilon o$  and  $\epsilon v$ , the Attic *ov* sometimes having been brought in by the copyists in the case of the earlier poets. In 'Theognis' later parts the *ov* is original. See under *Conjugation* for the parallelism of  $\epsilon o$  and  $\epsilon v$  forms. All instances of *ov* in pure Ionic documents must be regarded as foreign to the character of the dialect. In Ionic prose  $\epsilon o$  varies constantly with  $\epsilon\iota$ , the former being perhaps the more common<sup>1</sup>.  $\epsilon o$  in verbs in *-εω* parallel to those in *-αω* is scarcely ever contracted in the prose writers (*εἰρώτευν* Hdt. III 140 B<sup>2</sup>d). On the genesis of this  $\epsilon o$ , see § 688.

On *χρέομαι*, see § 167.

In adjectival forms:

In adj. of material the orthographically old form is preserved till the latest times; cf. under *E + Ω*, *E + ΟΙ*.

Hdt. *χρύσεος*; *χρύσειον* 114 E 8, Zeleia, Woodl, *Discor. at Ephesus*, App. 6, No. 1, Aphrodisias, 254, of the imperial period, Olbia, 129, 12; Latyshev, *Inscr. antiq. orae septentr. Ponti Euxini*, I, Nos. 50, 54, 57, 59, 61, 63, 64, 70 (after Christ), Samos 220<sub>18</sub>.

*λίβεος* Hdt. III 47; *λίβειω* I 195, but Attic *λινοῦ*, Samos, 220<sub>15</sub>, *λινοῦν* 220<sub>25</sub> (despite *χρύσειον* l. 18). The same inscription, dating from the middle of the fourth century, has *ἀλοργός* l. 23, *-οῦν* l. 22, 30 (cf. Plato, *Timaios*, 68 C). *χάλκεον* appears in Pherekydes of Leros, 33 h, Hellan. 149, which fragment also contains *χαλκοῖς* and *χαλκῇ*. *χάλκεον* Samos, 224, an inscription otherwise Hellenistic. *τῶργυρεῖν* Hrd. 4<sub>ε</sub>, is a unique form.

*ἀφνεός* Theog. 188, 559, *πλέος* in Hdt. with some of the oblique case forms in *πλευ-* (see § 219, 3, and Bredow, p. 154), *ἐπιτήδεος*, *ἐπέτεος*, *βόεος*, *χίρνεος*, adj. in *-λεος* are uncontracted; § 263, 3 b; 311.

Nouns: *ῶεον* Sim. Amorg. 11; *δοστέον* Hdt. probably from *\*δοστειον*, cf. Skt. *ásthi*. *πόλεος*, hy-form of *πόλιος*, with the same inner hiatus which has prevented *φύσεος*, &c. in Attic from

<sup>1</sup> Greg. Corinth. 14 quotes only forms in  $\epsilon o$ .

being regarded as direct descendants of the gen. -εῖος (nom. -ῖς). χρέος, ἀξιώχρεος are not beyond peradventure for \*χρηῖος. If we assume χρη-ῖος, we have the ablaut χρα- in χραισμέω. Cf. § 286, 1.

*Pronouns*: ἐμεῦ Mimn. 14<sub>2</sub>, Archil. 92; μεν Hippon. 62, Anakr. 76, 81; τευ Archil. 110. Herodoteian MSS. have both ἐμέο and ἐμεῦ. The forms in -ευ are to be adopted. See under *Pronouns*. On ἐμεῦ, &c. in Homer, see van Leeuwen, *Mnem.* XIII 188 ff.; 400 ff. δτεύνεκεν occurs in Hrd. 7<sub>102</sub>.

σου, found Hippon. 76, μου 83, ἐμοῦ Arch. 111, are Atticisms to be removed in favour of the forms in ευ or εο. ου in Solon is correct. In Theognis both forms occur, and so in the later elegy and in the Anthology.

### 288.] H + O.

The Ionic dialect early developed an objection to η followed by ο. ηο is sometimes preserved when *f* originally separated the two vowels. It is indifferent whether η = I.E.  $\bar{a}$  or  $\delta$ . Such forms as do not show *metathesis quantitatis* are to be regarded as archaisms: ληόν Hippon. 88; παιήονα Arch. 76<sup>1</sup>; νηός Arch. 4; παρήορος Arch. 56<sub>3</sub> (Hdt. and Attic μετέωρος). Are παρηρία· μωρία and πάρηρος (MSS. πάρερος)· ὁ μωρός in Hesychios Ionic? Ἄρηος Tyrt. 11, (Ἄρηο Arch. 48, according to Fick, for Bergk's Ἄρεω)<sup>2</sup>. On Fick's restoration ἰόληος, &c., see § 160. Elsewhere ηο, whether = I.E.  $\delta\eta o$  or  $\bar{a}\eta o$ , suffers change to εω or εο (ευ): Arch. 58<sub>4</sub>, πλέως(?); Anakr. 94, πλέψ; Hdt. πλέος (πλεο-); § 219, 3. It is not true that ηο <  $\bar{a}o$  became only εω in Ionic, and ηο = pan-Hellenic ηο, only εο. γηοχέοντι Hdt. VII 190 is unusual.

### 289.] E + Ω.

It is a noticeable feature in the history of εω in Ionic, that in early lyric poetry it is not dissyllabic in a single instance, a fact that leads us to doubt whether the pronunciation in ordinary speech was invariably εῶ and not diphthongal<sup>3</sup>. εω in Ionic, when originating from ηο, may at least in certain cases (εῶ) be regarded as a diphthong with three moras: though its ω probably did not contain two moras, as the ε on the other hand may have had greater weight than a simple vowel containing a single mora. That εω is not a pure dissyllable is furthermore evidenced by the fact that it passes into a monophthong when actual contraction results after a vowel, as in the  $\hat{A}$  declension (§ 429, 2). The prose monuments of the dialect, and to a large extent the

<sup>1</sup> Solon, Παιώνος 13<sub>17</sub>. Elsewhere παιών, see § 280. Hrd. 4<sub>11</sub> has Πάηρον, cf. 4<sub>21</sub>; Παιών 4<sub>16</sub>.

<sup>2</sup> *f* is here in each case the intervening consonant. πέληος alone lies outside of this category. On this form, see § 445. In ἀληοῦ Naxos 23 H = open ε.

<sup>3</sup> The view upheld by Bechtel, that ε in εω must have been pronounced because ε appears in -ευ which originated from -εω (§ 287, 1), cannot be accepted until it has been shown that final -εω actually did become -ευ.



inscriptions, often unite in preserving the writing *εω* till a late period of the history of the dialect. The later writers in Ionic retain with considerable consistency the writing *εω*.

*εω* in Ionic comes into existence from *ηο* = pan-Hellenic *ηο*, and from *ηο* = Aiolic and Doric *āο*. As both *ηο*'s become *εο*, so may both appear under the form of *εω*. Cf. the remarks on *E + O*. On the retention in Ionic poetry of *ηο* where the later dialect adopts *εω* or *εο*, see under *H + O*.

1. *εω* after expulsion of *F*.

*εω* may originate from *εφω*, *ηφω*, the *ω* of which is either original or due to contraction; or it may arise from *ηφο* or *ηφω*.

*εω* from *εφω* appears in *νέων* Anakr. 100<sub>3</sub>, *ἀνερεώσατο* Ephesos 147<sub>7</sub>, *ἡδέων* and in all genitives from *ευ/υ* stems, and the corresponding adverbs (*πρηέως* Hippokr. II 676), *Πανταλέων* Iasos 104<sub>50</sub>, *Κλυτιδέων* Chios 183 A 7. *Κλεώνυμος* Smyrna 153<sub>19</sub>, *Thasos* 82 B 9 is from *κλεφο* + *ωνυμος*; on *Ἡρακλεώτης* Eryth. 206 A 38, Halik. 241, see § 219. *εω* is from *ε + οφα* or *ε + αφο* in *νέωτα* Sim. Amorg. 1<sub>9</sub> < *νέφοφα*, not from *νεφοφετα*; *θεωρός* Theog. 805, Samoth. 236, from \**θηωρός* < *θηφαφορός*. *Λεώδεις* Thas. 77 B 4 < *Ληο* + *αδ-* (*Λεάδης* Styra 19<sub>242</sub> is = *Λη(φο)φάδης*).

*εω* from *ηφο* < *αφο* generally remains open. *ξωθεν* Arch. 83, while Mimn. 12<sub>3</sub> has the obsolescent *Ἡώς*; *νεωποιέω* Samos 222; *μετέωρος* Hdt., Hippokr., and Attic, *μετήορος* Hom. In connexion with this word we may mention *ξωρτο* in Hesychios = *ἥορτο*, for which we find *ἄωρτο* Γ 272, Τ 253. Furthermore in *λεωργά* Arch. 88, with which cf. Hesychios' *λαοργός* ἀνόσιος. Σικελοί, and see below p. 265, note. *Λεώς* Hdt., *Ἀρκεσίλεως* Styra 19<sub>15</sub>, *Λεώβριμος* 19<sub>38</sub> show that *ληόν* was antiquated in the time of Hipponax (fr. 88). The change of *ā* to *η* precedes in time the *metathesis quantitatis*.

Diphthongal *εω* appears in *Λεώφιλος* Archil. 69. Cf. names in *Λευ-*, § 160. *κυκεῶνα* Hippon. 43<sub>4</sub> < \**κυκῆον* (cf. *κυκειῶ* Λ 624), *τεθνεώς* Theog. 1192, Hom. *τεθνηώς*, Hdt. *έστεώς*, *τεθνεώς*.

*εω* is derived from pan-Hellenic *ηφο* in *πλέως* Anakr. 94, and perhaps Arch. 58<sub>4</sub>; and in *ιέρω* Olbia 128<sub>23, 23, 51</sub>, from the nominative *ιέρως* Miletos 100<sub>4</sub>, *ιερωσύνη* Attic and Hdt. III 141 (contracted in (Attic?) *ιερωσύνη* Eryth. 206 A 40). It also appears in the genitive of *ηυ* stems (with pan-Hellenic *η*), where Homer has *-ηων*. Later Ionic has *-εων*, Homer *-ηων* and a few cases of *-εων*.

*ω* perhaps from *εω* (original *āφω*).

*ξυνωνή* Arch. 86<sub>2</sub> = *κοινωνία* is from *ξυνέων* = *ξυνήων*, Hsd. Th. 595, 601 = *ξυνᾶφω*, Doric *ξυνάων* and *ξυνάν*, Attic *ξυνών*. *Ποσειδών* is found Archil. 114, to which *Ποσειδέων* is to be preferred (Herod. π. μ. λ. 11, 6, Renner, p. 190). *Ποσειδάωνος*, by conj., Archil. 10; Hdt. has *Ποσειδέων*.

2. *εω* after expulsion of *σ*.



The Ionic genitive in  $-\epsilon\omega$  = Homeric  $-\tilde{a}o$  is represented on the Naxian inscription, No. 23, by  $\eta o$  ( $\Delta\epsilon\iota\nu o\delta\acute{\iota}κ H O$ ), where  $HO$  is a diphthong, whose  $\eta$  is not metrically equivalent to Homeric  $\tilde{a}$  in  $-\tilde{a}o$ .

$-\epsilon\omega$  in the Ionic elegiac and iambic poets is a monosyllable: in Hdt. we have  $\beta o\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega$  for  $\beta o\rho\acute{\epsilon}\epsilon\omega$ , on which see § 429, 2. Upon inscriptions in the fifth century we find only  $-\epsilon\omega$  and  $-\omega$ ; in the following century  $-\epsilon\nu$  comes to light as well as the forms from analogy to the  $-\epsilon s$  declension.  $-\omega$  from  $\epsilon\omega < \eta(\sigma)\iota o$  appears in the forms  $\text{'Αννικῶ}$  Chios, 174 C 13 (fifth century),  $\text{'Ασῶ}$  *ibid.* C 27,  $\text{Πυθῶ}$  *ibid.* D 4,  $\text{Λυσῶ}$  D 17, which are the result of the contraction of  $\epsilon + \omega$  reduced from  $\epsilon\epsilon\omega$ . With  $\text{'Ασίῳ}$ , cf.  $\text{Παυσανίῳ}$  Abdera, 163<sub>16</sub>. These genitives, as Bechtel has shown (*Ion. Insch.* 109, *B. B.* X 280 ff.), do not represent a different period of the dialect from those in  $-\epsilon\omega$ . Those in  $-\epsilon\epsilon\omega$  are probably grammatical figments. Since upon the same inscription (*e.g.* 240) the forms in  $-\epsilon\omega$  and  $-\tilde{\omega}$  occur, since  $-\epsilon\omega$  is a diphthong, and finally, since the  $\epsilon$  of the genitive had not disappeared from the Ionic genitive in the third century B.C.,  $-\epsilon\omega$  and  $-\tilde{\omega}$  must be mere graphical variations of one and the same ending.  $\text{Μυχιέων}$  Naxos, 27,  $\text{'Ερμιέω}$  Chios, 180, and  $\text{'Αγίέω}$  Olbia, 131, 11, are thought by Bechtel to owe their existence to the workings of analogy. As in Attic  $\text{'Αλαιᾶς}$ ,  $\text{Θεσπιᾶς}$  are older than  $\text{'Αλαιέας}$ ,  $\text{Θεσπιέας}$ , so  $\text{'Ασίῳ}$  is older than  $\text{'Ερμιέω}$ ,  $\text{ἀδικιῶν}$  older than  $\text{Μυχιέων}$ . Cf. Dittenberger, *Hermes*, XVI 185.

In  $\text{Παναμύῳ}$  Halik. 238<sub>12</sub>, 240 A 11;  $\text{Πακτύῳ}$  Myl. 248 C 3, 13;  $\text{'Αρχαγορῶ}$  Halik. 240 B 3;  $\text{Μικιννῶ}$  240 A 38;  $\text{Βρώλῳ}$  Ditt. *Syll.* 6 D 22, we have the contraction. After  $\iota$ ,  $\epsilon\omega$  is fused in verbs, *e.g.* in the future.

$\epsilon\omega$  from  $\eta\sigma\omega$ .

$\epsilon\omega$  is diphthongal in the gen. pl.  $\tilde{A}$  declension.  $\alpha\lambda\theta\omicron\text{N}$  Naxos 23, I regard not as =  $\eta\omicron\nu$ , as Fick takes it, *B. B.* XI 268, but as =  $\epsilon\omega\nu$ , the  $H$  expressing the open quality of the  $e$  sound (cf. Dittenberger, *Hermes*, XV 229; Blass, *Aussprache*,<sup>3</sup> 24 ff.). There appears to be no warrant for deriving  $-\epsilon\omega\nu$  from  $-\eta\omicron\nu$ , attested at best in this single instance.

Attic  $-\omega$  arises from  $-\epsilon\omega$  (either from pan-Hellenic  $\eta o$  or Attic-Ionic  $\eta o$ ) when either  $\epsilon$  or  $\omega$  was tonic. Ionic resisted the operation of this law until a late period in its history. Whether accent position ( $\_ \eta o$ -, or  $\eta o \_$ ) should have produced  $\omega o$  is not clear. It is, however, certain that unaccented pan-Hellenic  $\eta o$  became  $\epsilon\omega$ . Cf. Johansson, *B. B.* XV 169.

$\epsilon\omega$ ,  $\epsilon\omega$ , from  $\epsilon\sigma\omega$ .

$\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$  Amorg. 35, epigram, Mimn. 3;  $\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$  Xenoph. 2<sub>11</sub>. Adverbs in  $-\epsilon\omega s$ <sup>1</sup>:  $\alpha\delta\eta\nu\acute{\epsilon}\omega s$  Chios, 174 B 12; Theog. 406,  $\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\mu\alpha\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega s$  (so

<sup>1</sup> Greg. Kor. 451, Vat. 697, Hdn. II 388<sub>22</sub> = schol. § 485.

Demokr. *Mor.* 22, Herodas V), σαφηνέως 963; *μηλεώς* Anakr. 752 (< *μηλεέως*) as Hdt. ἀκλεώς V 77, ἀδεώς I 216 (-έως?); ἀσφαλέως Archil. 58<sub>4</sub>, 66<sub>4</sub>; ἐμμελέως Anakr. 40, if glyconic (but see Rossbach, *Metrik* 563); Hdt. τελέως, ἀληθέως, σαφηνέως, &c. Hippokr. *ξυνεχέως*, ἀτρεμέως (-ῶς occasionally in MSS.), Protag. *μηπενθέως*, Diog. Apoll. 6 ἀτρεκέως (*sic* Simpl., who has however ἐμφανώς in fr. 5), &c. Cf. -ῶ in the genitive from -εω.

εω, εῷ, from εσω in other forms.

In the future of liquid verbs we find εω, never ω, in Herodoteian MSS. Archil., Hipponax and Theognis have ἐρέω. In the participle Hdt. has ἀγγελέων, &c. εἰδέωσιν Halik. 238<sub>21</sub>, Demokr. 87, Attic εἰδῶσιν Ephesos 147<sub>17</sub> (300 B. C.).

θεῶν Arch. tr. 25<sub>1</sub>, Mimn. 2<sub>4</sub>, 9<sub>6</sub>, Xenoph. 1<sub>24</sub>, Solon 4<sub>2</sub>, 13<sub>3</sub>, but θεῶν 13<sub>30</sub>, and Archil. 84<sub>2</sub>, Hipponax 30 A, Anakr. 65<sub>4</sub>. The form with synizesis is found as early as Hesiod, *Th.* 44. In the genitive plural of nouns of the sigmatic declension both -εων and -ῶν occur in poetry, see § 537. The prose form is always open.

3. εω after expulsion of *yod*.

From -ηιο- we have εω in διψέων (-υ-) Archil. 68, διψέωντα Anakr. 57, according to Fick (*B. B.* XI 265), for διψῶντα.

χρέωμαι, the genuine Ionic form (whatever be made of Hdt.'s χρέομαι in *P* from II 77 on) is = \*χρηγομαι. See §§ 167, 687. Hdt. has χρέωνται, ἐχρέωντο, χρεώμενος. From χρῆν, *pronounce*, χρῆσθαι, *interrogate an oracle*, we have in Hdt. χρέωσα, χρεώμενος, ἐχρέωντο (*P* here too ἐχρέοντο V 82, VII 141). From σμῆν, *διασμέωντες* II 37 (Stein, Kallenberg, -σμώντες); hence ἐξέσμεων III 148. If νῆν is the Herodoteian form, we would expect ἐπινέωσι IV 62; if νείν, then ἐπινέουσι.

εῷ from εω in verbs remains uncontracted in the MSS. of the prosaists, though contraction may have ensued by the year 500 B. C. In the poets εω is a monosyllable or is actually contracted. Under the head of *Contract Verbs* are given the forms in εω, εῷ, ω. A few verbs in -αω become -εω (εἰρωτέω, ὀρέω, φοιτέω), § 688. Here too are to be classed participial nouns: προμαχεῶν Hdt. (*προμαχῶνες* Teos, 159<sub>2</sub>, Attic form); Ἀρκέων Styra, 19<sub>11</sub>; Φιλεωνίδ[ε]ος Thasos, 73.

ὀστέων Archil. 84.

πόλεως (occurrences under § 486), a genuine Ionic form, from πόλῃος. Johansson, *B. B.* XV 169, proposes to explain the εω of πόλεως on the theory that if the accent fell upon a syllable preceding or following ηα, εω and not ω, is the result. Cf. Attic γεω- < γη(ι)ο- in λεπτόγεως, γεωμετρία, Hdt. γεωπέλης (Greg. Kor. II 4), γειωπέλης, γεωρυχέω, γεώπεδον (γηοχέω VII 190). -εως from -ηος in the ι decl. is not contracted in any dialect.

Adjectives denoting a material retain the uncontracted<sup>1</sup> form until far into the imperial period. ἀργυρέω Olbia, 129<sub>13</sub>; χρυσέω Ephes. 147<sub>9</sub>, Latyschev, *Inscr. antiq. orae septentr. Ponti Eux.* I, No. 67, Wood, *Discov. at Ephesus*, App. 6, No. 1. But χρυσέω Mimn. 11<sub>6</sub>, and one case of -ῶι, Latyschev, *l. l.* No. 57.

Adjectives in -λεος with but a few exceptions fail to contract any form: ἀργαλέω Tyrt. 12<sub>28</sub>. See § 263, 1, b.

In superlatives from stems in -εο-, e.g. τελεωτάτη Demokr. 128. On Ἡρακλεώτης, &c., see § 219.

In the pronominal declension we find ἡμέων, ὑμέων: see Brugmann, *Gr. Gr.* § 96.

Suffix -εων in ἀνδρεών, ποδεών (Bekk. Anecd. I 8<sub>16</sub>), φαρετρεών, &c. in Hdt., cf. πυλεών Demokr. 60.

4. εω where no consonant intervened:

ἀφέω Hipponax, 75, from \*ἀφήω, cf. Hdt. ἀποστέωσι. In Hdt. the εω of the aorist passive is not contracted (ἀπαιρεθέω, ἐσσωθέωμεν, φανέωσι).

Hyper-Ionic -εων occurs in the gen. of consonantal stems, of οὔτος, in πεπέων Aret. 290, &c. See § 480.

## 290.] H + Ω.

ηω is preserved as an archaic form; e.g. in Ἡώς<sup>2</sup> Mimn. 12<sub>3</sub>, 10<sub>9</sub>, and in Hdt. through the protection offered by F (ἡώς from \*āuswas, K. Z. XXX 422, note 2). On Archil. 83 ἔωθεν, see Bartholomae, K. Z. XXIX 522. Elsewhere H + (F, χ, σ) + Ω becomes εω, whether η = ā or pan-Hellenic η.

## 291.] E + Υ.

The elegy still preserves ἐϋ-, if the possibility of this reading may be regarded as a criterion (ἐυπλοκάμου Arch. 11; ἐυφροσύνη Xenoph. 1<sub>4</sub>; ἐυστεφάνου Theog. 1339; cf. 548, 574), while εὔ is permitted (Archil. 19, Theog. 639, 845, &c.). Iambic poetry records εὔ in εὔφρων Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>99</sub>, εὔτυχεῖ 7<sub>83</sub>, εὔ 1<sub>17</sub>. In Anakr. εὐέθαιρα 76.

## 292.] O + A.

1. of ā.

αὐτώδης according to Apoll. Dysk. *Pron.* 94 C, whereas we read αὐθαδέστεροι Hdt. VI 92<sup>3</sup>. Compounds of ἀναξ: χειρωναξίεων Hdt.; Σιμώνακτος Hippon. 55 B; Ἰππώνακτος Hippon. 13, cf. An. Ox. II 225<sub>34</sub> (Choirob.); Ἀριστώνακτος Chios, 177<sub>15</sub>; Ἑρμῶναξ Iasos, 104<sub>14</sub>, Eryth. 206 B 13; Δημώνακτος 206 B 21, Thas. (L.)

<sup>1</sup> χρυσέω, ἀργυρέω are quoted from Homer as Ionic by Joh. Gr. 242.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Et. M. 440<sub>11</sub>.

<sup>3</sup> αὐθαδέης is from αὐτα-αδής (ἀδης) or αὐτα + ηδής (ἡδης) not, as Aristotle and some moderns think (cf. Wilamowitz, *Herakl.* 1243) from αὐταδέης. See K. Z. XXVIII 130.

4 B 10, 14<sub>3</sub>, Thasos, 81 B 4; Τιμῶναξ Thasos, 75 B 4, Ἀνδρῶνα(ξ) Imh. Bl. *G. M.* 377 (Chios); Μανδρῶναξ Klazom. *l. l.* 257, Ποσιδῶναξ Ephesos, *l. l.* 279 A, Head, *H. N.* 491. It seems not easily credible that in most of these compound proper names the termination -ωναξ should be due to the influence of such names as Πυθῶναξ (which depends upon Πύθων); and that there should be merely an echo of the vocative ὦναξ in the names of the Ionian aristocrats. See Wackernagel, *K. Z.* XXIX 143, who would even set aside χειρῶναξ as an example of the contraction of *of a* to *ω*.

πρῶτος from \*πρωτατος (or perhaps from \*πρωτατος), Keos, 43<sub>10</sub>, Styra, 19<sub>47</sub>. Other examples of *of a* = *ω* are κυματώγη Hdt. IV 196, IX 100, ὥσι Anakt. 21<sub>4</sub> < \*δατσι, Hom. οὔατ- < οὔσατ-, οὔασι Sim. K (?) 85<sub>4</sub>. See § 255 and Schmidt's *Neutra*, p. 407. On Hippokr. ὥσις (ὀτίς) VI 356, see Littré.

*o(f)a* uncontracted in ἀκήκοα. νεοάλωτοι Hdt. IX 120 is felt to be a compound.

## 2. οσᾶ

= *ω* in κακίω Archil. 6<sub>4</sub>; κρέσσω Anakt. 3<sub>3</sub>; ἀμείνω Theog. 409 [πλείω 907, not certain]. Hdt. has ἐλάσσω, καλλίω, ἀμείνω, πλέω, &c., as well as the *ν* forms. Hdt. αἰδῶ I 8 (Greg. Korinth. § 35, says αἰδοῦν is Ionic); ἦῶ Hdt. II 8.

3. *Crasis* (cf. Greg. Korinth. § 29): ὀπόλλων Hippon. 45, τῶντικνήμειον Hippon. 49<sub>0</sub>, τῶρχαῖον, ὠνήρ, τῶγαλμα, τῶληθές in Hdt, ὠνθρωπος often in Hippokr. render ᾄμ, Thasos, 68 A, very noticeable, if Fick (*G. G. A.* 1883, 126) is correct in regarding it as = *δ ᾄμ*. *o + a* results in *a* in Eleian, Argolic, Korinthian, and in other dialects of the Doric class. In Attic we find *a* in Ἀθηναῖος, τᾶγαλμα *Mitth.* III, p. 230, 5 (before 343 B. C.), and also *ω* in πρῶτος<sup>1</sup>, τῶγάλματος C. I. A. I 322 A 75 (transcribed by Kirchhoff τοῦ(ᾰ)γ-). The parallelism of Attic and Ionic makes it probable that *o + a* may become *ω* and *a*. Ἀμοιβίχου = *δ Ἀμ*- Abu-Simbel (Roberts I 130) cannot be cited as evidence, since the name is not that of an Ionian. Absence of crasis is frequent upon the inscriptions; e. g. τὸ ἄδος Halik. 238<sub>19</sub>.

*oi + a* in ὦλλοι: ὦλλοι μὲν ῥα αἱ τοιαῦται συναλοῖται τῆς δευτέρας εἰσὶν ἰάδος, ἢ Ὅμηρος οὐκ ἐχρήσατο<sup>2</sup>: Schol. Apoll. Rhod. A 998, 1081 refers the form to the νεωτέρα ἰάς. Cf. Theokritos, XVIII 17. ὦλλοι Hdt. I 48, ὠνθρωποι VII 11, ὠνδρες IV 134; *ou + a* in τῶπόλλωνος Chalkis 13<sub>12</sub>, Halik. 238<sub>30</sub>, Naukratis, e. g. I 6, 68-70, 72, 74, 76-79, 81-83, 139-141 (but τᾰπόλλωνος 156 158, 250, 257-258, &c.); τῶγῶνος Teos 156 B 32; but τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος

<sup>1</sup> Unless πρῶτος is for \*πρωτατος.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Hdn. II 344, = Et. Mag. 821<sub>10</sub>. The form ἄλλοι is found in MSS. of Homer, and was read by Zenod. B 1, K 1, but rejected by Aristarchos in favour of ἄλλοι because of his belief as to the absence of the article from Homer; see § 258 on Aristarchos' ἄριστοι.

Amphip. 10<sub>13</sub>, Eretria 15<sub>16</sub>, Milet. 98, τοῦ Ἀφύσιος Halik. 238<sub>14</sub>. With τὰ πόλλων[ος] in the inscriptions of Naukratis, cf. δμ above. τὰνθρώπου in *PRd* Hdt. II 121 (ζ) and τὰληθές in *PR* VII 139 are not easy to defend. In Hrd. 4<sub>12</sub> τοῦ ἀλέκτορος is *scriptio plena*.

### 293.] O + Ā.

In accus. pl. of Ā stems o + ā < avs remains uncontracted.

### 294.] Ω + A.

Σῶνδρος Amorg. 32 is rather from <σωχ=σω before vowels (Spitzer, *Lautil. des Arkad.* 43, 44) than from σασο. See § 277. Ὀρίων Miletos 93 (Pindar Ὀαρίωνα) and in Homer, though Nauck proposes to substitute Ὀαρίων- for Ὀρίων-. Cf. Menrad, p. 13. ζῳάγρια Hdt. III 36 recalls Σ 407; elsewhere ζωγ- with accented ω.

The MSS. of Hdt. have both ἥρωα, μήτρωα, and, by analogy to the vowel declension, ἥρων, πατρων.

By *crasis*: ὠνθρωπε Hdt. I 35, Theog. 453; ὠναξ Anakr. 2, Hdt. IV 150, 155, VII 141, ὠνδρες Hrd. 2<sub>61</sub>; τὼ πόλλωνι Miletos 96, 97, Naukratis, Roberts I 132 *ter*, and very many times in the inscriptions discovered at Naukratis; τὼ κινάκη Anakreon 136 (Et. Mag. 514<sub>22</sub>). The article does not coalesce with the following word in τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι Naukr. I 2, 345-6, Milet. 93; τῷ Ἀπολλ[ωνί]ω Halik. 238<sub>46</sub>, an inscription that refuses to adopt crasis.

*Synizesis*: ἐγὼ Ἀμφυταίην Hrd. 54.

### 295.] O + E.

1. ofe yields oe and ou in the poets. Arch. ἱμερόεντα 8, στονόεντα 9<sub>1</sub>, αἱματόεν 9<sub>8</sub>, χρυσοέθειρ 121; Mimn. ἀλγινόεσσαν 11<sub>2</sub>, αἱματόεντος 14<sub>7</sub>; Anakr. ἐρόεσσαν 17<sub>2</sub>, δακρυόεσσαν 31, δακρυόεντα 94<sub>2</sub>, κεροέσσης 51<sub>2</sub>; Xenoph. ἀλγινόεσσαν 2<sub>4</sub>; Phokylides ἱμερόεντος 3<sub>8</sub>. ἀνθεμεῦντας (ου?) Anakr. 62<sub>2</sub>, χαριτεῦν 44 (ου? or, preserving χαρίεν, read χ. γὰρ ἦθος (ἰσχεῖς)), Βαρουσιάδης Arch. 104<sub>2</sub> < Βαρούς = Βαρόεις, are the only examples of contraction in forms of -οεις; see § 314. In Homer -οεις does not become -οῦς, hence Aristarchos' λωτοῦντα M 283 is suspicious. There is evidence making for the late date of the passage.

In the compound τε(σ)σερακαιεβδο[μη]ροντούτης Paros 58, ofe is contracted; cf. Arrian's τεσσαρακούντεες 9<sub>8</sub>, τριακοντούτεες 9<sub>7</sub>. In the adjectival and participial formations: Τειχιού(σ)σης Miletos 28 (Τειχιοφετης); Μαραθούντα Eryth. 201<sub>28</sub>; θανούσαν 264, Adesp., στέγουσαν Keos 47<sub>12</sub>; Φωικοῦσαι Hek. (Steph. Byz. s. v.), Ἑρμῶνοσσα Chios 174 A 2, 4 has been read by Blass -νουσσα, but is properly an example of vowel assimilation; in Hdt. Οἰνούσαι, Σελινούσιοι, Ὀπούντιοι, Συρακούσιοι (on Συρακόσιος see above, § 255). oe remains open in Μολόεντα Hdt.



IX 57, Μυρικόεντα Hek. 209, Σολόεντος Hdt. II 32, Αλγιοέσσα I 149, μελιτόεσσα VIII 41, Σκολοπόειτα IX 97, τριηκοντοέτιδας VII 149, but these are all forms out of date in Hdt.'s day. *oe* also remains open in εὐνοέστερον Hdt. V 24, Hrd. 6<sub>72</sub>.

The concurrence of a stem in *ε/ο* and *-εργα-* or *-φεντ-*, as the latter member of a compound, is dealt with in the dialects in different ways. The original ablaut form, *-Forγός*, gave way at an early period to *-φεργός*, as is shown by Homeric δημοεργός ρ 383. See Curtius' *Studien*, VIII 213; §§ 149, 150 above; *A. P. A.* XVIII 95, 158; Meister, *G. D.* II 41, to whom I owe much of the material given below; Bennett 28 ff.; Johansson *D. V. C.* 19 ff.

I. The vowels are uncontracted.

ὄβριμοεργῶν Kallin. 3; ἀγαθοεργῶν Hdt. I 67, ἀγαθοεργίην III 160, ἀγαθοεργίαι III 154 in *PR*; δημοεργοί VII 31, and so the editors in IV 194, despite all the MSS. It is not easily credible that the Ionic of the fifth century should have differentiated between ἀγαθοεργός and κακούργος. Either the forms were open or they were closed. But exceptions might be made in favour of ἀγαθοεργοί, δημοεργοί if used as technical expressions. λυκιοεργέας Hdt. VII 76 (*sic* Athenaios; *PR* λυκοεργέας, *reliqui* λυκερ-; cf. below III B); Σελινόεντ[ι] Selinus C. D. I. 3045 A 9; Ὀπόεντι Lokris, C. D. I. 1478 B 33; Μυρικόεντα Hekat. 209; παντοέρκτεω Herodas 542.

II. The vowels are contracted.

(A) *ο + ε* becomes *ου*.

On forms in Hdt., see above.

παναλουργέα Xenoph. 33; Λυκούργος Styra 19<sub>16</sub> and Chios (Paspas. p. 39); κακούργος, κρεουργηδόν, ὑπουργέω, ξυλουργέω Hdt. (Stein, *Preface*, lii); ἐπικαιουργεῖν Dem. *Mor.* 20<sub>17</sub>; ἐριουργῆσαι *Vita Hom.* 4; ξοανουργίης Luk. *Syr.* 34; μουσουργίη *Astr.* 10, *Vit. auct.* 3; λειτουργοί, δημιουργικόν Arrian 12<sub>1</sub>; ὑπουργήματα Euseb. *Mynd.* 10; κακούργων Hipp. III 238; ὑπουργῆσαι Hipp. *ep.* 14<sub>1</sub>. Τηιουργός, Μιλησιουργής, Χιουργής, in the inventory of the temple of the Delian Apollo (*B. C. H.* VI 29 = Ditt. *Syll.* 367) are too late (185-180 B.C.) to be cited as evidence. So too in North-West Greek, δαμιουργός Phokis (Ditt. *Syll.* 294<sub>30</sub>), of the second century B.C., Argolic, *l. l.* 389<sub>28</sub>, δαμιουργήσας Kameiros in Rhodes, *Revue Arch.* XIV 336, No. 59; Lokris, Ὀπούντιοι C. D. I. 1503, 1504. A 2, B 2, 1505, 1509 B, 1510 (Hdt. VII 203), Ὀποῦντι 1502<sub>3</sub> (all late inscriptions); Σελινοῦντιος C. D. I. 3044, Megara (so Bechtel edits, but in his note suggests Σελινοῦντ-). The Megarian dialect contracted *ο + ε* to *ου* even in an early period (the inscription is written βουστροφηδόν). The uncontracted form too held its ground in Selinus (above I).

Contraction to *ev* has been assumed on the strength of *Καρικευργέος* *Anakr.* 91, as written by Bergk for Strabo's *Καριοεργ-*. This contraction belongs in the same class as *ἐδικαλέων* with hyper-Ionic *ev*, § 690. The form is handed down with *-οεργέος* by Eust. 367<sub>25</sub>, 707<sub>61</sub>, Et. Gud. 297<sub>45</sub>, schol. *Iliad* Θ 193 (where *καριοεργέος* is also read, see III B below); cf. Et. Mag. 489<sub>20</sub>, where *Flor.* adds *καριοεργ-*.

*Λεουργός*, Doric according to Photios for Attic and Ionic *Λεωργός* (*Archil.* 88, *Prometh.* 5, *Xen. Mem.* I 3, 9), is a mistaken form. With *Λεωργός* compare the adv. *λέως* which the grammarians called Ionic. *Archil.* 112 has *Λείως* = *τελέως*.

(B) *o + ε* becomes *ω* according to some scholars (Roehl, G. Meyer, Blass) where syllabic hyphaeresis and lengthening of the first vowel are preferable. *ω* is however certain in: *ἀμπελωργικά* *Herakl. Tables* II 43; *Τελφῶσσα*, a spring in Boiotia (*Ahrens* I 173) and elsewhere (see Pape). But the usual form is *Τελφούση*, and *ου* appears in *Τελφούσιον* *St. Byz.*, *Τέλφουσα* in *Arkadia*, *Τελφούσιος*, &c.

III. In the following forms it has been thought that either *ε* or *ο* has been expelled. Some of the cases of the supposed loss of *ε* may be explained as arising from *-ο + Forγ, ὄργ* being lightened to *οργ*, as *ὄντ* to *-οντ*<sup>1</sup>.

(A) *ε* is expelled in *ἀλοργήν* *Samos* 220<sub>15</sub>, 16, 19, *ἀλοργά* 220<sub>36</sub>, *ἀλοργοῦς* 220<sub>23</sub>, *ἀλοργοῦν* 220<sub>22</sub>, 30, *ἀλοργάς* 220<sub>28</sub>, *παραλοργές* 220<sub>21</sub>, *δημιοργοῦ* 220<sub>29</sub>. *ἱοργίαι* is the reading of *ABC* in *Hdt.* V 83, where *ἱουργίαι* is usually edited. *δημιοργῶν* *Samos*, *R. M.* XXII, 313, l. 1. In the other dialects we find *δαμοργός* *Andania*, *Cauer* 47<sub>116</sub>, first century; *Megara*, *Mitth.* VIII 191, No. 5, *Cauer* 104<sub>19</sub> (*Aigosthenai*, third century); *Knidos*, *Cauer* 166<sub>7</sub> (first cent.); *Kameiros*, *Cauer* 187<sub>1</sub> (conj.)<sup>2</sup>; *Astypalaia*, *B. C. H.* VIII 26 B 7, 8 (in an inscription from *Amorgos*); *Telos*, *Cauer* 169<sub>2</sub>; *Argos*, *Cauer* 48 (conj., fifth cent.); *Arkadia*, *C. D. I.* 1181<sub>9</sub> (third cent.), *B. C. H.* VII 489; *Boiot.*, *Mitth.* VI 304<sub>3</sub>, 9; *Achaia* (*Ditt. Syll.* 182<sub>13</sub> (second cent.), 242<sub>21</sub> (second cent.)), *B. C. H.* II 97, l. 16; *Lokrian*, *C. D. I.* 1476<sub>23</sub>; *Oianthea*, *C. D. I.* 1479<sub>18</sub> (fifth cent.), 1480 (fifth cent.), *Pamphylia*, *C. D. I.* 1260 (late), 1261 (late). Cf. *Dumont, Cér.* 138 ff. Also in *Ὀλόντιοι* in *Krete*, *C. I. G.* 2554<sub>3</sub>, *Ὀ]ποντίων* *C. D. I.* 1478<sub>11</sub>, cf.<sub>14</sub> (fifth cent.), as we find *ΟΠΟΝΤΙΟΝ* on the older coins (*Ὀπόεντι*<sub>33</sub>); *Σελινόντιος*, as *Bechtel* proposes to read *C. D. I.* 3044, *Selinus* instead of *-ουντιος*.

(B) *ο* is expelled.

*δαμιοργός* *Nisyros*, *Ditt. Syll.* No. 195, (about 200 B.C.);

<sup>1</sup> This lightening of long vowel before the two consonants is here not due to the operation of the old principle which effected this change. In the late dialectal period of the language the old principle was resuscitated after having fallen into abeyance.

<sup>2</sup> For *δαμιοργήσαι*.

λινεργής Lykophr. 716. Both are doubtless due to the influence of ἔργον. Cf. § 149. On Καριεργέος, see II B, note.

1. In infinitives of -ω verbs, ο + *φεν* (or *σεν*) or ο + spurious *ει* has invariably yielded ου. ὀρκοῦν Halik. 238<sub>26</sub>; βεβαιοῦν 240<sub>4, 5</sub>; also ο + *φεν* = ου as in δοῦ(ν)αι Priene 144<sub>8</sub>; διδοῦν Oropos 18<sub>21, 22</sub>; Thasos 72<sub>11</sub>. ῥιγοῦν Hdt. V 92 (η) = Attic ῥιγῶν (ῥιγω + *εν*); ῥιγοῦν occurs after Plato. We should expect ῥιγῶν in Hdt.

2. οσε.

Becomes ου regularly; e.g. μέλους Xenoph. 3<sub>4</sub>; ἀμείρους V 78, πλέους II 8 (πλείους R. A.) 120 (πλείους in all MSS.) are the only contracted forms in Hdt. of the nom. pl. of these comparatives. Compounds of ἔχω (-οχο-) are always contracted, e.g. πατροῦχος Hdt. VI 57.

3. οξε.

In verbs in -ω, οξε invariably becomes ου. See under *Conjugation*.

4. Κλεομπόρου Lampsakos 171 is from κλεο + ἔμπορος.

5. *Crasis*: in lyric poetry: προῦθηκε Arch. trim. 38; τοῦπίθημα Hippon. trim. 56; προῦπιτεν Hippon. trim. 39<sub>8</sub>; προῦδωκα Theog. 529; προ- is not contracted in the Ionic of Hdt. Lukian, *Syr.* 24, Hippokr. ep. 17<sub>34</sub>, Herodas 31<sub>2</sub> have προῦ-; but Arrian, *Ind.* 22<sub>2</sub>, 34<sub>4</sub>, Euseb. *Mynd.* 21, 41, Hippokr. ep. 27<sub>12</sub>, προε-. *Crasis* occurs also in οὔτερος Hdt. I 34, 134, III 78 (*ἢ ὁ ἔτ-*); τοὔτερον Hdt. I 32, 186, τοὔτέρου Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>13</sub>, and also in Hippon. 18<sub>3</sub>, where in Vit. 2 it is glossed by ἰωνικῶς (a striking example of the *crasis* of ἕτερος in Attic is οὔτερος in Aristotle's *Ἀθην. πολιτ.*); τοῦργον Herodas 4<sub>32</sub>, 71<sub>21</sub>; τοῦναντίον Euseb. *Mynd.* 2; but τὸ ἐλάχιστον Hdt. II 13, τὸ ἔσχατον VII 229, τὸ ἑδάφος VIII 137, though *crasis* is probable. ου + ε in τοῦρμοκράτεος Prokon. 103<sub>2</sub>; οὔνεκ' Sol. trim. 37<sub>8</sub>, Theog. 854, 1349, οὔνεκεν Herodas 1<sub>34</sub>, 2<sub>21</sub>, 6<sub>15</sub>; τοὔνεκα Theog. 488, Luk. *Syr.* 33, 39, 54, τοὔνεκεν Xenoph. 2<sub>19</sub>. This ου is not a diphthong.

6. *Arphaeresis* occurs in ποταμοῦ 'πανέρχομαι Anakt. 23, κοῦ 'στιν Herodas 5<sub>9</sub>. *Synizesis* in προεσπονῇ Sim. Amorg. 22.

## 296.] O + H.

1. ofη.

ofη is always uncontracted in compounds the stem of whose first member ends in -ο, e.g. κακοηθία Demokr. *Mor.* 22, according to Stobaios, χειροήθης Hdt. II 69, νοῆρες Hrd. 7<sub>3</sub>.

ofη also remains open in ἀθρόην Arch. 35, &c. ζόη Hdt., Hrd. 4<sub>34</sub>, 68, Aiolic ζότα < ζω-.

ofη = ω in ὀγδωκονταίτη Sol. 20<sub>4</sub>. The vocalic sequence in ὀγδοήκοντα not lending itself to the verse, the poets use ὀγδώκοντα, e.g. B 568, Sim. Keos 146<sub>2</sub>, 147<sub>6</sub>; cf. ὀγδοήκοντα Kaibel *Epigr.*

120<sub>3</sub>. Hdt. has *ὀγδώκοντα* and so Arrian 10<sub>8</sub> (-σηκοντα Dübner). On this form in Ionic, see Eust. on B 568. The contraction ensued through the influence of *ὀκτώ*: cf. *τετρώκοντα*, *πριῶ* (*πριόη*) in the Herakl. Tables. See § 207.

In the verbs *βοάω*, *νοέω*: Hippon. trim. 1<sub>1</sub> has *ἐβωσε* (cf. Hesych., Suid.) for *ἐβόησε* of the MSS.; Anakr. 60 *ἐπίβωτον*, Hdt. *βῶσαι*, *ἐβώσθη*, Hrd. *βῶσαι* for *βώση* 3<sub>23</sub>, *βῶσον* 4<sub>41</sub>, 45. In Homer we find *ἐπιβώσομαι*, *βώσαντι*: in Theokr. XII 35 *ἐπιβῶται*: Hesychios records *βωθέοντες*, *βώσομαι*. From *νοέω* (Greg. Kor. § 94, Eust. on B 568, Et. M. 601<sub>20</sub>): Hdt. *ἐννώσας*, -αντα, *νωσάμενος* Theog. 1298 [*νώσωνται* was a former conjecture in Sim. Am. 1<sub>17</sub>], *ρενωμένος* Anakr. 10. Demokr. *νώσαιτο* is attested by Philodemos *De Ira*. According to the monuments the contraction is sporadic, Anakr. 100<sub>2</sub> (eleg.) having *ἐβόησε*, Hdt. *βοητός*, Teos *βοηγιῶν*, *Mitth.* XVI 292, Sol. 13<sub>67</sub> *προνοήσας*, 16<sub>1</sub> *νοῆσαι*, as pseudo-Hippokr. *περὶ τέχνης* and often in Hdt., who has also *νόημα*, *νοήμων*: Lukian, *Astr.* 17 has *ἐπενοήσαντο*.

There is no ground for the contention that there are themes in *νω* and *βω* comparable to Homeric and Herodoteian *ζέω*, and that these, not the contracted *νοη* and *βωη*, are the base of the forms adduced above. See Merzdorf in Curtius' *Studien*, VIII 221.

*βοηθέω* (or *βοηθεόω*) = Aiolic *βᾶθήμι* seems to be genuine Ionic despite the Hesychian *βωθεῖν* (*βωθέοντες*) which Kirchhoff holds to be the proper form. See Veitch a. c. Hdt. has *βοηθείς* (-εῖς?) *βοήθες* (-εῖ?) *ἐβοήθησε*: Erythrai 204<sub>11</sub> (middle of fourth century B.C.) has *βοηθήσω*. *βοηθεῖ* occurs in pseudo-Hippokr. *περὶ τέχνης*.

Kratinos and Aristophanes have preserved instances of the contraction of *βοέω* in the common, every-day speech of Athens. *βο[ι]ηθήσαντες* in C. I. A. II 121<sub>11</sub> (338 B.C.) contains the glide *i* (§ 220). In later Greek (Ptochoprodromus II 104) *βέθεα* is read.

## 2. *οἶη*.

Contracted in *ἀλλογνώσας* Hdt. I 85, perhaps through influence of *ἀγνώμων*, *ἀγνωμοσύνη*. *μισθώτον* is from *μισθόητον*: but *μισθοῖς*, *μισθοῖ* are indic. forms used as subj. Hdt. uses neither *διπλόη* nor *διπλή*, but Hippokrates has *διπλόη* as a substantive (cf. Bekk. *Anecd.* I 25<sub>12</sub>).

## 297.] Ω + E and Ω + H.

### 1. *ωφε*.

*ἥρωες* in Samos 225, and in prose literary monuments, represents a class of forms that is never contracted.

*ῥέον* Sim. Amorg. 11. Cf. *ῥῶιον* in Sappho 112; *ῥόν* in Hdt. II 68 (Stein, though many MSS. omit the *iota*); Hesychios quotes *ῥβεα* as Argolic.

*Apheeresis* occurs in *ῶ 'ταῖρε* Arch. tetr. 85, *ῶ 'ραννέ* Anakr. 93 (cf. Sappho 77, 88), *τῶ 'τέρψ* Hrd. 3<sub>73</sub>.



2.  $\omega + \eta$  in  $\pi\rho\omega\nu$  Hrd. 5<sub>42</sub> as in Kallimachos. Homer has  $\pi\rho\phi\eta\nu$ , Hdt.  $\pi\rho\omega\tau\eta\nu$ .

### 298.] O + I.

#### 1. $o\phi$ .

Becomes  $oi$  and  $oi$  in Ionic poetry:  $\delta i\zeta\upsilon s$  Arch. 52,  $\delta i\zeta\upsilon\rho\omega\nu$  Theog. 65; and so we generally read in Ionic prosaists.  $oi$  in  $\delta i\zeta\upsilon\rho\omega\nu$  Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>50</sub>,  $\delta i\zeta\upsilon\nu$  Hrd. 7<sub>30</sub>;  $\tau\rho i\sigma\sigma\iota\zeta\upsilon\rho\eta\nu$  in Archil. 129 shows that about 700 B. C.  $oi$  could become  $oi$ .  $\kappa\alpha i\lambda\omega\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha$  Anakr. 9<sub>2</sub> (cf. M. Schmidt, *Rh. Mus.* XX 304).

$\delta i\omega\nu\acute{o}s$ , not  $\delta i\omega\nu\acute{o}s$  in Theog. 545, Solon 13<sub>56</sub> and Hdt. That  $\delta i\omega$  in Homer has no trace of any meaning but 'think' is an objection to Hinder's etymology (*K. Z.* XXVII 607), which refers  $\delta i\omega < \delta\acute{\epsilon}\omega$  to  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\omega$  *bird*, a word that lies at the base of  $\delta i\omega\nu\acute{o}s$ .

$ois$ : monosyllabic nouns that contain a diphthong, separated originally by  $\phi$ , are in Homer generally dissyllabic in the nominative and accusative cases, but refuse to admit the diaeresis in the oblique cases. This holds good in Ionic poetry as late as the sixth century, at least in the case of  $\pi\alpha i s$ .  $\acute{o}i s \acute{o}i s$ ,  $\acute{o}i\nu \acute{o}i s$ , are the rule in Homer; but in the other cases both  $oi$  and  $oi$  occur. For the later Ionic it is difficult to say which form should have the preference, on account of the paucity of poetical forms.  $\acute{o}i os$  is a conjecture of Schweighauser adopted by Bergk in Anan. 5<sub>4</sub>, where Casaubon read  $\acute{o}i\acute{o}s$ ; otherwise we have no evidence.  $\acute{o}i$  is called by Aristoph., *Peace* 930, an  $\iota\omega\nu i\kappa\acute{o}\nu \rho\eta\mu\alpha$ . Stein (*Preface*, liii) maintains that  $\acute{o}i s$ ,  $\acute{o}i\epsilon os$  are the correct Herodoteian forms, and Bredow (p. 173) writes  $oi$  in all cases, even in  $\acute{o}i\sigma\pi\eta$ ,  $\acute{o}i\epsilon\eta\sigma i$ . If  $\pi\alpha i s$  is the Ionic form of the fifth century, it is difficult to see why Bechtel's  $\acute{o}i\nu$  Thasos 68 A is not correct.

$\acute{o}i\sigma\tau\acute{o}s$ <sup>1</sup> is written in Hdt. by Bredow and Stein, but incorrectly as I think;  $\Lambda\eta\tau\acute{o}\delta\eta s$  Theog. 1120, where  $-oi\delta\eta s$  is metrically possible;  $\acute{\alpha}\theta\rho\acute{o}i\zeta\omicron\mu\alpha i$  Archil. 60, 104.

$\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\pi\rho\acute{o}i\zeta\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha i$  Hdt. (cf.  $\pi\rho\acute{o}i\sigma\sigma\omicron\mu\alpha i$  Arch. 92, 130);  $\pi\rho\acute{o}i\kappa\alpha$  Mykonos 92<sub>15, 21, 22</sub>, &c. (Makedonian period). Ionic is  $\pi\rho\acute{o}i\kappa\alpha$ , according to Et. Mag. 495<sub>33</sub>, An. Par. IV 55<sub>12</sub>; the form  $\pi\rho\acute{o}i\zeta$  is read in the spurious Hipponaktian fragment 72<sup>2</sup>. Cf. also Orion 82<sub>21</sub> who accents the form  $\pi\rho\acute{o}i\kappa\alpha$ .

#### 2. $o\sigma i$ .

$\acute{\alpha}l\delta\acute{o}i\eta\nu$  in an epigr. in Bechtel's collection, adesp. 264<sub>2</sub>;  $\acute{\alpha}l\delta\acute{o}i\epsilon os$  Archil. 63<sub>1</sub>.

### 299.] $\Omega + I$ .

Except in suffix syllables ( $-\acute{\omega}i\acute{o}s$ ),  $\omega$  before  $i$  is preserved as an

<sup>1</sup> Tzetz. *Ex. H.* 101.

<sup>2</sup> On the relation of  $\pi\rho\acute{o}i\sigma\sigma\omicron\mu\alpha i$  to  $\pi\rho\acute{o}i\sigma\tau\eta s$ , see Ascoli *Krit. Stud.* p. 332<sub>11</sub> (Germ. ed.), Fick, *B. B.* VIII 330.



archaism in the earlier phases of Ionic poetry by the echo of the lost *F*, as in *λωίων* Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>30</sub> (the personal use, which is not epic); *λώιον* Theog. 424, 690, as in Homer; *λώιος* 800, *λώϊα* 853, but *λῶα* 96 (see Bergk on v. 800); *θωϊή* Arch. 109 = *θωή*, Attic *θωά* (cf. Lokrian *θῶϊ* 'ἔστω, or *θωιήστω*, in ΘΟΙΕΣΤΟ, C. D. I. 1479<sub>9</sub>; *ἀθώιον* Thasos 71<sub>8</sub>); *ζώτων* Sim. Amorg. 13<sub>2</sub>, the only instance of the open form (cf. *ῥεον* in Sim.), elsewhere *ζῶον*, as in Hdt. Some MSS. have *ζῶιον* or *ζῶον*: cf. Lukian, *Astr.* 6, 10, where *ζῶα* is read, and see *M. U.* I 8. *φῶϊδας* is, according to Renner p. 186, to be read in Hipponax 59; Bergk's *φῶδας* is however the correct form. The fact that all Attic inscriptions before 100 B.C. have *σῶζω* renders more surprising the fact that in the MSS. of Hdt. the *iota* does not appear. In Homer we have *σῶζων* (ε 490). There can be no doubt that in Hdt. *σῶζω* is to be read.

Adjectives in *-ωϊος*: *πατρώϊος* (Greg. Korinth. p. 441, quoting Homer) Theog. 521, and in three epigrams on inscriptions (Delos 53<sub>3</sub>, 264 unc. loc., Latyshev II 37); *πατρώας* Theog. 888, 1210, and so often in MSS. of Hdt. though *ωϊ* is ordinarily held to be genuine Ionic of the fifth century. In Naukratis II 743 the open form *Zωιλος* or *Zωίλος* is certain. The absence of the additional *iota* in the case of *Τρωίλος* 816 and *Zωίλος* 825 does not show that the combination *ωι* of these forms was differently pronounced from that in 743. Thus we read *πατρώϊος*, *μητρώϊος*, *ἡρώϊος* in Hdt. (Bred. 175); *ἡρώϊον* Eryth. 201<sub>8</sub> (cf. *ἡρωϊ*): *πρωτήν* Hdt. VIII 6 (Attic *πρώην*, but Herodas *πρῶν* 5<sub>82</sub>), as *πρωί* Hdt. IX 101, Hipp. II 682. From the MSS. of Hdt. it is impossible to determine beyond doubt whether *-ωϊος* or *-φος* was the actual form. Most editors write the forms as given above, while for φ a preference of the MSS. may be made out in the case of *ἡφός* Hdt. VII 157 (= *ἡοίος* IV 100, 160), a poetical word used by the historian, 'Αχελῶος<sup>1</sup>, *Τρωάς*, *Κῶος* (on *Κέος*, see above, § 286), *ῥόν*. In Homer we find *Τρώϊος* (but *Τρωή*), 'Αχελώϊος (cf. C. D. I. 1199). Is *πρώϊρα* Et. M. 692<sub>33</sub> (Hdn. *πρώειρα*) Ionic?

### 300.] I + E.

*ισε* does not contract in *ιερ-* in Hdt.'s *ἀρχιερεύς*, *καλλιερέω*, *ἱερώνυμος*. As regards *ιερός* the MSS. of Hdt. have *ιε* in the majority of instances, but *ῑ* in some cases without any variant. Hekataios 284 has *ιρή* but immediately before *ιερόν* (both in the MSS.), Herakl. *ἀνιερωστί* 125, Hellan. *ιερόν* 150. The closed form derives a weak support from Greg. Korinth. (§ 66)<sup>2</sup>, who states that *ιε* = *ῑ* in Ionic, but in § 67 quotes *ιερέας* from Hdt.

<sup>1</sup> Perinthos 234 B 23 and a Samian coin in Brit. Mus. Num. Chron. 1882, 255 (Head H. N. 517), have 'Αχελώϊος.

<sup>2</sup> *ιρεός*, *ιρηξ*; *ιρός* Joh. Gr. 241 B, Gram. Meerm. 654; *ιρεός* Eust. 515<sub>π</sub>, cf. 1623<sub>α</sub>; *ιρηξ* Eust. 920<sub>α</sub>, 1248<sub>α</sub>, 1734<sub>π</sub>; Phavor. on *ιστία*.

The text of Herodotos, in reproducing the occurrence of both Homeric forms, cannot *per se* be held to guide us to the genuine Ionic form in use in the fifth century. Arrian has *λεπήα* 18<sub>12</sub>. Hippokratic MSS. generally prefer *λερός*, and Littré regards this as the correct form; *ιρός* (*εἰρός*) however occurs (cf. *R. M.* XLII, 439, note 1) in *περὶ φυσῶν* 14 (VI 110) in *A*, and often in *περὶ λεπῆς νόσου* in *θ*. The testimony of the poets is without great weight: Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>56</sub> *ιρά* with *v. l.* *λερά*, though *υ υ* for *-* is not here permitted according to Fick; 24<sub>2</sub> *ιρωστί* is nothing but a conjecture; Anan. 1<sub>3</sub> *ιερῶν* (a very obstinate passage), *ιερ*-Archil. 18, Solon 4<sub>12</sub>, Theog. 545. Apoll. *Adv.* p. 162, (Schn.) says that *ιρωστί* was the form used by Anakr. (149). Here *A* has *ιρωστί*, *δ* the form with *ιρ-*, cf. Trypho frag. 69. Immediately below in Apoll. *ιρωστί* is to be read with *Δδ*, not *ιρωστί* with Uhlig. In 124 *ιρόν* occurs, but the frag. does not belong to the Teian poet; in 16<sub>3</sub> the MSS. have *ιρόν*, for which *ιρόν* is now read. Herodas has *ιρ-* 479, 83, 87, 94. In the inscriptions we find but few cases of *ιρ-*, but these occur in the three geographical divisions of Ionic: *ἱρομνήμων* Abdera 163<sub>7</sub>, before 400 B.C.<sup>1</sup>; *ἱρή*, or *ἱρή* 267 adesp., cf. Il. IX 150 and An. Ox. IV 412<sub>10</sub>; Amphip. 10<sub>13</sub>, *ιρόν* (367 B.C.), a sure proof that *ιρ* is Ionic; IHPON, for HIPON = *ιρόν*, Thasos 70, *ιρόν* 71<sub>9</sub>, (*ι*)*ρεῖ* 71<sub>11</sub> (but *λερέα* l. 7). *ιερ-* or *ιερ-* is far more frequently attested:—

500–400 B.C.: Eretr. 15<sub>14, 19</sub>, Oropos 18 (18 times), Miletos 100<sub>4, 8, 7</sub>, Amorgos 230, Halik. 238<sub>3, 36</sub>.

400–300 B.C.: Keos 48; Thasos 71<sub>7</sub> (also *ιρ*-); Miletos 102, 2; Iasos 104<sub>14, 18</sub>; Zeleia 113<sub>37, 38</sub>; Pantik. 119, 122, 123; Theodosia 127; Ephesos 147<sub>14</sub>; Eryth. 201<sub>5, 24</sub>, 204<sub>23, 32, 33</sub>; Samos 221<sub>37</sub>; Mylasa 248 B 8, C 4, Chios, *B. P. W.* 1889, p. 1195, l. 20, and Paspates 9.

300–200 B.C.: Thasos 72<sub>10, 11, 14</sub>; Olbia 128; Eryth. 206 very many forms. In still later times: Teos 158<sub>15, 16, 23</sub>, Ephesos 150 (Hadrian), the form *λεπή*.

From this evidence we cannot but conclude that both forms existed contemporaneously in Ionic, and that it is vain to attempt to draw a sharp line between them. As long as the only form that we have from Chalkidian has *ι*, and as long as the genuineness of the Thasian and the Abderite *ι* is unassailed, it is beyond the lines of sound argument to hold with Fritsch that *ιρός* in Herodotos is borrowed from the epic, and that *ιρός* in Homer is Aiolic. If evidence of inscriptions and MSS. is to be taken for anything, Hdt. used both forms as he used *κείνος* and *ἐκείνος*.

The pseudo-Ionists fluctuate to such a degree that their testimony can scarcely be brought into court. There appears to

<sup>1</sup> This disproves Erman's statement, *Stud.* V p. 297.

be a slight predominance of the open form, which is the only form accepted by the *Vita Homeri*.

Whether ἴρηξ is contracted from ἴραξ, or whether it is the older form, is still uncertain.

The explanation of ἴρῆς from \*ἴρῆς is shattered by the Aiolic ἴρῆς: ἴρῆς would have become, and remained, in that dialect, ἴρῆς. The Homeric ἴρῆς appears to be due to the ictus. Of the tragedians Euripides is the first to permit himself perfect freedom in the choice between ἴρῆς and ἴρῆς. Dindorf's procedure in adopting ἴρῆς in the tragic poets cannot be defended. It is found in the MSS. of Soph. but once (O. K. 16). Hoffmann, *D. M. G.* p. 12, suggests that ἴρῆς is the descendant of \*ἴρῆς, whose medial ι is the *schwa* or minimum vowel = Skt. *a* in *ishardis*. Prellwitz, *Deut. Litt.-Zeit.* 1890, p. 1538, proposes to account for ἴρῆς (parallel to \*ἴρῆς) by the assumption of an ablaut-form *isēros*. This would be the more probable if the word had dactylic measure (cf. *πικίλος* for *πικιλῆς*). But see Allinson, *A. J. P.* XII 49 ff.

### 301.] I + H.

πολίτης with primitive ἴτης is of course not contracted from πολιήτης, e.g. Anacr. I<sub>8</sub>, Demokr. 215, as was formerly held; a view as incorrect as that of the pleonasm of the η (Bekker, *Anecd.* II 524<sub>8</sub>). μυθῖται, read by Bergk in Anacr. 16<sub>1</sub>, is not from μυθιῖται (Apoll. Lex. Hom. 114<sub>3</sub>). The latter form is to be adopted, the metre being *ionici a minore*. On ἴτης see *K. Z.* XXXI 343. ὤη in μελιήδης, &c.

### 302.] Υ + Ι.

υῖ in the dative of υ stems must have become υ by the fifth century (ἰλυῖ Theog. 961, as Homeric δίζυῖ), though written with the diaeresis by editors of Hdt. υῖ could not be fused in πολυῖδρείσιν Theog. 703, &c.

## III. Combination of Vowels and Diphthongs, and Diphthongs and Diphthongs (crasis).

303.] The combinations of vowels and diphthongs will be treated in the following order:

a + αι,	a + ει,	a + οι,	a + αυ,	a + ευ,	a + ου.
ε + αι,	ε + ει,	&c.	&c.	&c.	&c.
ο + αι,	ο + ει,				
η + αι,	η + ει,				
ω + αι,	ω + ει,				

Combinations of αι + αι, αι + αυ, &c., are placed under the head of a + αι, &c.

## 304.] A + AL

αι + αι = αι in καίερός Arch. ep. 86<sub>2</sub> (v. l. καὶ αἰερός).

## 305.] A + EI.

1. α<sup>f</sup>ει. A. α + genuine ει.

δεικῆς Hdt. III 33, VI 98, &c., Hippokr. II 316, Sol. trim. 36<sub>11</sub>, eleg. 5<sub>4</sub>, Theog. 811; δεικέλιος Sol. 4<sub>25</sub>. δεικῆς in the epigram in honour of Kimon (Plutarch, *Kim.* 7) is Ionic, not Attic. Hence the epigram itself was composed by an Ionian (Kirchhoff, *Hermes* V 57). δίκως XXII 336 does not show that α + ει can become ᾶ + ι; but that ᾶ + ι (ᾶϊκῆς) may remain open or be contracted, as in αἰκίζοίμεθα Sim. Amorg. 1<sub>24</sub>, κατακίσασα Herodas 5<sub>12</sub> (cf. also 2<sub>41</sub> and 2<sub>40</sub>). Neither δίκως nor αἰκίζοίμεθα can be derived from δεικ-. Hence Fritsch's contention (*V. II. D.* 20) that the contraction of αι to αι had ensued in Herodotos' day is at least inexact. The existence of the shorter form and the character of the composition of the word may have prevented δεικ- from being contracted to δίκ-. δείδω is not a parallel instance. αἰκέλιος Theog. 1344 may be a parallel form to δεικέλιος (cf. Smyth, *A. J. P.* VI 439). Lukian has both δεικῆς and δεικέλιος.

δείδω Hdt., Arch. tetr. 57, Anakr. 65<sub>3</sub>, Sol. eleg. 20<sub>3</sub>, Theog. 533, 939, a line that may belong to Mimnermos (Schneidewin δειδ-, MSS. ᾶδ-), 1065, &c., Herodas 1<sub>71</sub> (?). α + genuine ει, when contracted, can yield only ᾶ, never ᾷ: Archil. 123 ᾶδων (Schneid. δειδων, cf. Theog. 533), Anakr. 45<sub>2</sub> ᾶδω (though here we might read μέν γ' αἰδω: ᾶδω is a conj. of Valckenaer). Theog. 243 has ᾶσονται, as Hymn V 2; Herakl. 59 has συνᾶδον and διαᾶδον. The contraction of α + genuine ει (ᾶ)<sup>1</sup> is as old in Ionic as that of α + spurious ει (ᾷ). δειδω in Hdt. is perhaps due to the μεταχαρακτηρισμός which affected archaic forms. In compounds the MSS. unite in having -φδος, but as regards δειδω they disagree. δοιδόν has a technical colouring and preserves the archaic form. Lukian has the open αἰδω in every case, while Arrian has ἐπάδονται (10<sub>1</sub>).

B. α + spurious ει either remains open or is contracted in Ionic to long α. Ignorance of this fact has led to great confusion in the minds of dialectologists and editors of Herodotos as to the propriety of admitting αἶρω into the text of the lyric poets and of Herodotos. Homer has both αἶρω and αἶρω, and both forms must be accepted as genuine Ionic. That the MSS. of Hdt. prefer αἶρω to αἶρω, and that αἶδω and αἰκῆς are always read in the text of the historian, have led Dindorf and Stein to adopt αἶρω, though its ει has nothing in common with

<sup>1</sup> Cf. α in Attic from α<sup>f</sup>ι, § 169.

that of *αἰδω* or *αεικής*. Archil. 94, has *παρήειρε*; Luk. *d. d. δ.* § 36, 52, *Astr.* 11, Abydenos 5, Euseb. Mynd. 9, 33, have *αει*, and so Aretaios, 216, 224, 265 (elsewhere the other form). The contracted forms are *ἄπειεν* Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>60</sub>; *ἐπάρει* Ephesos 145 A 2; *ἐπάρας* 145 A 9 (fifth century)<sup>1</sup>. *αἰρω* is found in Hippokrates, II 660, V 618; *ἐπῆρται* V 648, *ἐπῆρθη* II 688, 706, *ξυνήρει* II 628; in Polybos' *περὶ φύσιος ἀνθρ.* 7 (VI 48) *Α* has *αἰπεται*, the other MSS. *αειρ-*. Arrian's *Ind.* has the contracted forms. See § 165.

*αἰρω* and *αἰρω* are to be separated, so far as their genesis is concerned, the former representing *ἀ-φερ-ω*, the latter *Fr-ω* (Brugmann, *K. Z.* XXVII 197, Solmsen, *K. Z.* XXIX 355). In Attic *αἰρω* got the upper hand. Though the desire to rescue open forms in the Ionic of Herodotos, and to exclude contracted forms from his text, has led to the exclusion of *αἰρω*, the genuine interrelation of the forms offers no obstacle to its acceptance. Whether *αἰρω* has been inserted by copyists on the strength of the chief Homeric form, is another question. It is, however, probable that both forms have a claim to existence in the Ionic dialect of the fifth century.

*a + εἰ* is uncontracted in *δαείς* Solon, 13<sub>50</sub>, and *Κάειρα* Δ 142 and Hdt., the masculine form of which is derived from *Κᾷήρ* *Κᾷερός*, &c. (Lugebil, *B. B.* X 303). *a + spurious εἰ* becomes *ā* in Hom. *φαεινός*, Attic *φᾶνός* (Lukian *φαίνομαι* *Syr.* 32), and perhaps in infinitives in *-ᾶν*; see *K. Z.* XXVII 197.

2. *αει* (*εἰ* genuine) becomes *ā* in *ὀρᾶς*, *τιμᾶ* (Doric *τιμῆ*) and in the 'Attic' futures *διασκεδᾶς*, *ἀποδοκιμᾶ*. Herodoteian Ionic has no form in *-εεἰ* < *-αει* in the *verba contracta*, these forms being reserved for pseudo-Ionism.

By *crasis*: *κεῖ* Hrd. 4<sub>83</sub>.

### 306.] A + OI.

1. *αφοι* remains open in *αοιδός* Hdt., Xenoph. 5<sub>4</sub> (*δοιδοπόλων*), Solon 29; *αοιδή* Hdt., Theog. 251, 792, since these words are heirlooms; *αοίκητος* Hdt.

Contraction ensues in *ῥῶδή* Sol. eleg. 1<sub>2</sub>, Hippokr. II 686, as Hymn IV 495; *ῥαψῳδός* Bechtel 260, found at Dodona, but ultimate provenance unknown.

2. *αοι* is contracted to *ω* in all optatives (*νικῶεν*, *νικῶτο*).

3. Crasis of *a + οι* is omitted, e.g. in *τὰ οἰκ[ί]α* Halik. 238<sub>25</sub> = *τῶκία* Hippon. 20<sub>2</sub>.

*AI + OI* in *κ[Ο][ί]νοπιδης* Chios, 174 C 21-22 according to Blass, where others read *κ' O[ί]νοπιδης*; *καὶ οἰκίων* Halik. 238<sub>27</sub>.

<sup>1</sup> Hdt. MSS. have *ἀρθείς* more frequently than *ἀρεθείς*. The latter form occurs in Anakr. 19 and Luk. *Astr.* 15.



## 307.] A + AT.

Crisis occurs in ταῦτά Eryth. 204<sub>13</sub>, Hdt. III 72, &c.; but there are many cases of τὰ αὐτά in Hdt., e.g. IV 114. So Miletos 100<sub>4</sub>; Zeleia 113<sub>27</sub>.

AI + AT. αἱ αὐταὶ Hdt. V 69; καὶχένα Theog. 536; καὶτάχρητοι Sim. Amorg. 1<sub>19</sub>; καὶτός Teos 158<sub>15</sub>, in the ancient papyrus *Philol.* XLI 748 l. 6, and Herodas 2<sub>83</sub>; but there are several cases of καὶ αὐτός in Teos 156 A and B and Amphipolis 10.

## 308.] A + OT.

τιμῶσι Ionic-Attic (ου spurious). In some cases the MSS. of Hdt. show in the third plural traces of the appearance of the -εω forms from the -αω type of verb; § 688.

AI + OT: κοῦ Anakr. 88<sub>1</sub>, Herodas 6<sub>70</sub>, κοῦκ Anakr. 89, Theog. 1342, Sol. 13<sub>60</sub>, Hippon. tetr. 83, papyrus *Philol.* XLI 948 l. 15, Herodas 2<sub>39</sub>, 4<sub>18</sub>, 5<sub>40</sub>, 7<sub>77</sub>, κοῦχί 2<sub>40</sub>, κοῦδέ 1<sub>24</sub>; on κοῦνομάκλυτον Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>67</sub>, see § 252.

## 309.] E + AI.

1. εῖαι in Κλεαίνετος Naukratis 139 C; [συγ]χέαι Halik. 238<sub>3</sub>.

2. εαι remains open in several instances in the poets (see §§ 606, 608). The closed forms are, however, so frequent as to convince us that an uncontracted ε(σ)αι in Hdt. in the present and future middle is probably an archaism, certainly after a vowel (χαριῆ). The only case where εαι may be defended as probable is when it is derived from -εεαι, e.g. in φοβέαι VII 52 (*P* φοβέεαι). -εεαι in Hdt. cannot be defended. διέαι is found in Anakr. 12 B and derived from διέεαι. I have not observed an instance of 2 pers. sing. pres. mid. (Attic βούλει after 378 B.C.). In the future the editors now read κομιεῖ, χαριεῖ. Dindorf's χαριέεαι displays the tendency of the scholar who has largely brought about the current conceptions of the nature of Ionic.

3. εαι in adj., even in those denoting a material, = αι in λιναῖ Samos 220<sub>21</sub>. In these adjectives -εωι remains open. In nouns Hdt. has μνέαι; γέαι Zeleia 113<sub>40</sub>, γαλαῖ Hrd. 7<sub>90</sub>. See on *Declension*.

## 310.] E + EI.

1. εῖει remains open in ῥέει Mimn. 5<sub>1</sub>, πλέει, πλέειν, ῥέει Hdt.; is contracted in δεῖ Hdt., Hippon. 6, Anakr. 98, Teos, 158<sub>8</sub>. (See on the Verb.) Hdt. has εἴκοσι and not the epic εἰέκοσι, as Xenoph. 7<sub>3</sub>. ε + spurious ει becomes ει in ΚΛΕ-νοφάνης Keos, 44 A 11; ΚΛΕν[ο]γένης Keos, 45; Κλείναδρος Thas. (L.), 16 A 5; κλεινός in Solon, 19<sub>3</sub>.

2. *εει* is found in the open forms in Herodotos and the other writers in Ionic prose, *e.g.* in *εω* verbs (Greg. Kor. § 14) and even in the pseudo-Ionic *ὀρέει, φοιτέεις*. In the MSS. of Hdt. *-εει* is generally contracted after a consonant, but after *οι* it usually is open. In direct opposition to this writing is the language of the inscriptions (see *-εω* verbs). The only examples in the poetry<sup>1</sup> of native Ionians where the contraction is not graphically expressed are *κερτομέειν* Arch. 64, *φιλέειν* Arch. 80, *δοκέει* 1, Sim. Amorg., where the metre in each case calls for *εῖ* or *έει*. In the future of liquid verbs Herodoteian MSS. have *-έει, -έεις*, though contraction is well established in pre-Herodoteian times. After *ι*, *-εειν* is always contracted in Hdt. in the future infinitive. Stein's adoption of *R*'s *θεσπιέειν* VIII 135 is out of the question. An aorist *-εειν* (*ιδέειν, &c.*) does not exist in Ionic prose (§ 604).

*ἀδείη* Hdt. VIII 120, &c. < \**ἀδεεήη*.

### 311.] E + OI.

1. *εφοι*. Hdt. *πλέοι, ἔμπλεοι*; Anakr. 84 *ἐοικότες* (Hdt. *οἴκα, &c.*, without reduplication).

2. *εσοι* in *θεοί* (§ 287, 2) Hipponax 93, Theog. 142, but elsewhere *θεοί* Archil. eleg. 98, Solon 139, 58; *θεοῖς* Archil. tetr. 56<sub>1</sub>, *θεοῖσι* 55, Tyrt. 5<sub>1</sub>, Solon 11<sub>2</sub>, 35.

3. *ειοι* in *-εω* verbs is contracted in lyric poetry and in inscriptions, except in *ἀνωθεοίη* Teos 156 A 11 (47<sup>9</sup>/<sub>8</sub> B.C.) with obsolete orthography. In the seventh century the form in *-εοιη* must have been usual. Hdt. has both forms (*καλέοι, φρονέοιεν; ποιοῖ, ἐπιχειροῖεν, φοβοῖτο*), the latter representing the ordinary Ionic of the fifth century. Other Ionic writers in prose usually have the open forms. See under § 651.

In adjectives of material *εοι* is thus written, even in the imperial period: *ἀργύρεοι* Wood, *Discoveries at Ephesus*, App. 6, No. 1; *χρυσέοις* Latyshev, I 22 (Olbia)=C. I. G. 2059. See § 287, 3. Adjectives in *-αλεος* rarely contract; *αὔχαλέοι* Xenoph. 35, but *γηράλεοι* Anakr. 43<sub>2</sub>.

### 312.] E + OΥ (spurious).

1. *εφου*.

*πλέους* Hdt. I 194, *κενεοῦ* Melissos 14; *πλέου*, read by Mullach in Melissos 14, has no MS. support. (*Κλεουμπόρου* Lampsakos 171, has its first *ου* from *ο + ε*.)

2. *εσου*.

*ἐούσης* Mylasa 248 C 5, &c., *μεδεούση* Phanag. 164, Samos 216 (see § 74). *θεοῦ* Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>104</sub>.

<sup>1</sup> Elegiac poetry, though under the influence of the *επος*, has in almost every case the contracted form. In Theog. 221 *δαρεί* is certain.

## 3. εἰου.

εἰου < εἰουτ- is generally contracted in verbs in -εω in the poets. The MSS. of Hdt. vary: εἰου is often retained, but sometimes εἰ appears after a consonant. -εἰου in the other prosaists is more frequent than εἰ. The writing εἰ for εἰου shows that ε + ου was treated like εἰ = εο, and that no regard was paid to the difference in quantity.

## 313.] O + AI.

of αι in κροαίνω, Homeric and Archilocheian (fr. 176). Arch. uses the word in the sense of ἐπιθυμέω according to the scholiast on Z 507. Cf. An. Par. III 2847.

## 314.] O + EI.

1. of ει is uncontracted in μηροειδής, ἀνθρωποειδής Hdt.: τροχοειδής Hdt., Theog. 7; ἰχθυοειδής Hdt. VII 61 is a different formation from ἰχθυώδης VII 109 (with -ώδης borrowed from εὐώδης?); ἀποειπών Theog. 89. ο + spurious ει in -οεις in Σολοίς, &c.; also in ἀλοργοῦς Samos 220<sub>23</sub>, § 295. ζόειν, Porson's reading in Sim. Am. 117, is probably from ζώειν, the vulgate reading, found also in Herakleitos 86, 92. See §§ 200, 657, note 1.

2. ορει becomes οι in verbal forms: διδοῖ Sim. Amorg. 74, Mimn. 210; on μισθοῖς, μισθοῖ indicative and subjunctive, see § 296, 2. We have ο + spurious ει perhaps in μισθοῦν; see § 295, 1 at end.

## 315.] O + OI.

οιοι = οι in μισθοῖμεν. of οι in ἀθροοι Hdt. III 109, σόοι, &c. By crasis we have τοῖκ[ό]πεδον Chios 174 D 18, which is the crasis to be expected in Attic. In τῶκίδιον, the usual reading in *Cloude* 92, the vowels would seem to be fused quite irregularly, and this has been regarded as a unique exception, where the form has called forth any comment at all. But here *Rav.* has τωκίδιον, while over the ω an οι is written; in *F* we have τὸκίδιον.

## 316.] O + AT

in αὐτός (or αὐτός)<sup>1</sup>, τῷτό, when fused (Attic ταῦτόν Herakl. 57), ἐμεωντοῦ < ἐμέο αὐτοῦ, σεωντοῦ, ἐωντοῦ in Hdt., Hippokr., and their imitators.

In Hdt. VIII 43 we find τὸ αὐτό. οι + αυ in αὐτοί II 168; but οἱ αὐτοί I 182, VII 168; sometimes even ἐωντοί<sup>2</sup> appears.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. αὐτός E 396, according to La Roche. Good MSS. have αὐτός: cf. Joh. Gr. 242 αὐτός. Herodotian MSS. generally place the *coronis* on the ω. Bywater writes αὐτός Herakl. 127, whereas Clemens has αὐτός, and αὐτή Herakl. 69 is thus read in Hippolytos. Greg. Korinth. p. 419 had the absurd notion that αὐτός sic stood for αὐτός. Analogy went so far as to coin ἡ αὐτή sic, ἡ αὐτή, τὰ αὐτά, τὰ αὐτά, ἡ αὐτή in the text of Aretaios.

<sup>2</sup> ἐμavτός in Pherekrates is a poor support for this form of the pronoun.

ου + αυ in τώντοῦ Hdt. (Greg. Korinth. § 46), upon a single occasion (III 72). Elsewhere τοῦ αὐτοῦ, *e.g.* V 52, IX 101. ου, it will be remembered, is not diphthongal here.

Similar forms occur in Pindar (τώντοῦ Ol. XIII 38, τώντο Ol. I 45) and in Theokritos (αὐτός XI 34, τώνλιον XI 12). Cf. also *Acharn.* 790 τώντῳ. In the above passages the coronis is placed upon the υ.

### 317.] O + OΥ (spurious).

1. οφου. Ἰπποθόου Chios 177<sub>2</sub>; but Πολύθρου Teos 158<sub>27</sub> (late); ζοοῦ Archil. 63 is due to Porson, who thus corrected the vulgate ζωοῦ; νόου Theog. 223, Arch. tetr. 56<sub>5</sub>; περιρρόου Hdt. I 174, καλλιρόου Anakr. 28; ἀντιξόους Hdt. VII 150; but εὔνου VI 105 in all MSS., as ἔσπλου VI 33.

2. οἰου < οἰοντ- = ου in μισθοῦσι, &c.

3. ο + ου becomes ου by crasis in τοῦνομα Hdt., often written τὸ οὔνομα. οἰ + ου in οὔροφύλακες Chios 174 A 14-15, 19.

### 318.] H + AI.

ησαι becomes η in βούληι Thasos 68 and so in ἰδη Hdt. IV 9. Synizesis occurs in μῆ αἰ Hrd. 790.

### 319.] H + EI.

ηφει in ἥειραν Hdt. IX 59, ἀπήειραν VI 99 (conj., MSS. -ῆραν); παρήειρε Arch. 94<sub>2</sub>. See § 305. ὑλήειν Arch. 74, the conj. of Bergk, is hazardous, though the word is found Choirob. II 717<sub>22</sub> (who quotes also ὀφρήειν) and though τιμήειν is attested by Hdn. II 275<sub>2</sub>, 632<sub>16</sub>. The lengthened -οειν, by false analogy from -οεις, has no better support than Apoll. Rhod.

### 320.] H + AY, OY.

δηῦτε Archil. 60, 104, Hippon. 78, Anakr. 13 B (conj.), 14<sub>1</sub>. 19, 47, 61<sub>1</sub>, 63<sub>6</sub>, 68, 89, 91<sub>1</sub>; ἡ αὐτή Hdt. IV 38, Herakl. 50. So too τῇ αὐτῇ, never with crasis, despite ὧτός, τώντό. Aretaios' text offers ὧτή 52, and even ἡ ὧτή 158 and often. Synizesis occurs in ἡ οὔρους (MS. ὄρους) Hrd. 253.

### 321.] Ω(I) + AY, &c.

in τώντῳ Hdt. I 5, but τῷ αὐτῷ VI 58 (*P* τώντῳι, *R* τωῦτῳ). No example as yet has been found upon inscriptions. In ἐγὼ αἰτή Hrd. 91<sub>4</sub>, ἐγὼ εἰμι Hrd. 51<sub>5</sub> (as *Philokt.* 585), we have examples of synizesis of ω + αι and ω + ει.

### Apocope.

322.] Apocope in Greek is found only in the case of prepositive prepositions which were originally adverbs of place. Only those Hellenic dialects that developed a literary prose are averse

to the admission of the apocopated forms. Apart from the license of poetry<sup>1</sup>, Attic literature can show but a trace of the admission of the forms in question. So too in Ionic, the development of an artistic prose has destroyed whatever chance of life this process may originally have possessed. Even in the poetical monuments the instances are extremely rare. See on *ἀνά* and *κατά*. In Ionic as in Attic inscriptions there is not a single instance. In Herodotos we have *ἀμπωτις* II 11, VII 198, VIII 129 (see § 715), *ἀμβολάδην* IV 181, *ἀμπαύεσθαι* I 182, *ἀμπαύονται* and *ἀμπαυστήριοι* I 181, *ἀμβώσας* I 8, *ἀμβώσαντες* III 38.

The attitude of the language towards apocope is one of the most marked characteristics of the dialects. Doric, Aiolic, Thessalian, Boiotian, &c., are here separated by a great gap from Ionic-Attic.

### *Sentence Phonetics*<sup>2</sup>.

#### *Elision.*

323.] Ionic inscriptions are tenacious to a considerable degree of the *scriptio plena* in the matter of elision or non-elision. The following table, drawn up from the inscriptions in Bechtel's *Inschriften des ionischen Dialekts*, will give an approximate idea of the frequency with which elision occurs. The prepositions, conjunctions and particles, and also the pronouns, have been the guide posts which directed to the study of the frequency of the occurrence of this phenomenon. It may be noted that in but two cases, outside of poetry, is there any elision of the final vowel of a substantive [*Amphip.* 10, l. 11 and 22]. In the following list metrical occurrences are starred.

#### *Euboian Ionic.*

#### *Island Ionic.*

	ELISION	NON- ELISION		ELISION	NON- ELISION
Olynthos . . .	2	1	Naxos . . .	4*	1*
Amphip. . . .	3	0	Arkesine . . .	1*	0
Other Chalkid. .	2	0	Keos . . . .	1	2
Eretria . . . .	2	1	Paros . . . .	3*	1*
Oropos . . . .	1	4	Thasos . . . .	5	8
Adespota . . .		No. 22	Pharos . . . .	0	1

<sup>1</sup> Most frequent in Aischylos. Kirchhoff believes that the instances of apocope in the Attic poets are survivals of a period when Attic had not yet developed an artificial objection to its presence.

<sup>2</sup> See also on *Movable nu* § 340, and on *Assimilation*, § 411.



Asiatic Ionic.

	ELISION	Non-ELISION		ELISION	Non-ELISION
Miletos . . .	1	4	Abdera . . .	3	0
Iasos . . .	0	2	Chios . . .	7 <sup>1</sup>	0
Zeleia . . .	1	6	Maroneia . . .	0	6
Theodosia . .	0	1	Erythrai . . .	17 <sup>1</sup>	17
Olbia . . .	0	1	Samos . . .	5 <sup>2</sup>	3
Naukratis . .	0	1	Halikarn.. .	4	6
Ephesos . . .	0	4	Mylasa. . . .	0	3
Teos . . .	3	9	Uncertain loc. .	No. 261*	

In the text of Herodotos elision is less frequent than in Attic. According to Bredow (p. 202 ff.), elision is more frequent than the retention of the final vowel in the case of ἀμφί, ἀνά, ἀντί, ἀπό, διά, κατά, μετά, παρὰ and ὑπό. When a relative pronoun follows the preposition, elision is regular. ἀλλά very often suffers elision, and δέ, μηδέ and οὐδέ, εὔτε, ἔστε frequently. It is rare in the case of τόδε, ὧδε, τε, οὔτε, μήτε, εἴτε. ὥστ' occurs only III 104, and ἔπειτ', τότε never. Very rare are γ', ἄρ', τοῦτ', ταῦτ'. ἀμ' is always a preposition, never an adverb. -το in verbs occurs only before ἄν.

Elision is admitted into the text of Herakleitos, except in ὑπὸ ἐρός 91.

Aphaeresis.

324.] See under η + ε, ο + ε, ω + ε. In an oracle given by Hdt. VII 220, it is better to read ἦ μέγα ἄστυ ῥικυδές than to elide the υ.

THE CONSONANT SYSTEM OF IONIC.

325.] Ionic differs but slightly from Attic in the development of its consonantal system. The differences concern chiefly the guttural series. In the following sections, wherever the Ionic form is equivalent to the Attic, and adopted by literature, reference is made only rarely to its counterpart in the other dialects. Thus Ionic γυνή = Boiot. βανά is noticed under BOIOTIAN, βάραθρον = Arkad. ζέρεθρον under ARKADIAN.

<sup>1</sup> One metrical. <sup>2</sup> Two metrical.

**326.]** The ancients held that Ionic permitted the expulsion of an initial consonant or consonants, e. g. γαῖα Greg. K. 446, An. Bachm II 365<sub>1</sub>, Gram. Paris 676; ἀσπράττει, Ionic and Attic, Bachm II 365<sub>1</sub>, Paris 676; λαιψήρος, Ionic and Aiolic, Herakleides *apud* Eust 842<sub>16</sub>; λείβειν Greg. Kor 446, Gram. Aug. 669, Paris 676, Vat. 699, Birnb 678<sub>32</sub>, An. Bachm II 365<sub>10</sub>. See Schmidt's *Neutra*, p. 199; πλ ευράξ, Ionic and Aiolic, Eust 842<sub>16</sub>; ἐπεινός, Ionic and Attic, An. Bachm. II 365<sub>11</sub>, Paris 676 (§ 564); τήγανον § 191) Eust 1862<sub>17</sub>, where it is called Doric though used by Anakreon 26 = Athen. VI 229 B, where the form is expressly stated to be Ionic, and as such used by the poet; cf. Eust. 244<sub>16</sub>, 701<sub>18</sub><sup>1</sup>; φθέρρω Eust 842<sub>38</sub>. Though none of the examples quoted can be explained upon the principles of sentence phonetics, or as analogues of such forms as πτέγος, τέγος, so inveterate is the error concerning the possibility of this decapitation that some of these instances reappear in modern books, such as Blass' edition of Kühner's Grammar.

### Liquids.

On aspirated medial ρ, see § 399 (Amorgos), § 400 (Naxos).

#### **327.] Variation between Λ and Ρ.**

Ἀλαλίη in Hdt. does not manifest the repugnance to the succession of λ's which gave rise to κεφαλαργία, &c. Ἀλερία was the later name of the Corsican city.

κλίβανος in Hdt. II 92 (cf. Eust. 975<sub>62</sub>) is the equivalent of the Attic κρήβανος (Athen. III 110 C), though κλίβανος may be defended in Aischylos, frag. 321 D. That the form with λ found admission to comedy is evident from κλιβανίτης ἄρτος<sup>1</sup> Ἀμειψίας Ἀποκοτταβίζουσιν (quoted by Rutherford, *Phrygichus*, p. 268). The Et. Mag. 538<sub>19</sub> calls the form with λ Doric, and Athenaios l. l. cites κλιβανίτας from Sophron. But Sophron seems also to have used the ρ form, which is vouched for as having been used by Epicharmos.

Ὀροφέρνης Priene, *Anc. Gr. Inscr.* 3, no. 424, 6, represents the original better than Ὀλοφέρνης C. D. I. 3549, 20, Knidos.

The island of Amorgos (Ἀμοργός) was also called Ἀμολγος according to Steph. Byz. s. v., Arkad. 47<sub>17</sub> = Hdn. II 475. The Et. Gud. 311<sub>19</sub> endeavours unsuccessfully to support an Ionic change of ρ to λ in κέκραγα, κέκληγα. On Ionic κλήρος and Arkadian Κραριῶται πολῖται C. D. I. 1231, see under ARKADIAN, § 32.

#### **328.] Variation between Λ and Ν.**

Though the change from λ to ν may be supported by examples from Attic vase inscriptions (Kretschmer, *K. Z.* XXIX 442) and from other sources, no case has as yet been made out for the

<sup>1</sup> In 842<sub>16</sub> πτήγανον is given as the undecapitated form.

substitution of λ for ν. The only two cases that are uncertain are λίτρον and Λαβύνητος. λίτρον Hdt. II 86, 87, recalls Hebrew *neter*, Lat. *nitrum* (cf. K. Z. XXI 104). νίτρον is Aiolic but also Ionic. Hippokrates apparently has both νίτρον and λίτρον, on which form in Attic see Phrynichos (Ruth. p. 361). Λαβύνητος Hdt. I 74 = Old Persian *Nabunita*, Assy. *Nabunahid*.

In the case of these words, it is at least possible the *n* has been exchanged with *l* upon Semitic soil.

There is no change of ν to λ in Πριηλήϊ Samos 212 = Roberts, I 153, in which inscription, though the engraver intended to cut a ν, the λ is certain. Hellanikos (cf. Hdn. I 338<sub>5</sub>) gave the name Λάπη to the Aiolic city Νάπη.

πλεύμων, Attic for πνεύμων, the Aiolic and Κοινή form, occurs in the oldest MS. of Hippokrates (θ), VI 374. πλεύμων was also Epidaurian. πλεύμων may be the original form, and that with ν, though Homeric, due to the influence of πνέω. With the confusion between the two forms of this word that had its rise in the dispute about the etymology, we may compare the ν. λ. πλέω for πνέω in Luke xii 55; cf. the gloss on Acts xxvii 15<sup>1</sup>.

329.] ψέλιον *armlet* (Aiolic σπάλιοι), not ψέλλιον, appears to be the correct form in Hdt. στήλη is written with one λ upon Ionic inscriptions. In Iasos 104<sub>3</sub> we find Μανσώλλωι, though Μανσωλός was deemed correct by Arkadios in Steph. Byz. See Pape-Benseler. -ωλλος is the regular emphatic form of the suffix in Karian names (Παρανυσσ-, Πονυσσ-), though -ωλος (in Ἀκταύσσωλος) and -ωλδος are also Karian.

330.] Consonant gemination appears in the Homeric reminiscence ἔλλαχεν, Hermann's restoration for ἔλαχεν, Mimn. 12<sub>1</sub>. For this Aiolic form, the genuine Ionic would have been εἴλαχεν, formed on the same principle as εἰλήλουθα. Perhaps such forms as ἔρρεε, ἔννεον, where *sigma* caused the gemination, facilitated the creation by analogy of such poetical forms as ἔλλαχεν<sup>2</sup>, which hold their ground till long after the birth of Christ. κάλλιπον Archil. 6<sub>2</sub> eleg. is due to epic influence. Apocope of prepositions is very rare in the Ionic poets; cf. Arch. 64, where καθανούσι is read, though καταθ- is possible; cf. Tyrt. 11<sub>19</sub>, Mimn. 12<sub>2</sub>, 14<sub>4</sub>, and see § 715.

### 331.] Rhotacism between Vowels and before Consonants.

Rhotacism is attested in the western branch of Ionic alone<sup>3</sup>. In the dialect of Eretria we meet with the phenomenon, which is unknown in Eleian and Lakonian, of intervocalic σ becoming ρ. In the inscriptions of Eretria we find the following forms:

<sup>1</sup> I owe this reference to the kindness of Dr. J. Rendel Harris.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Baunack's *Studien* I 222.

<sup>3</sup> ἀρήρασθαι· εὔξασθαι in Hesychios is a gloss of uncertain provenance.

Eretria, Bechtel No. 15: ὁπόραι l. 5, ἀ[ρχ]ουριν 6, ὀμινούρας 10, παραβαίνωριν 11. In No. 16, an inscription found in Chalkis and almost entirely Hellenistic, we read Μίργος (C 14). No. 15 dates from between 410-390 B.C., No. 16 from 340-279. The latter is placed by Bechtel under the head of Eretrian Ionic. Eretrian rhotacism is furthermore attested in the inscription 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1887, pp. 82-110, where thirty names have ρ for σ, while in eighty-two instances σ is preserved. Examples of ρ are: Κτηρίας 73 B, Κτηρίων[ος] 188 C, Κτηριβίου 31 C, 285, Κτηριβιάδης, Κτηρικλείδου 132 B; Κτήσωνος, and seven other examples of Κτησ- occur, and σ before consonants remains unchanged in this inscription. Two Eretrian decrees conferring the rights of proxeny published *l. l.* are free from all trace of rhotacism, which is a phonetic change varying with locality and date, as may be seen by the study of its life in Eleian. For other examples, see Baunack in his *Studien* I 299.

It might seem that rhotacism extended as far as Styra, since on the Styrian lead tablets are found: Κτηρίνος 19<sub>438</sub> and Μίργων 19<sub>25</sub>, 71. Both these individuals must however be Eretrians, since there is no trace of rhotacism elsewhere in Styra: Κτησίμος is found in Styra 19<sub>31-233</sub>, Κτησίων 19<sub>64 60</sub>, 214-236, 286, Κτήσις 19<sub>122</sub>, Κτήσιμος 19<sub>57</sub>, Χαρήσιος 19<sub>94</sub>, &c. In Eretrian we have the form Φιλήσιος, in Bechtel No. 14 = Rob. I 170, an inscription older than No. 15, though the sigma has four strokes. Either the σ of Φιλήσιος is a conscious refusal to adopt the intervocalic rhotacism prevailing at the period of the writing of No. 14, or this inscription is older than the Styrian lead tablets containing Κτηρίνος and Μίργων (which are older than all the other epigraphical documents found at Eretria) and hence dates from a period when the Eretrians had not transformed intervocalic σ to ρ. Assuming that No. 14 contains a conscious archaism, we may place the introduction of rhotacism in Euboea in the middle of the fifth century before Christ. That the Eretrians borrowed their fondness for rhotacism from the Eleians is undemonstrable, notwithstanding the statement of Strabo (X 686) to that effect: ἐποίκουσ δ' ἔσχον ἀπ' Ἡλίδος, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τῷ γράμματι τῷ ῥῷ πολλῷ χρησάμενοι, οὐκ ἐπὶ τέλει μόνον τῶν ῥημάτων ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν μέσῳ, κεκωμώδηνται.

In addition to Μίργος and Μίργων above mentioned, there is no other case of rhotacism before consonants attested upon the inscriptions. That Πελαργός was an instance in point, was the view of Phrynichos: Πελαργός 'Ερετριακῶς Πελασγός and Πελαργός οὐδὲν ἀλλ' ἢ 'Ερετριακῶς Πελασγός. Beside Πελαργός, Μίργος and Μίργων we have no examples of antec consonantal rhotacism, which is thus exceedingly rare. That Μίργος is only a survival of the ancient orthography, and that rhotacism did not

continue to the period of No. 16, is clear from the refusal of *ἐργασίην* (16, A 4) to adopt the liquid.

By a series of doubtful combinations Bechtel (*Insch. des ionischen Dialekts*, p. 13) derives the Eretrian rhotacism from Thessaly, where, as he claims, it affected the speech of the Phthiotic Achaians, the inhabitants of the Hestiaiotes and the 'Pelasgians.' We have, however, only one example of Thessalian rhotacism which is found twice: *Θεορδότειος* C. D. I. 331., *Θεορδότειος* 326, II 42. It is hazardous to find in a solitary example of antec consonantal rhotacism the sole survival of a phenomenon that must either have been wide-spread, or, if originally restricted to the antec consonantal position, enlarged in a unique way to embrace intervocalic σ.

### 332.] Final Rhotacism.

This is attested, not by inscriptional evidence, but by literature alone: Plato, *Kratylos* 434 C, says: *οἶσθ' οὖν ὅτι ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ ἡμεῖς μὲν φάμεν σκληρότης, Ἐρετριεῖς δὲ σκληρότηρ*; The Eretrian inscription No. 15, which contains four cases of intervocalic rhotacism (all that were possible) refuses to change either antec consonantal or final s. The language of the inscriptions may have differed from the popular speech, in that the latter adopted freely the form of rhotacism prevalent in Eleian and Lakonian. But, as the case stands, Plato's remark is not borne out by the stone-records.

1. In the MSS. *Rd* of Hdt. II 70 we find *θηρευτήρ* for *θηρευτής*, which contains merely a different ending. There is no evidence of rhotacism in the Ionic of the Asiatic mainland. As Halikarnassian has been regarded a retrograde inscription in Head (*Hist. Num.*, p. 526): *Φαεινὸρ εἰμι σῆμα*, as read by Sir Charles Newton, who took *φαεινὸρ* for the genitive of *Φαινῶ* (i. e. *φαεινὸρ = Φαινοῦς*). The reading with ρ is, however, indefensible on other grounds. See Roberts, I p. 177.

2. Other evidence of Eretrian rhotacism: Diogenianos *paroen. cent.* IV 57, cf. Apostol. *panken. cent.* VII 89: *Ἐρετριέων ῥῶ· ἐπὶ τῶν κατακόρως τισὶ χρωμένων. κατακόρως γὰρ οὗτοι χρῶνται τῷ ῥῷ. Henychios: Ἐρετριέων ῥῶ· Ἐρετριεῖς τῷ ῥ κατακόρως χρῶνται. Suidas κ. τ. Χαλκιδίσειν: ἄλλοι δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ ῥωτακίσειν, ἐπεὶ αὐτοὶ τε καὶ Ἐρετριεῖς δοκοῦσι τῷ ῥ κατακορεστέως χρῆσθαι καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ σ τιθέντες. Eust. p. 279a: ἐκωμφοῦντο δέ, φασιν, οἱ Ἐρετριεῖς ὡς πολλῷ τῷ ῥ ἐν ταῖς ὀμιλίαις χρώμενοι. διὸ καὶ αὐτοί, καθὰ καὶ Ἡλείοι, βαρβαρόφωνοι ἐκαλοῦντο, ὡς ἐν ῥητορικῇ εἴρηται λεξικῷ, διὰ τὸν πλεονασμὸν τοῦ ῥ.*

### 333.] Metathesis of liquids.

Greg. Kor. p. 434 brings forward *κραδίη*, *ἀταρπιτός*, *τάρφος*, and (p. 489) quotes Homeric *τέτρατος*, *κρατερός*. On Ionic *ρα*, *αρ*, see § 128, on *βότραχος*, *βρόταχος* see § 147. On *τάρφος* see Curtius, *G. E.*<sup>5</sup> p. 224. In the dialect of Herakleia *τράφος* was used for *τάρφος*. With *Θεύπορπος*, which occurs on a Chian coin, Imh.-Bl. *G. M.* p. 656, cf. *Θεύπορπος* Miletos, *ibid.* p. 646, Iasos, *J. H. S.*



IX 342. The Et. M. 83<sub>42</sub> reports from Simonides ἀμιθρός for ἀριθμός (cf. Kallim. 339, ἀμιθρέω). Though it is more probable that the great Simonides is meant, Ahrens proposed to read in Sim. Am. 3 ἀμιθρῶ. ἀμιθρέω is found Hrd. 6<sub>6</sub>, <sub>98</sub> and in Theokritos.

Hdn. II 220<sub>22</sub> = Et. Mag. 188, quotes from Hippon. (106) βάραγχος, the equivalent of the Attic and Hippokratic (V 676) βράγχος. βάραγχος contains an example of anaptyctic α. See § 127. On Ἀρταφρέτης see § 134. Hrd. 6<sub>96</sub> has πρόσω, the form used by Herodotos, &c. Homer has πρόσω and πρόσσω. πόρσω occurs in Pindar and tragedy.

### 334.] pp.

πυρρός Hdt. III 139, Hippokr. II 74, VI 74, VII 510, VIII 234, 248, 336, 338 did not originate from πυρρός. The form πυρρός is exceedingly rare in Attic. From the list of the passages quoted by L. & S. in defence of its Old-Attic character, Aisch. Pers. 316 should be removed, and the Euripidean passage (*Phoin.* 32) is cited by Photios with πυρραῖς, instead of the usual reading πυρσαῖς. πυρρός is from πῦρ-ρός, or from πῦρ-ρός as in Korinthian, C. D. I. 3119 H 50. Proper names that are connected have pp. A suffix -σο- is certainly foreign to Ionic in this word. MSS. of Hdt. often have βορρέης. βορῆς is the correct form. The form with one ρ is also Attic (βορέον C. I. A. I 321<sub>20</sub>).

335.] Expulsion of ρ from the second syllable of a word in which it also occurred in the first, is attested in the case of τρύφατος § 357, 4. A less certain example of the same phenomenon occurs in βάθρακος for βράθρακος according to Roscher in Curtius' Studien IV 193 (cf. § 147). Attic and Doric μάραθρον, which is said to have lost ρ (Hippokr. μάραθρον VI 562, VII 88, with μάραθρον as r. l. in H J), is probably formed with the suffix -θο-, not with -θορ-. On the interrelation of πατριή and φπαρία, see § 361.

### Nasals.

336.] The nasal is not written, though probably pronounced after a weak fashion, in the following inscriptions of Styra: Πό(μ)πις 19<sub>80</sub>, Πο(μ)πάδης 19<sub>408</sub>, Κόσσυ(μ)βος 19<sub>227</sub>, Ὀ(μ)φάλιος 19<sub>130</sub>; in Πά(μ)βις 152, Abu-Simbel, name of a Kolophonian, which is hypocoristic for Πάμβιος, and in Πα(μ)φαίης Th. (L.) 19 A 6. With Νυ(μ)φέων Siphnos 88, Νυ(μ)φώδωρος Smyrna, C. I. G. 3155<sub>8</sub>, and the vase inscriptions Νύ(μ)φης C. I. G. 7760, Νύ(μ)φαι C. I. G. 8185 F, we may compare the forms of

νύμφη which are measured  $\cup$ — in *Antig.* 1115, *Trach.* 857, *Andr.* 140. On the other hand we have Νύμφησιν, Νυμφηγέτη Thasos 68<sub>1</sub>, Νυμφέων Naxos 27, Νύμφιος Th. (L.) 7 B 7. ἀστυνομου(ν)τος Thasos, Stephani in *Mél. Gr. Rom.* II 20, No. 26, is not another example of the weak nasal<sup>1</sup>. ἀφιδέας Greg. Kor. § 123 may perhaps be explained as having lost its nasal. Ὀλυμπο- is never written without the  $\mu$ , as in the examples cited by Meyer § 294 from inscriptions found in Olympia. We even have  $\mu\mu$  in Ὀλυμπιάδα Eretria 15<sub>8</sub>.

337.]  $\sigma$  regularly disappears before medial  $\nu$  with compensatory lengthening, e.g. σελήνη, κρήνη. Whenever  $\sigma\nu$  is assimilated to  $\nu\nu$  in Ionic, its  $\sigma$  is not original, but a  $\sigma$  which was reinstated through analogy. Thus ἐννυμι, instead of the older εἰνυμι (§ 224, 10, and cf. Brugmann, *K. Z.* XXVII 591), is due to the influence of ἐσ-σαι, from which a new \*ἐσ-νυμι was constructed.

A notable difference between the older  $\nu\nu < \sigma\nu$  and the younger  $\nu\nu$ , is that the latter does not suffer reduction of the geminated nasal. The new  $\nu\nu$  came into existence at the same period as the following proper names, whose  $\nu\nu$  is from final  $s$  + initial  $\nu$ : Πελοπόννησος, a form that is accepted by the other dialects, Ἐκατόννησοι, Μυόννησος in Hekataios, Προκόννησος, in which form the  $\nu\nu$  is more common than the single  $\nu$ , according to Strabo XIII p. 618. In No. 103 = Rob. I 42 (Prokonn.) we find  $\nu\nu$  in the Ionic copy, and only one  $\nu$  in the Attic reproduction of the document, in accordance with the usage of Attic inscriptions antedating 550 B.C. Χερσόνησος in Herodotos is a genuine compound, but Χερσόννησος, which occurs conjointly with Χερσον- in the oration περὶ Ἀλονήσου, is doubtless due to the analogy of Πελοπόννησος, Ἀλωπεκόννησος, &c.<sup>2</sup> See Kühner-Blass, *Gr.* p. 269, Riemann, *B. C. H.* I 192, *Dial. Attique*, p. 156 (*Revue de Philol.* 1881). On the form Διόνυσος, see above § 138.

$\sigma + \nu$  regularly becomes  $\nu\nu$  in Aiolic. In Ionic documents the following forms are due to dialect mixture: χρυσοφαέννων Anakr. 25<sub>2</sub>; Φαίεννου Thasos (L) 18 C 5, Φαννοθέμιδος Eryth. 206 A 28, Πελινναῖον in Chios, Ἀργεννον in Erythraian territory. These are Aiolic formations due to the Aiolic element in Chios and surroundings. See under adulterine  $\epsilon\iota$ , § 224, 10.

338.] A nasal +  $\sigma$  + a consonant lost the nasal without com-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the variation in the MSS. of Hdt. V 102, where for ἀντεντίμπτων, B C d omit the  $\mu$ ; in III 85, where for ἐγχρίμπτων, R d have the form with no  $\mu$ . Cf. also II 93 R d, no  $\mu$ ; II 60 d, no  $\mu$ ; IX 98 (C, no  $\mu$ ). Greg. K. § 41 cites ἐγχρίμπτων from Hdt. In IV 172, for σκίπτω, s s have σκίμπτω.

<sup>2</sup> On Attic inscriptions we read Πελοπόννησος, Ἀλωπεκόννησος, Προκόννησος, but Χερρόνησος.

compensatory lengthening in primitive Greek. Wherever compensatory lengthening exists, as in *πείσμα*, it is due to the formation of a new form (\**πένσμα* in place of the older \**πένθμα*). Exempt from the operation of the above law is the combination *π* + I. E. *ε* + *ι*, which becomes *νσσ*. This *νσσ* is treated like nasal + final *ε* and nasal + *σ* in a medial syllable between vowels, when the sibilant has been developed on Greek soil, i.e. the nasal disappears with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel. I. E. *ε* + nasal in a medial syllable was assimilated to a double nasal in Ionic as in all other dialects. In Ionic compensatory lengthening ensued upon the reduction of the gemination. See Solmsen, *K. Z.* XXIX 60<sup>1</sup>.

*ν* followed by *σ* is retained in Ionic in Hom. *κένσαι* (Ψ 337), for \**κεῖσαι* with the *ν* restored from that of *κεντέω*, cf. *κεστός* < *κενστός*. The *ν* of *ἐλμινς* Hippokr. VII 596, 598 is due to that of the oblique cases. *νσ* is also preserved in *παρσελήμῳ* Hdt. II 47, &c., *παλισκίῳ* Archil. 34, where we find the v. l. *παλισκίῳ*, and after *ἐν-* in composition, &c.

Whether *ἐννεφ'* Hipponax 85<sub>3</sub> (hexameter), *προσεννέπη* Solon 42<sub>3</sub> is from *ἐνφεπ-* or *ἐνσεπ-* is not certain.

*ν* + *σ* becomes *σσ* in *συσσίτια* Hdt., or *σ* as in *συστρατεύεσθαι*, *συσπεύδων*; cf. *τῶσ* *σὺμπάντων* Halik. 238<sub>41 42</sub>. *σνν* + *ζ-* becomes *σνζ-* in *σνζενγύναι* Hdt. IV 189.

### 339.] *Varia.*

1. *Metathesis of vowel and nasal in κάμπτω and κναφεύς*; § 349.

2. There is no interchange of labial and nasal in *Μεταγειτρίων* (Priene), and *Πεδαγείτινος* (Rhodes, Kos). See under *Prepositions* in AIOIC.

Since *μπ* does not become *ππ* in Ionic, *Πό(π)πος*, for *Πό(μ)πις* (Styra 19<sub>80</sub>), which Meister thinks to defend by citing Boiot. *ἐππασις* as an analogous case, will not hold ground. Cf. § 336.

### 3. *Gemination of Nasals.*

Aiolic gemination of *μ* in *ἄμμορος καύηξ* Hipponax 2<sub>1</sub>, defended by Renner (p. 161) as an Homeric reminiscence, is foreign to the genius of the iambic trimeter as employed by the early Ionic poets. The Hesychian glosses *ἡμορος* *ἄμοιρος* and *ἡμορίς* *κενή*, *ἐσπερημέτη* *Ἀλσχύλος* *Νιόβη* (cf. *B. B.* XI 252) create a presupposition in favour of the view that Ionic-Attic once possessed an *ἡμορος*, which was adopted by tragedy. *φερεμμελήν*

<sup>1</sup> Wackernagel's hypothesis (*K. Z.* XXIX 136, that *νσ* did not become *νν*, when the accent preceded, has not been substantiated.

in Mimn. 14<sub>4</sub> (cf. Hom. *εὐμμελής*) and *ἐμμορεν* in Theog. 234, are not to be adduced as supports of the traditional reading in Hipponax, because of the difference in tone between elegiac and iambic poetry.

The word *καίηξ* found in conjunction with *ἐμμορες* in the Hipponaktian passage, does not appear to be Ionic. See § 242. While it would facilitate our conception of the nature of the Ionic trimeter as the dialect of the people, were *ἐμμορες* to be regarded as an Ionism, neither Solmsen, *K. Z.* XXIX 86 nor Brugmann, *Gr. Gr.* 45, who incline to this view in discussing *ἐμμορες* and forms of similar texture, has taken into consideration the glosses above mentioned which make for the Aiolic character of *ἐμμορες*.

*μμ* is found in *πλημμυρίς* Hdt. VIII 129, and *κρόμμυα* IV 17, though *Λ* 630, *τ* 233 have the form with one *μ*.

Ionic *δμμα* is from *δπμα*, and is found *e.g.* in Anakr. 75<sub>1</sub>. *δππα* in Aiolic is not well attested.

Ionic varies, as do other dialects, between *δνν-* and *δν-* in the word for *anise*. Hdt. IX 71 has *δννησον*, as Littré reads in Hippokr. II 274, and VIII 170. The dialects vary also between *-σο-* and *-θο-* in the suffix. The latter form appears in Hippokr. VI 558.

The doubling of the nasal in *Ἀννικῶ* Chios (174 C 13, cf. *Ἀννικᾶ* on a tetradrachmon from Chalkidike in the *Zeitschr. f. Numism.* XI 43) is due to the fact that the noun is hypocoristic for *Ἀνίκητος*.

### 340.] N movable.

The inscriptions prove how devoid of authority is the current view in reference to the appearance of the *νη ephelkustikon* in Ionic<sup>1</sup>. If we examine the usage of the inscriptions, it is evident that from the earliest period known to us this paragogic letter was in common use both in prose and poetry, before vowels and before consonants. The earlier documents use the *-ν* with greater regularity than the later.

From the sixth century we have the following instances of *-ν* preceding a consonant: Prokonnesos (stelè of Sigeion) 103<sub>10</sub>, Samos 211, Naukratis I 700, II 701. From the succeeding century there are at least nine cases: Thasos 68, Teos 156 B 33 (two examples), Abdera 162 (metr.), Chios 175 (metr.), Chios 174 C 20, Samos 215 (metr.), Halik. 238<sub>21</sub>, 241 (*ποίησεν* in a

<sup>1</sup> Gram. Aug. 669: *ἐν τοῖς τρίτοις προσώποις ἡ νῆα τῶν ἰόνων διδλεκτος καὶ ἐν ταῖς δοτικαῖς πληθυντικαῖς τὸ ν ἐφέλκ. οὐ . . . εἰ μὴ χάριν μέτρου.* Absence of the paragogic letter in Ionic is asserted by Aristarchus junior in Bekk. An. III 1400; cf. Bachm. An. (Max. Plan.) II 57<sub>17</sub>, 58<sub>1</sub>. Much of the confusion as to this point may be due to the influence of the *Κανόνων Θεραπείας* of the above mentioned namesake of the great Alexandrian critic.



metrical artist's signature). Between 400-300 B.C., there are Olynth. 8 B 8, Eryth. 199<sub>6</sub>, Mykonos 248 C 10, Iasos 104, 105, cf. *J. H. S.* IX 341, No. 3, l. 2, Zeleia 113<sub>1</sub>, 114 B, C, D, E, F, Samos 221<sub>3</sub>, Amphipolis 10<sub>1</sub>, Ephesos 147<sub>1, 12</sub>, and Pantikapaion, Latyshev II 4. And even at a later period: Halikarn. *B. C. H.* XIV p. 91, l. 1, Eryth. 206 B 58 (after 278 B.C.), Teos 158<sub>6, 31</sub> (first century) and in the late archaistic copy of the ancient document from Kyzikos 108 B 2. In the Lykian document No. 263, of uncertain date, there is another example. There are a few examples of the non-occurrence of *nu* movable before consonants, which do not deserve special mention.

Before vowels, and from the fifth century, we find *-v* in Teos 156, B 34, B 36; Chios 173, 174 A 17, 20; Samos 212; Halikarn. 238<sub>10, 18</sub>, 240<sub>39, 45, 63</sub>. From the fourth century: Phanag. 164, Eryth. 200 (metr.), Samos 221<sub>20</sub>, Mylasa 248 C 10. Eryth. No. 206 offers several instances of this use in the third century (B 47, 48, 58, C 45). All the instances of the omission of *-v* before vowels date from a period when the monuments of the dialect are not free from the suspicion of contamination through Attic influence. Examples are: Phanag. 166<sub>2</sub>, 167<sub>2</sub>, 168<sub>1</sub>, Samos 221<sub>17</sub>.

Movable *nu* is not uncommon at the end of an inscription. In early documents we find it (on *ἐποίειν* Miletos 95, see below): Chalkis 1, Keos 45, 48, 51, Paros 58, Prokon. 103, Samos 215. From a later period: Chios 192, Eryth. 207. Other inscriptions have no such termination, such as Sam. 213, 215 (which has *ἀνέθηκε* but also *ἐποίησεν*), Amorg. 228, No. 260 of uncertain provenance, and No. 21, Western Ionic. In the middle of a clause the same haphazard use prevails. Thus in Thasos 72<sub>9, 10</sub>, Samos 221<sub>3</sub>, Ephes. 147<sub>1</sub>, a vowel follows the forms provided with the *-v*. In Teos 158<sub>2</sub> there is no *-v*. In Chios 174 B 6, 17, Zeleia 113 B 2, C 2, E 2, Theodosia 127<sub>3</sub>, the words end in *-v* and are followed by a consonant. Sometimes a clause is terminated by a verb with no *-v*, and the next sentence has in the same inscription, now a vowel, now a consonant to introduce the first word of the following clause (cf. Zeleia 113<sub>9, 13</sub>). The ordinary rule whereby to uncontracted *-εε* of the imperfect *-v* may be added, while the contracted *-ει* may not take the final *-v*, is not without exceptions. The Homeric *ἦσκειν* Γ 388 finds its analogue in the Milesian *ἐποίειν* Bechtel No. 95. Cf. *-ειν* in the pluperfect in Aristophanes, Plato, &c., and *ἀπῆεν* Plato *Tim.* 76 B (before a comma and a word beginning with a consonant).

The supposed absence of the paragogic nasal from the text of Herodotos, and other Ionic writers of prose is generally explained by the assumption that Ionic evinced no repugnance to hiatus.



Now it can readily be shown that the Ionic avoidance of contraction and fondness for hiatus are not so great as is commonly assumed; and Merzdorf has demonstrated that the evidence of the MSS. of Herodotos does not bear out the commonly received view<sup>1</sup>. What Herodoteian usage was, we cannot now discover. Doubtless the historian did not adopt any fixed procedure, and any attempt at uniformity in the manipulation of so delicate an instrument of stylistic perfection cannot be expected before Isokrates. But if contemporary evidence has any claims upon our consideration, the peccant letter must be held to have been used far more frequently than it appears in the MSS. The genuine and the spurious writings of Hippokrates, and the fragments of the philosophers, usually follow the rules which regulate the appearance of the nasal in Attic texts<sup>2</sup>. Eberhard has expelled all cases of -ν from Arrian, though there is no doubt that a closer adherence to the best MSS. would free Arrian from this and many other pseudo-Ionisms. Lukian's *A*, by its omission of -ν, shows the influence of contemporary theory. In Eusebios, however, while we find the nasal sometimes omitted before a vowel, it is added even before a consonant.

1. Herodotos never has -ν with πρόσθε, ἔμπροσθε, ὑπερθε, κατέπερθε, ἐπισθε, ἐνερθε. Herodas has πρόσθε 230, ὑπερθε 340, but also κάτωθεν and κένωθεν 200, which Rutherford emends.

2. Herodotos has τοῦτο, τοιοῦτο, τοσοῦτο; never the -ν forms.

3. The only rule that may be formulated for the appearance of so evanescent a phonetic element is that it never appears before τ, except in the phrase ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ. All our modern rules are drawn from the artificial canons of the grammarians, not from the living language. The perversity of modern rule-making is not so marked in reference to οὕτω, οὕτως.

4. The nasal is not written in πάλι Hrd. 232, as frequently in late poets. Compare πέρυσιν and πέρυσι.

### *Gutturals.*

#### 341.] The Forms with Π and Κ.

The Ionic dialect possesses both π and κ as in πῶς, κῶς, πόρε, κόρε, and in all connected forms<sup>3</sup>. In no other department of

<sup>1</sup> It is however correct that movable -ν occurs only rarely in all MSS., e.g. I 5 ἔμαθεν ἔγκυος, VII 161 ἀπέπεμψεν ἡμέας, VIII 118 οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδεμία.

<sup>2</sup> Some of the excerptors of early Ionic who have preserved the original dialectal colouring with some consistency fail to follow any other rule than that in vogue in Attic. Cf. for example Demokr. 13, 207, 291, 41.

<sup>3</sup> Joh. Gr. 235, 240, 241 B, Greg. K. 412, Gram. Leid. 628, Aug. 668, Vat. 694, Birnb. 678<sub>10</sub>, Et. M. 503<sub>11</sub>, Hesych. s.r. ἀκρίων, Orion 142<sub>34</sub>, Apoll. D. Synl. p. 55 (Bekk.), Adv. p. 184<sub>10</sub> (Schn.), An. Ox. I 247<sub>10</sub>. Some grammarians

Ionic does there exist a wider chasm between the language of the inscriptions and that of literature, the former having no case whatever of the  $\kappa$  forms, the latter having both  $\pi$  and  $\kappa$ . In the poets we find both  $\pi$  and  $\kappa$ , if we accept the somewhat dubious evidence of the MSS., and in Herodotos only the  $\kappa$  forms. There is no evidence that Herodotos adopted the dialect of Miletos in his preference for  $\kappa$  over  $\pi$ , nor is there any actual testimony to a struggle between the two sets of pronominal forms in any portion of Ionic territory, though in the MSS. of poets from Amorgos, Thasos (or Paros if we refer Archilochos to the latter island), Ephesos, Kolophon, and Teos we discover now one, now the other form. The instances of the  $\pi$  forms in the lyric poets are not to be regarded as affording evidence of a period in the history of the dialect when  $\pi$  was in course of becoming  $\kappa$  (a phonetic change unknown to Greek). Though it cannot be gainsaid that no poet of Ionic birth could use either  $\kappa$  or  $\pi$  in the same word, we are unable to demonstrate in all cases which was the chosen form. In any event I regard it as problematic whether any of the instances of the  $\pi$  forms in the MSS. of the iambographs and Ionic elegists (though here the evidence is less certain) are retentions of the original. The geographical extension of the  $\kappa$  forms, the history of their interrelation with those in  $\pi$ , and the possibility of Ionic inscriptions of the seventh century containing forms with  $\kappa$ , are questions that do not at present admit of a solution. There is however no doubt that the older inscriptional forms with  $\pi$  are genuine Ionic, and free from all suspicion of being due to the levelling tendencies of Attic. Much of the apparent confusion in our texts may be due to sub-dialectal preferences as regards  $\kappa$  and  $\pi$ . The existence of such preferences is clear from the Samian *Κυανοψιδών*, mentioned in § 344.

**342.] List of Ionic pronominal forms with K for Π.**

An exhaustive presentation of all the testimony from the prose literature is not attempted. The poetical and inscriptional forms are given with tolerable completeness. The  $\kappa$  forms are given only when they are supported by MS. authority. Homer has everywhere the labial forms; so too the non-Ionian elegists.

thought the  $\kappa$  forms were Aiolic. *κονεῖν* for *πνεῖν* Schol. Ven. B on  $\Pi$  648 cf. *ἀκονητή ἀπικονητή* Et. Mag. 507a) has the appearance of a form made to order, though, if genuine, it would be an interesting illustration of the change which we observe in *πόντος, διδάκτορας*. Demetrios Ixion *apud* Apollon Sophist. *Lex.* 131, merely says of  $\pi\eta$  that it is Ionic and Homeric.

κου	Anakr. 1, Hdt. Hippokr. II 34 Hrd. 1 <sub>107</sub> , 3 <sub>13</sub> , 6 <sub>107</sub> , &c. (δῆκου 3 <sub>107</sub> 5 <sub>11</sub> , δῆκουθεν 2 <sub>2</sub> )	που	Amph. 10 <sub>7</sub> , Zeleia 113 <sub>10</sub> Arch. 73, Anan. 1 Hdt. Hippokr. II 282, 362, 676, III 190 (bis)
δκου	Hipponax 51, Sim. Am. 7 <sub>11</sub> , 10 <sub>6</sub> Phoin. Kol. 2 <sub>12</sub> (Schn.) Kallim. 85 Hdt. Hippokr. II 72, 90, 362 (δπου in 2253), III 56, 58 Hrd. 3 <sub>12</sub> 5 <sub>11</sub>	δπου	Keos 43 <sub>11</sub> , Thasos 71 <sub>4</sub> , Halik. 240 <sub>44</sub> Vit. Hom. 6
κω	Hippon. tr. 19 <sub>1</sub> (conj. for χω) Anakr. 33 (MSS. κωτε) Hdt. Demokr. (Clem. Alex. 357 P)	πω	Archil. 25, Tyrt. 11 <sub>2</sub> (οὐπω) Theog. 1265 Hippokr. II 34 Hrd. 7 <sub>44</sub>
κῶς, κως	Kall. 1 <sub>12</sub> Hdt. Luk. V. A. 14 (or δκως) Dea Syr. 29. Euseb. Mynd. 63 Hrd. 6 <sub>74-83</sub>	πῶς, πως	Archil. 122 Hippon. 87 Herakl. 27 Melissos 12 (Simpl., Mul- lach κῶς) Hippokr. II 282, III 210 Luk. V. A. 4 Vit. Hom. 14, 19 Hrd. 2 <sub>14</sub>
δκως	Sim. Am. 7 <sub>11</sub> Anakr. 63, Herakl. 2, 45, 100 Demokr. 20, 41, 208 Hdt. Hippokr. II 74, III 64, 242 Philip of Pergam. B. C. H. II 273 Aretaïos Vit. Hom. 21 Hrd. (17 times)	δπως	Thasos 71 <sub>4</sub> (fourth cen- tury) Samos 221 <sub>10, 11</sub> (after 322 B.C.), cf. Ephesos 147 <sub>17</sub> [δπ]ως Sim. Am. 1, Hippon. 85, Vit. Hom. 18 Hrd. 7 <sub>11</sub>
κῶϊος	Hdt. Aret. Luk. Arrian 35 <sub>4</sub> Hrd. 6 <sub>107</sub> 7 <sub>13</sub>	πῶϊος	Arch. epod. 94 <sub>1</sub> Hrd. 2 <sub>11</sub>
δκῶϊος	Archil. 70 <sub>7</sub> , tetr. Herakl. 2, 23, 126 Demokr. 47 Hdt. Hippokr. III 42, 236 Aret. Luk. V. A. 4, Dea Syr. 29 Euseb. Mynd. 63. Hrd. 1 <sub>107</sub> 6 <sub>107</sub> 3 <sub>107</sub>	δπωϊος	Anax. 6 (Simpl.)

κότε, κοτε	Sim. Am. 7 <sub>19</sub> Kall 1 <sub>1</sub> , 2 <sub>2</sub> Mimn. 11 <sub>1</sub> Anakr. 33 in MSS. (Bergk κω τότ'), Kallim. 93 Hdt. Hrd. 27 <sub>31</sub> , 43 <sub>2</sub> , 63 <sub>4</sub> , 73 <sub>5</sub> , 81, &c.	πότε, ποτε	Amorg. Rob. 1 160 A Xenoph. 1 <sub>1</sub> , 6 <sub>2</sub> Tyr. 11 <sub>15</sub> , 12 <sub>1</sub> Mimn. 12 <sub>20</sub> , 14 <sub>2</sub> Theog. 1245, 1256, 1287, 1307, 1331, 1345 Anakr. 85 Hrd 6 <sub>10</sub> , 27, cf. 27 Herakl 27 Hippokr II 70, 360, 678, III 44, 90, V 606, 620, 634, 674 Luk. Dea Syr. 29 Arrian 42 <sub>2</sub>
δότε	Herakl. 36, 73 Hdt. Hippokr. II 34, 70, 360, 362 δότε 2253) Demokr. 47 Vit. Hom. 5	δπότε	Kall 1 <sub>2</sub> (δπότε, cf. note 1) Vit. Hom. 26
κόσος	Hdt. Hrd. 1 <sub>21</sub> , 23 <sub>3</sub> , 37 <sub>1</sub> , 74 <sub>4</sub> , &c.	πόςος	Hippokr. II 678
δόσος	Phoenix Kol. 2 <sub>6</sub> , 10 Herakl. 2, 5, 18, 64, 91, 104 Demokr. 22, 47, 211 Hdt. Hippokr. II 34, 86, 90 Philip of Pergam. B. C. H. II 273 Aret., Hrd. 1 <sub>23</sub> Arrian 40 <sub>4</sub> , Luk. Dea Syr. 29	δπόσος	δπόσαι Eretr. 15 <sub>2</sub> Xenoph. 1 <sub>17</sub> Demokr. 13
κῆ	Hdt.	πῆ	Archil. 60
δκη	Herakl. 73 Melissos 14 Hdt.	δπη	Sim. Am. 1 <sub>2</sub>

Hdt. has also κόθεν (Hrd. 6<sub>22</sub>), δκόθεν, κότερος, δκότερος. In the case of other words the New Ionic of Hdt. presents no variations from Attic as regards the representation of I. E. *q* as *κ* before *o*, e.g. ὀποδαπή V 13, ὀποδαπός VII 218. Xenophanes has πηλίκος. In Arrian 42<sub>2</sub> δκου is to be read. In Herodas the forms with *κ* are much more numerous than those with *π* (e.g. 2<sub>29</sub>, 50, 6<sub>27</sub>, 7<sub>22</sub>, 44).

1. Forms with *ππ* are not to be called into question, since there is no such thing as an Ionic δκκότε. Fick's attempts to expel δπκότε κεν δη from Kallinos 1<sub>1</sub>, on the ground of the inadmissibility of an Aiolie form in that elegist, are wide of the mark. There is an irreducible minimum of Aiolisms in the Ionic elegy. Cf. also Theog. 531 δππώτ' ἀκούσω.

2. Bechtel's statement, that  $\delta\pi\sigma\upsilon$  in Keos 43<sub>m</sub> is a proof of Attic influence, is misleading. There is no inscriptional instance of  $\delta\kappa\sigma\upsilon$  or of any such  $\kappa$  form. All we can say is that the Keian  $\delta\pi\sigma\upsilon$  is the earliest inscriptional example of a  $\pi$  form. Cf. § 450, 2.

3. A difference between the three divisions of Ionic on the score of the  $\kappa$  forms cannot be established. Wilamowitz, *Hom. Untersuch.*, p. 318, proposes to restore the  $\pi$  forms in Archilochos, as a representative of Island Ionic, and because of  $\delta\pi\sigma\upsilon$  upon a Thasiote inscription. In Archilochos the MSS. vary only more frequently in favour of the  $\pi$  form than they do in the case of poets of the Asiatic mainland. I see no reason to refer the  $\kappa$  forms to the influence of the *μεταγραφόμενοι*. Blass (*Kühner's Gramm.* p. 142) holds that Euboian Ionic also (cf.  $\delta\pi\acute{o}\tau\epsilon\pi\omicron\varsigma$  Eretria 15<sub>10</sub>) did not adopt the guttural. Our only evidence as to the nature of Euboian Ionic is that derived from inscriptions. If we argue that because no Western Ionic inscription has  $\kappa$ , therefore Western Ionic had  $\pi$ , a similar line of reasoning would hold good in the case of Island Ionic, and thus call in question the integrity of much of the MS. tradition.

4. The MSS. of Hippokrates varied greatly in regard to these forms according to the express testimony of Galen, who says that Artemidorus Capito edited  $\delta\pi\acute{o}\sigma\eta\sigma\iota$ , &c. Gomperz, *Apologie der Heilkunst*, p. 86 ff., has illustrated the erratic conduct of the MSS. by reference to the pseudo-Hippocratic tracts *περὶ τέχνης*, *περὶ φύσιος ἀνθρώπου*, and *περὶ φύσων*. In the latter the later MSS. have the  $\kappa$  forms twelve times,  $\Lambda$  not once; from which Gomperz concludes that the  $\kappa$  forms are the result of meddling on the part of the scribes.

343.] By some imitators of Herodotos the  $\kappa$  forms are carefully reproduced. Lukian's only exception seems to be  $\pi\omicron\tau\acute{\epsilon}$  *Dea Syr.* 29. Arrian has, on the other hand, 34 cases of  $\pi$ , but few of  $\kappa$  ( $\acute{o}\kappa\acute{o}\tau\epsilon$  in *A* § 42,  $\kappa\acute{o}\iota\omega$  35 in some MSS.,  $\acute{o}\kappa\acute{o}\sigma\omicron\iota\sigma\iota\nu$  40). Eberhard adopts Hercher's expulsion of all the  $\pi$  forms in Arrian. In the other pseudo-Ionists we find scattered forms containing  $\kappa$ :—Abydenos 1  $\kappa\omicron\upsilon$ ,  $\acute{o}\kappa\eta$ , in the epistles of Pherekydes  $\omicron\upsilon\kappa\omega$ ,  $\acute{o}\kappa\omicron\iota\omicron\nu$ , epist. of Herakl.  $\acute{o}\kappa\acute{o}\sigma\iota\omicron\iota$ , epist. of Hippokr. 40 cases of  $\kappa$  to 22 of  $\pi$ .

The guttural forms have been given a place even in the Doric of the Pseudo-Timaios:  $\acute{o}\kappa\acute{o}\sigma\omicron\iota$  93 B, 96 E, 99 C, 100 B, C, D,  $\delta\kappa\sigma\upsilon$  99 A, 101 C.

344.] Other cases of Ionic  $K = \Pi$  are:  $\kappa\upsilon\alpha\nu\omicron\psi\iota\acute{\omega}\nu$  in Kyzikos and Samos (*Berlin. Monatsberichte*, 1859, p. 739).  $\pi\acute{\upsilon}\alpha\nu\omicron\varsigma$  and  $\Pi\upsilon\alpha\nu\omicron\psi\iota\acute{\omega}\nu$  have  $\pi$  where  $\kappa$  is strictly in place. See Reinach, *Traité*, p. 489, Brugmann, *Gr. Gr.* p. 32, note. On  $\kappa\tau\acute{\alpha}\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$  or  $\kappa\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\mu\alpha\iota = \pi\acute{\alpha}\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ , see §§ 169, 246.

345.] K for T.

Only one case deserves notice. In Archil. 14, we read  $\xi\sigma\kappa\epsilon$  for  $\xi\sigma\tau\epsilon$ , the only instance of this form. See § 716.  $\xi\sigma\tau\epsilon$  was employed by Hdt. and the pseudo-Ionic writers, e.g. Arrian, *Ind.* 196.



### 346.] Transposition of Aspiration<sup>1</sup> (X=K).

The shifting of  $\chi$ - $\kappa$ ,  $\theta$ - $\tau$ ,  $\phi$ - $\pi$  arises from so strong an aspirated pronunciation of  $\kappa$ ,  $\tau$ ,  $\pi$  that the *lenues* and *aspiratae* represented nearly the same sound. This phenomenon, though not restricted to Ionic<sup>2</sup>, nevertheless obtained in that dialect the dignity of admission into literature, from which it was usually debarred in other dialects. The Ionic forms are usually original, as in the case of  $\epsilon\iota\theta\alpha\iota\tau\alpha$ , cf.  $\epsilon\iota\theta\alpha$ . Ionic inscriptions of the best period do not offer instances of the intermediate form with double aspirate such as  $\chi\alpha\lambda\chi\eta\delta\omega\acute{\nu}$  in Attic inscriptions.

$\kappa\iota\theta\acute{\omega}\nu$ <sup>3</sup>= $\chi\iota\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$  Hdt. II 81, Samos 220<sub>13, 16, 37</sub>,  $\kappa\iota\theta\omega\nu\acute{\iota}\sigma\kappa\omicron\varsigma$  220<sub>17</sub>, cf.  $\kappa\iota\theta\omega\nu\acute{\iota}\sigma\kappa\omicron\nu$  C. I. A. II 759, II 11. In Anacr. 59 the Attic form is read by Bergk, following the scholiast on Eurip. *Hek.* 934. The form  $\kappa\iota\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$  occurs in Sicilian Doric (Sophron 62, Ahrens), and in Attic inscriptions ( $\kappa\iota\tau\acute{\omega}\nu\alpha$  C. I. A. II 764<sub>1</sub>).

$\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\theta\rho\eta$ ,  $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\theta\rho\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\kappa\upsilon\theta\rho\acute{\iota}\delta\iota\omicron\nu$  are often cited as Ionic by the grammarians<sup>4</sup>. The MSS. of Hdt. however have  $\chi\upsilon\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\delta\omega\nu$  V 88, and in Hipponax 25 we find  $\chi\upsilon\tau\rho\omicron\pi\acute{o}\delta\iota\omicron\nu$ .  $\kappa\upsilon\theta\rho\acute{\iota}\delta\iota\omicron\nu$  in Hippokr. VII 394 in  $\theta$  (cf. 396) justifies our writing the Herodoteian and Hipponaktian words with  $\kappa$ . The pseudo-Ionists have  $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\theta\rho\eta$ , which appears in Herodas, III 1 (found in Stobaios, *Serm.* 78, 6) though in the recently discovered papyrus  $\chi\acute{\upsilon}\tau\rho\eta$  appears (77a). Like forms are found in Clemens Alex. and Josephos. In a late inscription from Oropos (Eph. arch. 1889, p. 3, ll. 12, 13) we find  $\chi\upsilon\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ .

Forms adduced by grammarians are:  $\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}\theta\iota\omicron\nu$ = $\chi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\tau\iota\omicron\nu$  Eust. 1259<sub>36</sub>;  $\kappa\acute{\omega}\rho\upsilon\kappa\omicron\varsigma$  ( $\chi\omega\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$ ) Eust. 1446<sub>4</sub>, 1534<sub>47</sub>;  $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\iota\omicron\nu$  Greg. Kor. § 28 must be an error for  $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\iota\omicron\nu$ , with which he would compare  $\acute{\alpha}\chi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\iota\omicron\nu$ <sup>5</sup>.

### 347.] K for X by Dissimilation.

$\Phi\rho\upsilon\nu\epsilon\kappa\acute{\iota}\delta\eta\varsigma$  Thasos (L.) 7 A 4= $\Phi\rho\upsilon\nu\epsilon\chi\acute{\iota}\delta\eta\varsigma$  which is found in Hippokr. II 704. Cf.  $\chi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\mu\epsilon\tau\lambda\omicron\nu$  Hippon. 19<sub>4</sub>= $\chi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\mu\epsilon\theta\lambda\omicron\nu$ ,  $\chi\acute{\upsilon}\tau\lambda\omicron\nu$ = $\chi\acute{\upsilon}\theta\lambda\omicron\nu$  and see B. B. I 65, Ascoli *Kritische Studien*, p. 404, note 2.

<sup>1</sup> Greg. Kor. § 28, An. Ox. I 397<sub>11</sub>, Choir. 635<sub>10</sub>. Even  $\epsilon\tau\upsilon\kappa\omicron\nu$  is derived from  $\epsilon\tau\upsilon\chi\omicron\nu$  in An. Par. III 183<sub>31</sub>; similar vagaries occur in An. Par. III 110<sub>11</sub>.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Attic  $\phi\acute{\iota}\delta\acute{\alpha}\kappa\eta$ ,  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\theta\eta$  in the Common dialect cf. Eust. 1259<sub>11</sub>. The fact that the Common dialect adopted the shifting of aspiration renders doubtful the ascription to Ionic of certain glosses, e.g.  $\theta\omega\tau\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$ ,  $\tau\rho\iota\gamma\chi\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  in Hesychios.

<sup>3</sup> Greg. Kor. p. 414 (cf. 341), Gram. Meerm. 649; Bekk. An. II 793<sub>20</sub>  $\kappa\iota\theta\acute{\omega}\nu\iota\omicron\nu$ , An. Par. III 57<sub>3</sub>, Eust. 468<sub>22</sub>, 746<sub>12</sub>; Hesych.  $\kappa\iota\theta\omega\nu$   $\kappa\iota\theta\acute{\omega}\nu$ ?)  $\pi\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha$   $\pi\acute{\iota}\theta\omicron\nu$  and  $\pi\rho\omicron\kappa\iota\theta\acute{\omega}\nu\iota\omicron\nu$   $\tau\acute{o}$   $\pi\rho\acute{o}\rho\iota\nu\omicron\nu$ .

<sup>4</sup> An. Par. III 57<sub>12</sub>, Et. M. 454<sub>11</sub>, Eust. 468<sub>22</sub>, 746<sub>12</sub>, Choir. 635<sub>10</sub>, Hesych.  $\epsilon\pi\iota\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\theta\rho\iota\omicron\nu$   $\tau\acute{o}$   $\pi\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha$   $\tau\eta\varsigma$   $\chi\acute{\upsilon}\tau\rho\alpha\varsigma$ , An. Ox. I 366<sub>11</sub>, Greg. Kor. 341 call  $\kappa\upsilon\theta\rho\alpha$  Doric, and Eust. regards the  $\kappa$  form as Sicilian as well as Ionic. Epicharmos has  $\chi\acute{\upsilon}\tau\rho\alpha$  according to our sources.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. An. Par. III 57<sub>11</sub>, Meerm. 649, Eust. 468<sub>22</sub>, 746<sub>11</sub>.

Καλχηδόνιος Hdt. IV 85, 144, V 26 is an older orthography for Χαλκ-, which occurs frequently in the MSS. (Bredow, p. 92). In VI 33 all the MSS. except *R* have Χαλκ-. In Attic inscriptions of the fifth century both Καλχ- and Χαλχ- occur.

With the above mentioned words we may compare Ἀγκιθείδης in Delos, Ditt. *Syll.* p. 513, note 26, which name is derived from Ἀγχίθεος as Ἐκέφυλος from Ἐχέφυλος.

### 348.] Other cases of Ionic K varying with X.

δέκομαι<sup>1</sup> with its compounds occurs in New Ionic literature, and is also Aiolic, Doric, and Arkadian for δέχομαι the Attic form which is due to analogy<sup>2</sup>. Attic has retained the original κ in δωροδόκος. δέχομαι is however not unknown upon Ionic soil. καταδέχεται in Amphipolis 10<sub>19-20</sub> may be regarded as offering inconclusive testimony because of its late date (358 B.C.); but Teos 156 B 21, one of the oldest stone records of the dialect, by its ὑποδέχοιτο shows that the aspirated form was not unknown to the Ionic of the fifth century. δέχομαι may have held its ground from the Homeric period (Homer has no case of δέκομαι) side by side with the morphologically older form which was generally adopted by literary prose. Instances of δέχομαι before Hippokrates are rare (Hipponax has προσδέχονται in frag. 8) and not certain. In Hippokrates δέχομαι is often attested, e.g. V 604 (102), 612 (139), 618 (156), II 76, 152, 246, 372, 610, III 50, 258. Lukian has δέκομαι except in *Astr.* 29, while in Arrian the two forms are about equally divided. δέκομαι is found in Abydenos 1, *Vita Homeri* 12; δέχομαι in Aretaios, epist. Hippokr., Euseb. Mynd. 1.

οὐκί Hom., Hdt., Attic οὐχί, which form is used by Herodas twelve times. Cf. Hdn. II 379<sub>28</sub> (Choir. 699<sub>8</sub>), Et. Mag. 624<sub>10</sub>, Et. Gud. 428<sub>4</sub>, 440<sub>1</sub>, An. Ox. I 301<sub>33</sub>, 311<sub>20</sub>, 318<sub>33</sub>, Bekk. An. I 57<sub>20</sub>, II 718<sub>18</sub>, <sub>28</sub>, and οὐκ ἔπεται Hesych. Homeric τετυκέω, τετυκέσθαι from τεύχω may here be mentioned. Herodas has ἐπιβρύχουσα 6<sub>13</sub>, where -βρύκουσα would be the Attic form. Zonaras 1512 says that the Attics, Dorians, and Ionians, except Anakreon (88), used μοχλός. Upon inscriptions κ is sometimes written for χ after σ and before ρ: Αἰσκραος Styra 19<sub>183</sub>; cf. Αἰσχροίων 19<sub>154</sub>, Αἰσχροίων Thasos 71<sub>1</sub>. With this κ, cf. that in the Eleian πάσκοι C. D. I. 1152<sub>8</sub>.

<sup>1</sup> Hdn. II 571<sub>15</sub>, δέκω Eust. 746<sub>25</sub>, 884<sub>25</sub>, 1399<sub>25</sub> (cf. 1778<sub>1</sub>, παρδεύει Eust. 1540<sub>34</sub>, ξεινοδόκος An. Ox. I 300<sub>20</sub>). Eust. does not shrink from assuming an δέκω in Ionic, 1183<sub>15</sub>. This form is found in Modern Greek dialects but is of course not a survival. A similar vagary as regards δέκα appears in Bekk. An. II 710<sub>3</sub>.

<sup>2</sup> Brugmann *Grundr.* I § 486 note, Osthoff *Perfect*, 284, 299. G. Meyer *Gram.* § 207 sets up the proportion βρέξω : βρέχω :: δέξομαι : δέχομαι. But βρέξω is quite late, and εἰβρεξα did not come into vogue before Hippokrates.

## 849.] K for Γ.

κ is softened into γ, as in Attic, in the following words.

κναφεύς *cloth-corder* Hdt. IV 14, κναφήιον IV 14 = Hippokratie (II 666) and = Attic γναφεύς, γναφε[ί]ον C. I. A. II 817 A 28 (358 B.C.). The older stage of Attic is here on a plane with Ionic, as is seen by κναφεύς C. I. A. IV A 373 F, a document of the sixth century. Herodas has γναφεύς 478. Hdt. has also κνάφος I 92.

With ἀνακάμπειν in Hdt. II 8, cf. ἀναγνάμπειν in Homer, κνάμπειν, γνάμπειν, κνάπτειν in Attic. Hdt. has καμπή I 185, ἐπικαμπή I 180, Hippokr. ἐπικάμπειν. See Siegmund in Curtius' *Studien* V 192. These examples of the variation between an initial tenuis and media before vowels have analogues elsewhere, e.g. Phokian βρυτανεύω = πρυτανεύω, Kretan κλάγος = γλάγος, Attic Κρίφων = Γρίφων. In two other words of doubtful formation a like phonetic interchange after an initial vowel may be noted. Ἀγβάτανα is not better than Ἐκβάτανα (§ 129) because of the γ of *Hañgmatañaiy*, loc. sing., Behistan II 76; Ὠγήρος, in a fragment of Pherekydes of Syros quoted by Clem. Alex. 741 P, recalls the Hesychian glosses Ὠγήν, ὠγένιος which the ancients connected with Ὠκεανός.

## 950.] X for Γ.

πρῆγμα Chios 174 B 18 stands for πρῆγμα. χμ is not from γμ (which is a favourite sound-combination, γ being the guttural nasal), but from analogy of -χμα, -χμος forms (βρεχμός, ἔχμα). The form πρῆγμα has been held by Roehl and Karsten to be a peculiarity of the sub-dialect of Chios-Erythrai. Bechtel however compares the v. l. of B in Archil. 30 μυριχμερας for the received ἐσμυρισμένας. Cf. also Hesychios' ἐσμυριγμερας μεμυρισμέραι. Other forms that may be noted in this connection are μεμορυχμένα v. l. ν 435, διαπεπλεχμένα (*quasdam αντίγραφα Galen, tempore*) Hippokr. II 120. Cf. παράδειγμα in Epidaurian, C. D. I. 3325<sup>251</sup> *aa*.

Hdt. II 252, = Et. M. 151, *αρχμενος*: — ὥφειλε δὲ ἔργμενος φύλαξαν δὲ τὸ χ δοκεῖ Ἰωνικὸν εἶναι, καθὼ καὶ τὸ ἔργμα ἔρχμα φασίν Cf. II 149, οὐ ἔρχατο In II 371, = Et. M. 371, we should expect ἐρεχμός, διωχμός, ληχμός (*Antimachos*) to be called Ionic, not Aiolie.

## 951.] Varia.

1. ἐχ for ἐκ before an aspirate in ἐχφέρειν Keos 43<sub>6</sub> is not specifically Ionic. Cf. ἐχ φυλῆς C. I. A. I 31 A 7, ἐχφέρεσθαι in Kretan, Caer 117<sub>9</sub>. Ionic has ἐκχεῖν in 43<sub>22</sub>.

2. In δεδόκχθαι Samos 221<sub>26</sub>, we find κχ for χ, i.e. κχ became κχ. Cf. ὄφης = ὄφis, according to the probable conjecture of Bergk in Hipponax 49<sub>6</sub>. In ἐλεγκθέντος Mylasa

248 C 11 we have κθ written for χθ. The pronunciation of *h* after both κ and τ was difficult, χθ and φθ having in reality but a single *h*. See § 362.

3. Upon a papyrus couched chiefly in the Ionic dialect and dating from the fourth century B.C. (*Philol.* XLI 748) we find τυχάνοι in line 11, but τυχάνοι in line 8. In the latter case we have the expulsion, in the former the assimilation, of the nasal, as in Νύφη and ξυββάλλεσθαι.

352.] μικρός < μικ-ρός, a by-form of μικ-ρός, is called Ionic by Eust. 217<sub>25</sub> (cf. 610<sub>25</sub>), but is also Aiolic and Doric. It occurs in Herodas 6<sub>59</sub> who has also μικρός 7<sub>43</sub>. Boiot. Μίκα has hypocoristic gemination. Cf. Lat. *mīca*, *mīcidus*, Μικίς Naukr. 745.

### 353.] Γ for B.

γλήχων (or γληχώ) is called Ionic for Attic βλήχων (Doric and Boiotian γλάχων) in Bekk. Anecd. I 30<sub>15</sub> and in other grammatical treatises. γλήχων occurs in the Hymn to Demeter, Hippokrates, and Herodas, frag. (7). Such a variation between Attic and Ionic in the representation of an original *g* sound deserves note from its very isolation. On the accent, see Chandler, § 606.

### 354.] Koppa.

Q appears in Ionic inscriptions chiefly before o and υ, but also before λ, ρ, and ν. The velar pronunciation of the guttural sound is indicated by the retention of the character reproducing *qōrh* in the following instances:—

(1) Γλαῦρος, on an amphora from a Chalkidian colony, Roberts I 189 G, Volci I 188 G, Naukratis I 218 (= Rob. I 132 *ter*); Καῖρος Naukratis II 717, 795; καρῶι Arkesine 30 = Rob. I 160 D; 'Ροῖρος Naukratis II 778; ἀ]ντιδίοις Chalkidian 13<sub>13</sub> (cf. ἀντίδικος Orop. 18<sub>19</sub>); τεσ(σ)ερακαιεβδο[μη]ροντούτης Delos 58; Δημόδορος Volci, Rob. I 188 A; Λεώδορος, on a Chalkidian amphora, Rob. I 189 H; Φολοφώνιος Abu-Simbel 152; Φούρη Naxos 23; Διοσφουρ- Naukratis I 675-682, II 833-836, &c.; Qo - - - - Chalkidian, Bechtel 13.

(2) Φύρι[ο]ς, Chalkid. amphora, Rob. I 192 (a); λήρυθος Kyme, Rob. I 173; 'Αρφύλης Chalkidian, Rob. I 183 (b).

(3) Φλυτώ Volci, Rob. I 188 E; Φλύτιος Volci, Rob. I 193 (c).

(4) 'Επιφρήθεος Styra 19<sub>107</sub> is a doubtful form. φ seems, with this possible exception, to have ceased to be used in the Styrian tablets of the fifth century.

(5) Φύρι[ο]ς Chalkid., Rob. I 192 (a).



*Dentals.*

On ζ=δ, see § 377.

355.] T for Θ.

αὔτις<sup>1</sup> = αὔθις, epic, Herakleitos 16, Hdt. II 149, &c. Hdt. I 62 has μεταὔτις according to Stein, who reads αὔθιγενέες IV 49, αὔθιγενέι IV 180, αὔθιγενές II 149, and in the same sentence αὔτις. αὔτις occurs Hrd. 171, 527, 63, and by conjecture in Anakr. 29. This form is also Kretan. It is found in the pseudo-Ionists Lukian, e.g. *V. A.* 5, Euseb. Mynd. 63, and Eusebios, § 2. Hippokrates<sup>2</sup> prefers αὔθις to αὔτις, as his supposititious letters, Aretaioi, Abydenoi. In Arrian also the Attic form has found a place, while Polybios adopts upon occasion the Ionic form.

Variation between τ and θ is strongly marked in Ταργήλιος, Θαργήλιος. Both forms occur upon the same inscription, Iasos 104<sub>27, 28</sub> (T), 104<sub>14</sub> (Θ). Anakreon 40 has the τ form; in Hipponax 373 Ταργηλίοισιν is a conjecture, the MSS. having γαργ- and Θαργ-. Ταργηλιών is the name of the month in Delos (cf. *B. C. H.* V 26) and Tenos. Θαργήλια in Archil. ep. 113 is changed without warrant by Bergk to Ταργήλια. In Chios 174 C 18 we have the name Θαργελίο[s], and in Amorgos, Kyzikos, and Ephesos the name of the month was Θαργηλιών. We know also of Θαργήλια in Miletos.

τευθίς Sim. Amorg. 15 and θευτίς or θεῦτις Hipponax 115, would seem to be mutually exclusive in Ionic. θευτίς was doubtless adopted in Eastern Ionic, though which was the form among the Euboians, on whose coins the sepia appeared, is unknown. Hesychios has θωτάζει· ἐμπαίζει, χλευάζει, i.e. τωθάζει, without attributing to an Ionic source this example of the movement of the dentals. Both Hdt. and Hippokr. have τωθάζω.

Certain words connected with, or forms of, θάπτω and τέθηκα are called Ionic by the ancients: τάφος burial and amazein, Ionic for θάπος, Hdt. II 382<sub>11</sub> = An. Ox. I 3977, Apoll. *Synt.* 552, Bekk., Orion 151<sub>12</sub>, Chor. 635<sub>1</sub>, who calls θρέψω and θρέξω; Ionic, Et. M. 748<sub>33</sub>. Cf. also An. Par. III 57<sub>1</sub>, Schol. Ven. A on IX 193, Et. M. 748<sub>33</sub>, Et. Gud. 522<sub>26</sub>, An. Par. III 57<sub>10</sub>; τέθηκότες Apoll. D. *Synt.* 552<sub>1</sub>. Hdt. has τεθάφαται VI 103, where K has τετάφαται. ἐτάφη is found in Herodotos (III 10, ἐθάφη in Sim. Keos 167<sub>1</sub>).

<sup>1</sup> Greg. Kor p. 471, Eust. 1175<sub>11</sub>, cf. 789<sub>10</sub>, 1006<sub>20</sub>, Anecd. Bachm. II 61<sub>17</sub> (Max. Plan. "Ομηρος καὶ Ἴωνες; Tzetz. *Ex. H.* 84<sub>11</sub>, and on Had. W. D. 560, cf. 156, where αὔτις is also referred to the Κοινή.

<sup>2</sup> Littré adopts αὔθις III 104 (no v. l.), 236 (Aldus alone αὔτις, 242 (αὔτις C. II 82 (αὔτις 2146, VI 92 αὔτις A M. Littré has certainly gone too far in rejecting the Ionic form.



## 356.] Θ for T.

On θ in κῖθών, κύθρη, see § 346.

ἐνθεῦτεν<sup>1</sup>, ἐνθαῦτα in Hdt. with retention of original aspiration<sup>2</sup>. The form ἐνθαῦτα is also found in the very ancient papyrus (*Philologus* XLI 748 l. 6), epist. Hippokr. 17<sub>18</sub>, *Vita Hom.* 2. On ἐντοῦθα Oropos 18<sub>17</sub>, see § 256. The intermediate stage between ἐνθauτ- and ἐνtauθ- appears in ἐνθauθοῖ Attic (C. I. A. IV B 27 B 13; 439 B. C.), if the first θ is not due to the influence of the second. In the Kymaian θυφλός (Roberts I 173) and ἐθέθην (Rob. I 174<sup>3</sup>) the θ's seem to be due to etymological considerations. This phenomenon is not restricted to Ionic, but occurs in Lakonian, Argolic, &c.

M. Schmidt suggests that the Hesychian gloss Θελγῖνες· οἱ Τελχῖνες is Ionic. This is doubtful on account of the rest of the gloss: γόητες, πανοῦργοι, φαρμακευταί.

βάθρακος is stated by ancient grammarians to be the Herodoteian form for βάτραχος (see §§ 147, 335)<sup>4</sup>. No editor, however, deserts the MS. tradition in Hdt. IV 131, 132; and Pigres, the author of the *Batrachomyomachia*, though an elder contemporary of the historian, does not recognize the form with θ.

## 357.] Varia.

## 1. τ for π.

Palatal τ is found in Τενθεύς (ὁ Πενθεὺς παρὰ Ἐκαταίῳ, Photios). Πενθεύς is a clipped-name of Μεγαπένθης. Τελέθριον in Euboea is the equivalent of Πελεθρόνιον in Thessaly.

2. θ for δ in μηθέν Hrd. 3<sub>91</sub>, μηθενί Teos 158<sub>21</sub>, and οὔθένα, Olbia C. I. G. 2058 A 32, is not specifically Ionic. The aspiration of an original *media* is widely known in all the dialects as they approach the Κοινή stage. A noteworthy instance of θ=δ is ἡθ' ὁμόλευκτρος B. C. II. IV 287, l. 5 (Paros).

3. Beyond the pale of regular phonetic change lie Μιτροδάτης and Μιτροβάτης.

## 4. τ for δ.

The schol. on Thuk. I 64 makes the curious statement in regard to Ἀφύτιος that it is Ionic for Ἀφύδιος. Because of the termination, we should rather say. For ἀτράφαξος, Hippokr. VI 560 has ἀνδράφαξος. For κρατευτής Il. IX 214, the Attic is κρατευτής and κραδευτής. For δρύφακτος, we find τρύφακτος in Delos, B. C. II. 1890, p. 397, and in Oropos, Ἐφημ. ἀρχ. 1889, p. 3, l. 4-5; cf. Hdn. II 595<sub>1</sub>, who says that some wrote the

<sup>1</sup> Greg. Kor. 465, Eust. 468<sub>21</sub>, 746<sub>12</sub>, An. Ox. I 397<sub>11</sub>, An. Par. III 57<sub>10</sub>, Apoll. Synl. 55<sub>21</sub>.

<sup>2</sup> ἐνταῦθα, the Attic form, is very common in MSS. of Ionic writers, e.g. Sim. Am. 23<sub>1</sub>, Hrd. 3<sub>20</sub>, epist. Hippokr. 27<sub>21</sub>, 10, 22; ἐντεῦθεν *Vita Hom.* 13, 21.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Attic ἀνεθέθη in the same inscription as ἐνθαυθοῖ.

<sup>4</sup> See also Eust. 746<sub>10</sub>, Meerm. 649.

word with  $\delta$ , and also § 335. The Delian inscription, *L. I.* p 404, has  $\epsilon\nu\acute{\omega}\tau\iota\alpha$ , with which cf.  $\epsilon\nu\acute{\omega}\delta\iota\omicron\nu$ .

$\tau\acute{\alpha}\pi\eta\varsigma$  occurs in Homer, Herodas 2<sub>44</sub>, though Ail. Dionysios *apud* Eust. 1369<sub>41</sub> says that  $\delta\acute{\alpha}\pi\eta\varsigma$  and  $\delta\acute{\alpha}\pi\iota\varsigma$  are the older forms.  $\delta\acute{\alpha}\pi\iota\varsigma$  occurs in Aristophanes, &c., but all MSS. have the  $\tau$  form in *Plut.* 541.

5.  $\tau\theta$  for  $\theta$ , &c.

In  $\Pi\iota\tau\theta\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$  on a coin from Ephesos *Num. Chron.* 1881, 16 ( $\Pi\iota\tau\theta\epsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$ ) and also Attic (C. I. A. III 908, 1962), the  $\tau\theta$  is a development of  $\theta$  ( $t\theta$  becoming  $ty$ ). On  $\tau\tau$  in another form of this name, see § 361, 2.

6.  $\delta$  and  $\gamma$ .

$\delta\nu\acute{o}\phi\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\delta\nu\omicron\phi\epsilon\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$  in Hom.,  $\delta\nu\omicron\phi\epsilon\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$  Hippokr. VI 384 = Aiolic  $\gamma\nu\acute{o}\phi\omicron\varsigma$ , where  $\gamma$ , softened from  $\kappa$ , becomes  $\delta$  before  $\nu$ . Cf.  $\delta\delta\rho\acute{o}\nu$  for  $\delta\gamma\nu\acute{o}\nu$  in Kretan, and *dlory* for *glory*, a pronunciation heard in New England.

7.  $\theta$  between  $\sigma\lambda$  is expelled in  $\epsilon\sigma\lambda\acute{\eta}[\varsigma]$  Chios 175, a metrical inscription.  $\epsilon\sigma\lambda\acute{o}\varsigma$  is thus shown to be not necessarily Aiolic, as Karsten held (p. 19). Cf. also  $\epsilon\sigma\lambda\acute{o}\varsigma$  in C. D. I. 1200, formerly referred to Arkadian, and in Doric (Greg. Korinth. p. 213, who quotes from Pindar). Elsewhere in Ionic the  $\theta$  is preserved in this word, *e.g.* *Sum. Am.* 6<sub>2</sub>.

358.] A dental followed by  $\mu$ .

1.  $-\delta\mu-$  does not become  $-\sigma\mu-$ :  $\delta\delta\mu\acute{\eta}$ <sup>1</sup> Hdt. III 24 as in Homer, Hippokr., Aret. (but  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\sigma\mu\alpha$  285<sub>0</sub>,  $\epsilon\iota\delta\omicron\sigma\mu\omicron\nu$  315<sub>1</sub>),  $\delta\delta\mu\acute{\alpha}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$  Demokr. *Phys.* 1. On  $\delta\delta\mu\acute{\eta}$  in Old Attic, see Rutherford's *Phrynichus* p. 160. Whenever  $\delta$  + suffixal  $\mu$  seems to become  $\sigma\mu$ , the  $\sigma$  is due to analogy.  $\iota\delta\mu\epsilon\iota$ <sup>2</sup> in Hdt. VII 111, Demokr. *Phys.* 1, 5, 9, Luk. *Dea Syr.* 2;  $\iota\sigma\mu\epsilon\nu$  in Aretaios 68<sub>11</sub>, 212<sub>18</sub> and Arrian 4<sub>14</sub> (where Hercher reads  $\iota\delta-$ ) is from analogy to  $\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon$ . In  $\mu\epsilon\sigma\acute{o}\delta\mu\eta$ , which is found in Hom., Hippokr., and is the equivalent of Attic  $\mu\epsilon\sigma\acute{o}\mu\eta$  (C. I. A. II 1054<sub>48</sub>),  $\delta\mu$  becomes  $\mu\delta$  and this  $\mu\delta$  passes into  $\mu\nu$  according to Prellwitz, *B. B.* XVII 172. The name  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\delta\mu\omicron\varsigma$  occurs in Thasos (L.) 5<sub>5</sub>, 20 A 4;  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\delta\mu\alpha$  in Hekataios.

2.  $-\theta\mu-$  remains unchanged in  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\beta\alpha\theta\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$  Hdt. II 125,  $\eta\theta\mu\acute{o}\nu$  Prokon. 103 (stelè of Sigeion).  $\rho\nu\theta\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$  Hdt. V 58, Demokr. 205 (Stob.,  $-\sigma\mu-$  according to Mullach) seems in accordance with Phrynichos' rule:  $\beta\alpha\theta\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$   $\iota\alpha\kappa\acute{o}\nu$   $\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}$   $\tau\omicron\upsilon$   $\theta$ ,  $\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}$   $\tau\omicron\upsilon$   $\sigma$   $\acute{\alpha}\tau\tau\iota\kappa\acute{o}\nu$ ,  $\beta\alpha\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$  (CCXCVI, Rutherford). Either this rule must not be taken to hold good in the case of other words, or  $\rho\nu\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$  Archil. 66<sub>7</sub>, Anakr. 74<sub>2</sub>, is an Attic interloper.  $\beta\alpha\sigma\mu\acute{o}\nu$  Kyzik. 111<sub>10</sub> and  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\omicron\beta\alpha\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$  Erythrai 201<sub>4</sub> are inscriptional forms not free

<sup>1</sup> Bekk. Anecd. I 56<sub>30</sub>, Phryn. 160 R.  $\delta\delta\mu\acute{\eta}$   $\iota\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega\nu$ , cf. Eust. 1570<sub>r</sub>.

<sup>2</sup> Eust. 1570<sub>r</sub> (Doric).

from the suspicion of being Attic, since both documents are to be placed in the fourth century B.C. *ῥυσμός* may contain the suffix -*σμο*- which is borrowed from *δα-σμός*, *δε-σμός*, &c. At least such an analogical formation came into existence several centuries before the period of Archilochos (Homeric *θεσμός*). See Solmsen, *K. Z.* XXIX 119, Kretschmer, *ibid.* XXIX 429. Many of the occurrences of *σμ* in nouns have their parallel in *σμ* in verbal forms, *e.g.* *ἐράσμιος* in Anakreon, *ῥσμα*, *κνήσμα*, *ἔμεσμα*, *κρεμασμός*, *θλάσμα*, *σχάσμα* in Hippokrates.

### *Labials.*

#### 359.] Ionic B = Δ of other dialects.

Before dark vowels I. E. *g* became *β*, before those of light colour *δ*.

*βούλομαι* Ionic-Attic = Aiolic *βόλλομαι*, Arkadian *βόλομαι* (also Kyprian and Homeric), Pamphylian *βώλομαι*, Herakleian *δήλομαι*, Lokrian and Delphian *δείλομαι*. In Thessalian *βέλλομαι*, Boiot. *βείλομαι*, *β* is due to the influence exerted by *βολλά* and *βωλά* respectively.

*δβελός* in Hom., Hdt., Boiot., Attic (*διωβελία*) = *όδεός* in Delphian, Megarian, Kretan, Tarentine. *όβολός* in *τετρωβόλου* Hrd. 6<sub>84</sub> has its penultimate *ο* by assimilation to the initial *ο*.

#### 360.] Ionic B = Γ of other dialects.

*βλέφαρον* = *γλέφαρον* in Pindar; cf. *ποτιγλέποι* in Alkman. *πρέσβυς* = *πρισγείες*, BOIOTIAN § 43.

#### 361.] Relation of Π and Φ.

##### 1. Π for Φ.

*Ἀμπιθάλης* Delos 55 II 8, is a form parallel to *Ἀμφιθάλης* 55 V 10, &c., and formed by dissimilation from it; cf. *ἀμπέχω* and *ἀμφίσκοντες* *ἐνδυνύμενοι*.

1. Eust. 239<sub>21</sub>, 22 holds that *πατριά* (-ή) is the Ionic form of the Attic *φρατρία*. *πατριά* is found in Iasos *J. H. S.* IX 341, No. 3, l. 4; cf. *πατριά* in Hdt. I 200 and Eleian *C. D. I.* 1152 (see Blass *ad loc.*) and the Arkadian *πάτρα*, *ibid.* 1194. That the spelling without the first *ρ* is Attic and Doric is apparent from *C. I. A.* II 599, (fourth century), Chios, Ditt. *Syll.* 360<sub>26</sub> (where it is Attic), Delphic (*ibid.* 294 B 77), Andron, *Mith.* I 237<sub>2</sub>, Phokian, Cauer 223 B 14, Koan, *ibid.* 159. The difficulty of identifying the two forms is enhanced by the fact that the inscription from Iasos has *πατρίην*, not *πητρίην*. Though in Hdt. I 125 only *δ* and the Aldine edition have the suspicious *φήτρη* for *φρήτρη*, yet we should expect *πρ* if the word is connected with *φράτριά* (Homeric *φρήτρη*). While the expulsion of one *ρ* is a well-known phenomenon, dissimilation at the

same time of  $\phi$  to  $\pi$  is out of the question. The word has no connection with  $\phi\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\rho$ ,  $\phi\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\rho$ .

The Et. Gud 440, maintains that the Ionians used  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\lambda\eta\eta\alpha$  for  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\lambda\eta\phi\alpha$ .

2.  $\epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}\delta\lambda\tau\eta\varsigma$  in Hdt., and on a vase in Overbeck's *Atlas zur Kunstmyth.*, pl. IV, No. 6, is the original form of the name.  $\epsilon\phi\acute{\iota}\delta\lambda\tau\eta\varsigma$  has an inorganic  $\phi$ . Cf. the Alkæian  $\epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}\delta\lambda\tau\eta\varsigma$  and  $\epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}\delta\alpha\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ .

## 2. $\Phi$ for $\Pi$ .

$\Phi\acute{\iota}\tau\tau\omega\nu$  in Keos 44 A 7 is the equivalent of Attic  $\Pi\acute{\iota}\theta\omega\nu$  (C. I. A. I 433, II 22, 434<sub>16</sub>), the Boiotian  $\Phi\acute{\iota}\theta\omega\nu$  C. D. I. 850 ( $\Phi\acute{\iota}\tau\tau\omega\nu$  perhaps occurs also in *Mitth.* IX 319, D 71, in an inscription from Keos), and is a shortened form of  $\Pi\iota\tau\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$  ( $\Pi\iota\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\eta\varsigma$  Keos 44 A 10, § 357, 5). Cf.  $\Phi\epsilon\tau\tau\alpha\lambda\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  in Boiotian = Thess.  $\Pi\epsilon\tau\theta\alpha\lambda\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ .

$\kappa\rho\acute{\iota}\sigma\phi\omicron\nu$  in a late Parian inscription B. C. H. I 135, No. 48, is an example of the wide-spread inability of the later imperial period to distinguish between *tennis* and *axiptala*. The  $\phi$  of the aspirated perfect  $\tau\epsilon\tau\rho\acute{\alpha}\phi\alpha\tau\alpha\iota$  is claimed as Ionic by Et. M. 366<sub>7</sub>.

## 362.] $\Pi\phi$ for $\Phi$ .

In M 208 for  $\delta\phi\iota\nu$  at the end of the verse we find  $\delta\pi\phi\iota\nu$  in S, and  $\delta\phi\iota\nu$  in H. This spelling is furthermore attested by Eust. 900<sub>12</sub> (cf. 1577<sub>63</sub>, 1755<sub>36</sub>). In Hipponax 49<sub>6</sub> ( $\eta\nu\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu\ \delta\phi\iota\varsigma\ \tau\acute{\omega}\nu\tau\iota\kappa\eta\eta\mu\iota\omicron\nu\ \delta\eta\kappa\eta$ ) we may either follow the procedure of Herodian (Villoison, Anecd. II 86), who adopted this spelling in Homer, or we may accept that with  $\pi\phi^1$ , which is defended by  $\sigma\kappa\upsilon\pi\phi\omicron\varsigma$  Anakr. 82, Hesiod frag. 174 (cf. Athenaios XI 498 A), Delos (B. C. H. VII 109, l. 24, 26, &c., a prose inscription),  $\sigma\kappa\upsilon\pi\phi\epsilon\iota\omicron\nu$  Stesich. 7 (Casaubon), and reinforced by the analogy of  $\Pi\iota\tau\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$  (§ 357, 5),  $\delta\kappa\chi\omicron\nu$  Pind. *Ol.* VI 24,  $\delta\kappa\chi\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\nu\tau\iota$  II 67. Antimachos (78 K) also made use of the form  $\delta\phi\iota\varsigma$ , the length of whose initial syllable is due to affrication. Cf.  $\text{Z}\acute{\epsilon}\phi\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\eta\ \eta\ 119$ ,  $\beta\rho\acute{\omicron}\chi\omicron\varsigma$  Theog. 1099 &c.; § 351, 357, 5. In Hipponax 49<sub>2</sub>  $\delta\phi\iota\varsigma$  may be either  $\delta\phi\iota\varsigma$  or  $\delta\phi\iota\varsigma$ .

$\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\pi\theta\iota\mu\acute{\epsilon}[\nu\eta]\varsigma$  Chios 175<sub>2</sub> is an attempt at a more exact phonetic orthography than  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\phi\theta\iota\mu[\acute{\epsilon}]\nu\omega\nu$  Keos 43<sub>1</sub>, in both cases there being but one  $h$  after the double labial. Cf.  $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\gamma\kappa\text{--}\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$  under § 351 and K. Z. XXVIII 179.

## 363.] $\Pi$ for $B$ , and $\Phi$ for $B$ .

$\text{'}\text{Αμπρακίηται}$  Hdt. IX 28, 31 ( $\text{'}\text{Αμπρακιῶται}$  VIII 45, 47) and so in Thukydides and I. G. A. 70, was later on spelled  $\text{'}\text{Αμβ-}$ ,  $\text{mp}$  becoming  $\text{mb}$  as in Modern Greek. Coins of Ambrakia generally have  $\beta$  (C. D. I. 3185), while Attic inscriptions have  $\beta$  or  $\pi$ .  $\text{Λεπαδεύς}$  Keos (*Mitth.* IX 274<sub>25</sub>), a form that is also

<sup>1</sup> Fick conjectured  $\delta\delta\phi\iota\varsigma = \delta\ \delta\phi\iota\varsigma$  (*Odysseus* 24).

Delphic. On ἡμβλακον Archil. 73, see *A. J. P.* VI 46. Anakr. (141) perhaps used the form ἀστραφή for ἀστράβη.

### 364.] Varia.

ἀρτοπόπος is called Ionic for ἀρτοκόπος in Bekk. Anecd. I 447<sub>28</sub> = Bachm. Anecd. I 147<sub>2</sub>; Hdt. has however (I 51) the κ form.

ὁππότε Kallin. 1<sub>8</sub>, Theog. 531 is not Ionic (§ 342, note 1).

σάμβαλα, for σάνδαλα, and related forms are used by Hipponax 18<sub>2</sub>, Anakr. 14<sub>3</sub>, Herodas 7<sub>60</sub>, 7<sub>125</sub>, cf. Sappho 98<sub>2</sub>, Eumelos *apud* Paus. IV 33, 3, and under AÏOLIC.

There is no variation in Ionic between φ and θ not known in other dialects. Ἐργόφειμι Styra 19<sub>190</sub> is a mere slip for -θεμις. Δωροφέα, Rob. I 29, is not an Ionic name for Δωροθέη. φλᾶν occurs in Hippokrates, and is found in Pindar, Aristophanes, Theokritos, while θλᾶν is also employed by Hippokrates and is known to Homer, Hesiod, Theokritos, Herodas 2<sub>83</sub> (θλῆ contains a Doric contraction). φλίβειν which appears in Theokritos XV 76 and as a *v. l.* in *Odys.* 17<sub>21</sub> is used by Hippokr. VI 292, 300, in both of which passages *C* has the form with θ. The ancient grammarians thought that the φ forms were the property of the Aiolic dialect. θήρ is the Ionic form (cf. Θηρίων Styra 19<sub>116</sub>).

### The Spirants.

#### 365.] Yod.

The influence of Homeric ζα < δία has given life to ζάπλουτος even in prose (Hdt. I 32, in the speech of Solon). ζάπεδος occurs in Xenophanes 1 and in an epigram from Paros, No. 59 (fifth century). See Hinrichs, *H. E. V. A.* p. 43. ι seems to have become ε in μάλιον Tyrt. 12<sub>6</sub>; see § 163. On combinations of yod, see §§ 224, 367, 370.

### Sigma.

#### 366.] Adverbs which permit an option of final s

refuse the adoption of the sibilant in the following cases in Hdt.: μέχρι, ἄχρι, and ἰθύ, ἰθύς, which are differentiated in meaning. οὔτω occurs before both vowels and consonants, and οὔτως before vowels is rarely attested by all MSS. On the other hand -s occurs in πολλάκις<sup>1</sup> (followed by a consonant) and ἀτρέμας (followed by a vowel). χωρίς has a rare by-form in Doric without s (Thera, Cauer 148 E 8, χῶρι Hdn. I 506, who quotes from

<sup>1</sup> Joh. Alex. 37; Hdn. II 220, note.



Kallimachos χῶρι διατμήγουσι, cf. Apoll. *Adv.* 138<sub>13</sub>, 162<sub>25</sub> (Schneider). The inscription from Oropos (No. 18) that has μέχοι even before a vowel (l. 3) has χωρίς (l. 44). Archil. 37 used ἔγκυρί and so did Kallimachos according to the testimony of Joh. Alex. 38<sub>20</sub> (Hdn. I 506<sub>14</sub>, 511<sub>23</sub>).

367.] Ionic σ<sup>1</sup> = Attic σ < τι

in nouns with the suffix *ti*, in *i* stems with τ preceding the stem suffix (κάσις, κασίγνητος, cf. ἔγκατα), in adjectives in which the ending *io* follows upon a τ contained in the stem, and in the 3rd sing. of -μι verbs, and 3rd plur. present and perfect. The influence of other forms has frequently caused the retention of τι, e. g. παντί, ὀνόματι, cf. Attic ναυτία (= Ionic ναυσίη) because of ναύτης<sup>2</sup>. Elsewhere τ before accented *i* does not become σ, as it does not in oxytones and paroxytones; while final τι in proparoxytones is usually assibilated, according to Kretschmer in K. Z. XXX 565 ff.; whose discussion of the question does not yield wholly satisfactory results. The force of analogy has retained τ frequently in forms where σ is properly in place, e. g. νότιος (Hdt., Hippokr.) with the τ of νότος. φάτις (Herakl. 3) retains its τ either from the influence of φατίζω or from the influence of the form \*φατει-; the tendency to dissimilation from φάσις being an auxiliary factor in the preservation of the form<sup>3</sup>. πλουσίη has the σ of πλούσιος. The Ionic character of ἀμπωτις in Hdt. has been impeached by Kretschmer, not only because of the retention of the dental contrary to the rule formulated by him, but also on the score of the unusual apocope, on which see § 715. Less valid is the objection of G. Meyer (that the radical πω is found in the present in Aiolic alone), since the parent *pāi* is proethnic, and substantival forms with ω (which need not be derived from the perfect) are the property of other dialects than Ionic. That Herodotos should have adopted a Doric word relating to the sea, as Kretschmer contends l. l. 572, passes belief. Ionic-Attic πλησίος is an obstinate form, but due, according to the scholar just mentioned, to the influence of παραπλήσιος.

368.]

Homeric ποτί, Sim. Keos (?) 85<sub>13</sub> = Avest. *puhi* is not Doric, notwithstanding that it is the usual form in the dialects of Dorian sympathies. Ionic inherited together with other members of the Hellenic race the proethnically distinct forms ποτί and ποτί. In Doric ποτί may lose its iota before a vowel, in Homer an elided ποτί and ποτί are unknown.

<sup>1</sup> An. Ox. II 361<sub>22</sub> quotes as Ionic the change of τ to σ in εὐεργεσία (εὐεργέτης).

<sup>2</sup> ἀλουσίη Hdt., Hippokr., -σία Eurip., but -τία Eupolis (cf. Lobeck's *Phrygichus*, p. 505).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. ὀπίτιος because of ὀπίος.

**369.]** Ionic  $\sigma$  for Attic  $\tau$ <sup>1</sup> is found in the following words.

*σήμερον* in Homer, *Hrd.* 2<sub>57</sub> and in the suspected verse of the *Rhesos* (683), from the pronominal stem *τῆα*, which is also the source of Attic *τῆτες*, of which *σῆτες* is the Ionic form (*Et. M.* 711<sub>43</sub>). The dialects exclusive of Attic had  $\sigma$  in these words. Cf. Hesychios *τήμερον* Ἀττικοὶ [*τήμερος*] καὶ *τήμερα* λέγουσιν. It may be noted that the existence of an adjective *τήμερος* is evident from the scholiast on *Clouds* 699 (see Jackson in *Class. Rev.* VI 4).

The  $\sigma$  of *σηλία*, attested in Bekk. *Anecd.* I 382<sub>26</sub>, may be Ionic.

*σεῦτλον* is the equivalent of Attic *τεῦτλον*, which appears in Hippokr. VI 248, 252, though in II 482 *A* has the  $\sigma$ -form, which is also found in  $\theta$  in VI 560. Littré reads *τεῦτλον* in the pseudo-Hippocratic tracts. In later Attic the ridiculed *σεῦτλον* found a place, and *σήμερον* was occasionally adopted.

Hesychios reports as dialect by-forms of Attic *τύρβη* and *τύρβα* (Aischylos), *σύρβη* and *σύρβα*. The former at least can belong to no other dialect than Ionic. Kratinos made use of *συρβηνεύς*.

The relation between *σαργάνη* Aischylos, *Suppl.* 788 (*ἀρτάναις* Dindorf with Lascaris) and *ταργάνη* in Hesychios is obscure, though Koegel in Paul and Braune's *Beiträge* VII 191 has compared them with Lith. *tvėriū* 'enclose.' Neither *σῆλη* nor *τῆλη* occur in Ionic sources. *τεύμησατο* in Antimachos' *Thebais*, frag. 3 Kinkel, is not Ionic but Boiotian, at least as regards the dental, because of *τευμησός*. The Doric form would be *σευμάσατο*, the Ionic *σευμήσατο*. Cf. Fick in *B. B.* VI 236 and Wackernagel in *K. Z.* XXVIII 121. The last named scholar has shown that Ionic *σάω* for older \**σσάω* is represented in Attic by \**ττάω* in *διαττᾶν*, which was regarded as a compound of *διδά* + *ἀττάω*. This *ἀττάω* was in fact turned into Ionic *ἀσσάω* by Archestratos in Athenaios III 111 F (*ῆσσημένα*). *ἐττημένα* *σεσημένα*<sup>2</sup>, so far from being Ionic as M. Schmidt thought, is good Attic and used by Pherekrates.

**370.]** Relation of Ionic  $\sigma\sigma$  to Attic  $\tau\tau$ .

Ionic  $\sigma\sigma$  is = Boiotian, Attic  $\tau\tau$  when it arises from  $\tau\chi$ ,  $\theta\chi$ ,  $\kappa\chi$ <sup>3</sup>,  $\chi\iota$ ,  $\tau\phi$ , i. e. Ionic  $\sigma\sigma$  is a secondary sound in these cases.

The position assumed by the Attic inscriptions<sup>4</sup> (and by those monuments of literary Attic which voice the speech of the people) in favour of  $\tau\tau$  makes for the view that whenever we meet with

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Wharton, *Class. Rev.* VI 259.

<sup>2</sup> Hesychios has *ἐττησμένα* *σεσεισμένα*, Photios *ἐττημένα* *σεσησμένα*.

<sup>3</sup> With *ἐπισσαι* Hekat. 367 (*αἱ ἐπιγγυρόμεναι τοῖς προγόνοις*), we may compare Vedic *apicyā*, according to Wackernagel in *K. Z.* XXVIII 122. It is better to explain *μέτασσαι* as also containing a  $\kappa$  suffix than to suppose with Giles (*Class. Rev.* III p. 4) that *-ασσα* is a feminine participial termination.

<sup>4</sup> No inscription in pure Attic, other than a vase inscription, has before 400 B. C. the  $\sigma\sigma$  form in cases where there was a possibility of the adoption of  $\tau\tau$ .

$\sigma\sigma$  in early Athenian literature we have to deal with a direct or indirect influence exerted by Ionic upon nascent Athenian art. Once installed in the poetry of the sixth century,  $\sigma\sigma$  descended as an heirloom to tragedy, which felt the influence, not only of Solon, but also of the earlier Ionic poetry and of the beginnings of Ionic prose. Thukydides<sup>1</sup> and the older Attic prose writers who adopted  $\sigma\sigma$ , though contemporary with Aristophanes and his predecessors (whose  $\tau\tau$  bespeaks the language of the marketplace), adopted it through the influence of tragedy and of the rhetorical canons of the day.

The only means of avoiding the conclusion that there is an artistic reason for the difference between the unvarying  $\tau\tau$  of the inscriptional monuments and the  $\sigma\sigma$  of early literature is, with Kirchhoff, to maintain that all the cases of  $\sigma\sigma$  in early Attic literature are due to textual corruption. This view shuts its eyes to the true conception of the language of tragedy and of early prose in Attika as standing in sympathy, not only with Doric (in the choral part of tragedy), but also with Ionic. Cf. §§ 22, 61, 375.

### 371.] Extension of $\sigma\sigma$ in the Ionic dialects.

Asiatic Ionic and Island Ionic have  $\sigma\sigma$  for Attic  $\tau\tau$  invariably. Whether Western Ionic stood on the side of Attic is not yet clear because of lack of evidence. Thus far  $\tau\tau$  has been discovered in *Κιττίης* Styra 19<sub>52</sub>, *ἐλαττον* Oropos 18<sub>6</sub>, 22 (cf. *ἐλασσον* in Hdt., Hipp. II 36, Keos 43<sub>4</sub>), *ἐκπρηττόιτων* Adesp. 22<sub>6</sub> (an inscription found several miles south of Eretria). The question at issue is whether these inscriptions are not composed under Attic influence. Thuk. VII 57 shows that in the middle of the fifth century there existed some political connection between Athens and Styra, and there are other proofs of the influence of the rising democratic state over the language and alphabet of Euboea. As regards the leaden tablets of Styra, we find in 19<sub>263</sub> *Μοφσίδης*, a spelling that bears an Attic aspect. The names *Κίσ(σ)υς* 19<sub>383</sub> and *Κίσ(σ)α[μος]* 19<sub>382</sub> are either those of men not Western Ionians or they prove that the above mentioned *Κιττίης* has an Attic  $\tau\tau$ <sup>2</sup>. The Eretrian dialect of Oropos may, by the end of the fifth century, have adopted some Attic spellings. The inscription containing *ἐλαττον* dates either between 411-402 B.C. or between 387-377. The Chalkidians certainly did not affect the Attic  $\tau\tau$ . In Olynthos 8 B we read *πίσσης*. *Ηόσσα* in Rhegion 5 is not necessarily Ionic.

<sup>1</sup> In Thukydides there are very few cases of  $\tau\tau$  in all MSS.; e. g. *ταράττασθαι* VIII 71, while as a v. l. it is not infrequent: *γλώττης* I 138, *γλώτταν* II 68.

<sup>2</sup> Fick, *G G A* 1883, p. 125 referred *Κιττίης* to Boiotian influence, comparing *Κιτ[τ]ᾶλος*. Meister writes *Κιτόλος* C. D. I 875 epigr.).

δτι<sup>1</sup> in Theognis 17, 818, 1200, as in Homer, is from δτ + τι.

### 372.] σσ in the Aorist.

In Ionic poetry we have the following instances of σσ in the aorist, the origin of which, when not derived from σ- or δ- stems, is still involved in obscurity:—Theognis has ἐγέλασσε 9, εἰκάσσαις 127, ὀπάσση 321, ἀπόλεσαι 323, ἀνύσας 511, δικάσαι 543, ἀρεσσάμενοι 762, ὄλεσσα 831. Sigmatic stems are contained in τρεσσάντων Tyrt. 11<sub>14</sub>, ἐτέλεσσα Theog. 953, θεσσάμενοι Arch. 11<sub>2</sub>, eleg., ἡράσσατο Arch. 30 is not a remarkable form in trimeter. Homer, Hesiod, and Pindar have -σσ- in this verb; and Lukian's ἡρήσατο *de* Syria 17 cannot be an old form. δικάσασθαι in Hipponax 79 and ὑποργάσαι in 84 (both tetrameters) are mere conjectures of Schneidewin and Meineke respectively.

### 373.] Reduction of σσ to σ.

When to σσ there is a parallel form in σ, σσ belongs in general to poetry. Thus the epic μέσσος is preserved in Anakr. 80, Theog. 331, 994, 1164, μέσσατος 998. Hippon. 127 μεσσηγυδορποχέστης should probably be written with one σ; cf. μεσέων Anan. tetr. 59. Sim. Keos 84 has a certain case of μέσσοι. τόσσος Archil. hex. 14 (163 τόση?), Theog. 83, δσσος Tyrt. 11<sub>16</sub>, Solon 51, Xenoph. 2<sub>18</sub>, Theog. 93, 996, Hrd. 1<sub>27</sub>, 2<sub>62</sub>, 3<sub>84</sub>; ὀπίσσω Tyrt. 11<sub>13</sub>, Theog. 735, δορυσσόος Theog. 987. ποσί is the prose form (Hdt., Hippokr.), and found in Archil. 58<sub>4</sub> tetr., for which Bergk reads ποσσί. The forms with single σ are employed in prose and in such poetry as reproduces the diction of the epic or of Aiolic. ὅσος, τόσος Hdt., Hippokr. who uses ἐς τόσον VIII 284, ὅσος Chios 174 A 8, Anakr. 74<sub>2</sub>; τόσος Theog. 93. Ηόσσα Rhegion 5 cannot be Ionic. Hrd. has ὅσος 1<sub>15</sub>, 31, 3<sub>80</sub>, 4<sub>10</sub>, 5<sub>8</sub>, 6<sub>25</sub>, τόσος 3<sub>43</sub>, μέσος 6<sub>81</sub>. ὄσσα in Demokr. 184 is a figment of Mullach. ὀπίσω Hdt., Demokr., rare in Homer.

In many proper names the MSS. of Hdt. vary between σσ and σ after a long vowel; in fact all dialects show fluctuating orthography under these circumstances. In an inscription from Smyrna, *C. I. G.* 3311<sub>6</sub>, in one from Syros, 'Αθήν. III 530, l. 18, and in Latyshev II 36<sub>4</sub> we find ρῆσσος, with which compare 'Αλικαρνησσός', -εύς, Ionic forms of the Karian name. In Attic we find -ρασιοι, -ρασευς and -ρασσευς, but upon the stones -σσ- regularly (*i.e.* with only one exception). Bredow contended

<sup>1</sup> Incorrectly called Ionic, Greg. Kor. p. 463, who quotes δτι κεν εἴπω. The form is of Aiolic texture. At least no other dialect save Aiolic made use of the form in post-Homeric times.

<sup>2</sup> See Hdn. I 102<sub>11</sub>, 121<sub>10</sub>, 209<sub>20</sub>, II 80<sub>12</sub>, 878<sub>10</sub>, 879<sub>20</sub>, 891<sub>1</sub>.



that Παρνησσός was the correct Herodoteian form, whereas Stein writes -νησσός. Cf. Παρνησσίου C. I. A. II 609<sub>25</sub> (324 B.C.), Aisch. *Choeph.* 563 (MSS. -ησσ-, cf. § 22), 953 (MSS. -ασσ-). Hdn. I 209<sub>20</sub> prescribes Παρνασσός. -νησσός in Λυρνησσός occurs as early as Homer. Stein regards one sigma as correct in the Herodoteian Κνώσιος (cf. Kuman. 1892), Ἰήλυσος, Νήρισαι, Μυλάσαι (cf. C. I. A. I 233 17 C (447 B.C.)), Νίσαια, Νῆσσα, Κηφισός (so in Attic inser.), Κρισαῖον, Πηδασέες, Πίσσα, &c.; σσ in Ἀμφισσα, Ὀρδησσός, Σαλμυδησσός, Ταρτησσός, Ὑμησσός, &c. Ἰλισσός and Κορησσός in Stein are incorrect, at least they are not Attic; cf. Ἰλισός C. I. A. I 210<sub>2</sub> (429 B.C.), 273 F 16; Κορήσιοι C. I. A. I 229 9 b (451 B.C.), II 17 B 25 (378 B.C.), and 546<sub>12</sub> (350 B.C.), a decree of the Koresians. Late coins of Iasos have Ἰασίων and Ἰασσέων, Head, *H. N.* 528. In Halik. 240<sub>57</sub> we read Ἰμβράσσιδος and in the next line Ἰμβάρσιδος. On the Karian -ασσός, -ησσός<sup>1</sup>, -ισσός, &c., cf. Georg Meyer in *B. B.* X 173-176, 193.

374.] σσ is written for σ

in Ἰσστιαιᾶς Eretria 15<sub>13</sub>, Αἰσσχύλου 266 (probably Ionic), Ἀντίσ-  
στασι Pantikapaion, Latyshev II 9, in order to display the  
division of the syllables in pronunciation; σσ is written with one  
σ in τὰστήλας Teos 156 B 35, ἐστήλην Erythr. 202<sub>18</sub>.

375.] Whether T for σσ is a mere orthographical variation,  
or whether it represents a local pronunciation, is not yet clear.  
See Roberts I § 75, Riemann *B. C. H.* III 494 ff., Bechtel  
*Ion. Inschr.* p. 141, Ramsay *Class. Rev.* I 10 and references in  
G. Meyer *Gramm.* p. 273. Halik. 238<sub>2</sub>, ἈλικαρναΤ[έω]ν, but  
238<sub>41</sub>, Ἀλικυ[ρη]σσέων, 238<sub>6</sub>, ὉαΤάΤιος, 238<sub>16</sub>, Π[α]ντάΤιος with  
the forms Πανύασσις and Πανύαξις on later documents. This T  
occurs also in Mesembria and perhaps in Teos (θαλάΤης I. G. A.  
497 B 23 = Bechtel 156 B 23). The existence of *σσπ* may show  
how easy was the transition from Ionic σσ to Attic ττ. See § 22.  
No doubt the pronunciation of σσ was much nearer akin to that  
of ττ than the spelling indicates and the difference was to a large  
extent purely orthographical. The ordinary modern pronunciation  
of σσ as pure sibilants and of ττ as pure dentals cannot have  
been the ancient pronunciation, nor did the Aischyleian actor who  
had σσ before him in his score pronounce very differently from his  
hearer who wrote ττ.

<sup>1</sup> This is to be distinguished from the Ionic form of the Karian *ασσος*, ε γ  
in Ἀλικαρνασσός, which is still preserved in coins of the second century B.C.,  
cf. Head, *H. N.* 526. In the ancient inscription No 238 it is noteworthy  
that, though the dialect is Ionic throughout, at the outset the name of the  
inhabitants of Halikarnassos should be given with the form in α, notwith-  
standing that the ending of the genitive is -ων, a certain reading.



376.] *εσσι* in non-sigmatic stems

is foreign to the genius of the Ionic dialect. The transference of *-εσσι* from its legitimate sphere occurs in only two cases in the poets of Ionic birth:—Anakr. 24, *πτερύγεσσι*, Ananias 5, *ἰχθύεσσιν* (troch. tetram.). In Xenoph. 3, *εὐπρεπέεσσιν* is a conjecture of Bergk, to which Schneidewin's *ἀγαλλόμενοι ταυαῆσιν* is distinctly preferable (cf. Aristeas in Kinkel *Frag. poet. epic.* p. 245). In Solon's *ἡγεμόνεσσι* (6<sub>1</sub>) we have further evidence of the influence of epic diction; cf. § 61. Anakreon may borrow from his Aiolic exemplars, and indeed stands closer to Homer than some of his predecessors. That the trochaic tetrameter is less rigid in excluding the Aiolisms of Homer than the iambic trimeter, may explain the presence of the *-εσσι* form in Ananios. Theognis with his *ἀνδρεσσι* 306, *πάντεσσιν* 373, *κοράκεσσι* 833 is in still closer touch with Homer than is Anakreon.

## Z.

## 377.] Zeta.

1. Decisive orthographical criteria for the pronunciation of ζ upon Ionic soil are wanting, but indications point to its having been sounded like *zd*. Blass *Aussprache*<sup>3</sup>, p. 116 ff. brings forward as evidence of this pronunciation rather than that as *ds*, *inter alia* the Homeric Ζέλεια, Ζάκυνθος, in which ζ fails to make position because of the dropping of the initial σ ((Σ)δάκυνθος, not Δσάκυνθος); δαφινός, δάσκιος, where Aiolic would have ζα- (above, § 365); μαζός<sup>1</sup> = μαστός, or μασθός; and Herodoteian Ἄζωτος, not Ἀσδωτος.

δσδόμιος Xenoph. 1, the only example of the so-called Aiolic σδ in Ionic, was rightly changed by Hermann to δζόμενος. Whatever the sound of ζ in Ionic, words ordinarily spelled with ζ were not represented by σδ.

2. Variation between ζ and δ. μέζεα occurs in Hdt. *W. D.* 512, and was regarded as an Ionic word for μέδεα, μήδεα by Greg. Kor. p. 535, Hdn. II 372<sub>16</sub>. The form μέζεα is from μεδι-, √μαδ; cf. Slav. *mađo*. Cf. § 139. For ζορκάς Hdt. IV 192 we have the form δορκάς in VII 69; cf. ζορξ in Kallimachos, Nikander, and see Curtius, *Et.* p. 663. In Zankle we find δ for ζ, I. G. A. 518, where Δά]νκλην is a probable conjecture. The alphabet is however pre-Samian.

3. ζα- = δια- in ζάπεδον Xenoph. 1, Paros 39 (epigram of the fifth century), ζάπλουτος Hdt. I 32. Cf. ζαπληθής, ζάπυρος in

<sup>1</sup> Hom. and in tragedy: Hdt. and Hippokr. have both μαζός and μαστός <μαδ-τος. Hippokr. generally has μαζός (variations in the MSS. IV 544, 550). V 118 μαστοί, 318 μαζών (μασθών Galen).

Aischylos. ζα- for δια-, while chiefly Aiolic, cannot be held to be the property of that dialect alone.

4. In a Chian document, Paspates 30, we find Ζμάραγδος and the form with σ-.

#### Supposed change of ζ and γ.

The ancients assumed that *ol νεώτεροι* 'Iowes' changed γ to ζ in δαίζον (*sc*) and πεφυζώς (Herakleides in Eust. 1643, An. Ox. I 366<sub>21</sub>). Both words occur in Homer and in Nikander, δαίζον also in Lykophron. πεφυζότες seems to be formed from φύζω < φυγιω, which the ancients confused with φεύγω δαίζων was also called Thessalian (Hdn. II 372, Steph. Byz. 489<sub>17</sub> and Aiolic Et. M. 270<sub>20</sub>). δαείζων is Attic, δαιον *sc* for δαίζων in the Lexicon of Aiskos Dionysios (Eust. 1160<sub>4</sub>) was called either barbarous or Ionic. The form δαιον, which has lost its γ, has thus far turned up in the plebeian Attic dialect C<sup>1</sup> I. A. II 594, and in a fragment of the comic poet Plato, Kock fr. I 644, No. 168, and on Egyptian papyri. It is also referred to the dialect of Tarentum by Hdn. II 295<sub>7</sub> (Et. M. 621<sub>21</sub>).

### Ξ.

#### 378.] Ξ.

That ξ was pronounced more like χs than κs appears from the forms Ναθσίον, ἔθσοχος for Ναξιόν, ἔξοχος upon the archaic Naxian inscription Rob. I 25.

A pleonastic σ appears in Θώρηξ Styra 19<sub>205</sub>, ἔξs Chios 174 A 5, cf. ἔξστῶσι Zeleia 113<sub>23</sub> and κόραξs upon a Korinthian vase inscription, K. Z. XXIX 168. Similar usage is attested upon an inscription in J. H. S. VI 372 (κύλιξs).

ξ before κ occurs in Hippokratic ἑξκαίδεκα, -δέκατος, and also in Attic ἑξκλινος.

379 ] Βρύασσις Iasos 104<sub>12, 17, 20</sub> has been corrected upon the stone to Βρύαξις in order to restore the archaic Karian orthography. In the Halikarnassian inscriptions, Nos. 238, 240, ξ has given way to σσ in every instance. Georg Meyer, B. B. X 177, rightly admits the possibility that the fluctuation between ξ and σσ was purely orthographical and that the sign for ξ had in the older period, as in Kyprian and Lykian, the phonetic value of σσ.

With κιάλλας Teos B 19, cf. κιτράλης = κλέπτης according to Joh. Gram. 242 B. On the introductory ε of ἑξαίθραπενύοντος Mylasa 248 A B C 2, see §§ 143, 211 and σαδράπαν in Aiolic, C. D. I. 304 A 18.

<sup>1</sup> It is quite unusual for Hdn. to regard as late Ionic a form that is found in Homer. Yet this is what he does in the case of πεφυζότες, if we are to accept Lentz' ascription of the passage II 265, to him. In II 798, Hdn. brings forward another, and as he himself states (II 265), less commendable view.

The sound ξ is expressed in the Ionic alphabet by:—(1) Ηξ as, e. g. Roberts I 25, Naxos; (2) Χξ Roberts I 28, Naxos, Rob. I 17, Paros; (3) Ιξ (?) Roberts I 158 B, Amorgos. Cf. the representations of ψ, below § 381. σκ as a means of expressing ξ is claimed for Ionic by Gomperz (*Archaeol. Mitth. aus Oesterreich*, VI 93) and ΩΞκυνθίς Bechtel 61 = Rob. I 18 B has been put forward in support of the claim. But an 'Οξυνθίς is as difficult to explain as 'Οσκυνθίς.

### 380.] Ionic ξ = Attic κ; relation of σύν to ξύν, &c.

There is no immediate connection between ξυνός and κοινός. The former occurs in epic poetry (and in Attic tragedy), Teos 156 A 3, Herakleitos 62, 70, 91, 92 (this author not adopting κοινός in a single instance), Demokritos *Mor.* 43, Herodotos IV 12, VII 53 (κοινός is more frequently used by Hdt.), Arrian § 20<sub>4</sub> ξυνουῖσθαι, but § 15<sub>22</sub> ἀνεκοινοῦντο. ξυνός has appeared upon inscriptions from Arkadia and Argolis. Doubtless the similarity in sound between κοινός and ξυνός led to their being confused, though they are in reality different words. ξυνός is from \*ξυνος or \*ξυνφος. In his *Studien* I 44, Baunack ventures to connect κοινός with κείμαι and compares κοινωνεῖν τι in the sense of μιγῆναι. Certainly there are great difficulties in the way of connecting κοινός with Lat. con-.

Relation of σύν to ξύν. The preferences of Ionic are in the direction of the former form, which is the only one that appears upon inscriptions (§ 715). ξύν is not infrequently handed down in the MSS. of the lyric poets: Archil. ξυνέτε 50 (but σύν 4<sub>1</sub>). The Et. M. 385<sub>9</sub>, after alluding to ἐσυνῆκε in Alkaios, quotes ἐξυνῆκεν from Anakreon (146). The MSS. of the fragments of the Ionic philosophers have συν- far more frequently than appears from Mullach's edition; cf. Demokr. 69, 119, 135, 147, 213. In Demokr. we have however ξυνέσιος 58, ξυγχωρέειν 44 (but συγχωρέεται in Melissos 1). In Sextus Empiricus' citation of the *Physika* of Demokritos we find such variations as ξύμπας and σύνιδμεν. In the lyric poets and early Ionic prose it is better to write σύν. In Hippokrates and Aretaios the uniformity with which ξύν appears is indication enough that the dialect of the Koan physician agreed with the usage of fifth-century Attic inscriptions which have ξύν much more frequently (3½ : 1) than σύν. After 410 B.C. ξύν was felt to be antiquated. At that date all the other dialects had σύν. Though the Homeric<sup>1</sup> text has both, ξύν is found in no place where the metre requires the heavier form. The same is true in the case of the Aiolic poets. To the MSS. of Hdt. ξύν is foreign, but ξυνεχέος appears in Philip of Pergamum *B. C. H.* II 273. The pseudo-Ionists generally prefer σύν. In Lukian the proportion is 17 : 5, in Arrian 47 : 10, in Euseb. 4 : 1. The supposititious letters of Hippokrates have ξύν. ξύν and σύν are hereditary forms of the

<sup>1</sup> ξυνδῆσαι Ionic, An. Par. III 138<sub>22</sub> 353<sub>21</sub> schol. on A 399.

language from the earliest times. The former does not become the latter in any historical period of Greek. A theory as to the ultimate interrelation of ξ and σ is put forward by Kretschmer *K. Z.* XXXI 415 ff.

διξός<sup>1</sup> Anakr. 88, Hdt. IX 74, and τριξός Hdt. IX 85 are not of like origin with Attic διπτός (*C. I. A.* II 593<sub>22</sub>) and τριπτός, the endings being unconnected. The Ionic forms in -ξός are from -κτιος (\*δφικτιος, \*τρικτιος).

### 381.] Ψ.

ψ is represented by πσ in the alphabet of Amorgos, *Rob.* I 158 D, by πψ in that of Priene, *Bechtel* 144, and by ψσ in *Styra* 19<sub>263</sub>.

The interrelation of words with initial ψ to those of similar texture but beginning with σ or the breathing, is still obscure. Thus *κατασώχειν* is New Ionic for ψώχειν. Whether *ἡμίθειον* in *Hippokr.* VII 344, the reading of θ for ψιμύθειον *white lead*, belongs to this category is difficult to say. Kretschmer *K. Z.* XXXI 420 ff. has proposed to refer to the parent Aryan the variation between *ps* and *s*, and between *ks* and *s*.

### 382.] The Combinations ρσ, λσ.

ρσ remains undisturbed in Ionic, as generally in Older Attic:—*χέρσων*, *θαρσύνω* Hdt., *θάρσυνε* Arch. 55, as Elmsley reads for the vulgate *θαρρῦναι*, *μυρσίρης* Arch. 291, *ταρσιά* Sim. Amorg. 39 (cf. § 128), *Τυρσηνός* Hdt., *ἄρσην* Thasos 681, *ἄρσιχος* *C. I. G.* 2374<sub>65</sub> Paros (cf. *Bekk. An.* I 446<sub>30</sub>—*Bachm. An.* I 146<sub>6</sub>), *Κορσεαί*, the name of an island opposite Samos (from *κερσ-*), *ὀρσοπύγια* Samos 220<sub>35</sub>, in the dative plural of ρ stems, e.g. *φθειρσί* Archil. 1371, by analogy to the case-forms showing -ρ. On *πυρρός*, see § 334. *κόρση* occurs in *Herodas* 771.

ρσ, λσ in the post-Homeric verb are rarely retained. A few instances recall the Homeric retention of the liquid. *ἡλσάμην* Sim. Amorg. 17, *κύρση* *Herodas* 243, 775 (cf. 367), *κύρσαις* 367. This poetic and Ionic verb either retains the sigma or appears under the form *κυρέω*. *ἐκυρσα* is used by Homer, Hesiod, Hdt., and in tragedy. *Herodotos* has also *ἐκύρσησα*, *κυρήσω*; *Hippokr.* *ξυρεκύρσησα*. *Hippokrates* has *διέρσαι* and *διέρσης* IV 108, *διέρσας* IV 296, whereas in VII 52 *διείραι* is the correct form, which is also a *v. l.* in IV 108.

Wackernagel (*K. Z.* XXIX 127) has suggested that in primitive Greek ρσ and λσ remained ρσ and λσ when the accent preceded, but in case the accent followed they were treated as -ρσ-, except when a consonant originally followed the σ-, i.e. the liquid disappeared with compensatory lengthening. Cf. *Solmsen K. Z.*

<sup>1</sup> *Joh. Gr.* 240 B, *Greg. Kor.* 434, *Gram. Moerm.* 652, *Aug* 667, *Vat.* 697, *Birnab.* 677<sub>10</sub>.

XXIX 352 who shows that all the verbs with stems in ρ or λ, which assimilate ρ or λ with σ, are formed by the suffix -ξε-, -λο- (with the exception of δέρω and φιλέω) and that the assimilation in the aorist is due to the influence of the verbs in -νω and -μω, which regularly suffer assimilation and compensatory lengthening. On σ in combination with ν, see §§ 161, 337.

**383.] The Combinations σρ, σλ.**

Initial σρ or σλ became in Ionic as in other dialects ρρ, λλ, which were reduced to ρ, λ. Medial σρ or σλ became ρ or λ with compensatory lengthening. Forms with medial ρρ or λλ are due to analogy.

**384.] σ in conjunction with μ.**

σμικρός, μικρός<sup>1</sup>. The former form occurs P 757, Hymn Aphrod. 115 (elsewhere μικρός), Theognis 14, 323, Anax. 1, 15, Demokr. 24, 184, Hippokr. II 646 (Galen μικρός), 652 and often. In Herodotos Stein edits σμικρός even when the MSS. agree in presenting the other form.

μικρός is found in the epic (four times), Anakr. 171, Theog. 607, Herodas 743, and in Iasos 1056, an inscription of too late a date to afford proof of the existence of this form in official Ionic<sup>2</sup>. The pseudo-Ionists are very inconsistent. σμικρός is found in Luk. *Dea Syr.* § 16 (which section also has μικρός, a form found five times), in Arrian five times (μικρός three times), Eusebios and Eusebios Myndios once each. The variation between σμικρός and μικρός, as that between σκορδίνημα and κορδίνημα<sup>3</sup>, στέγος and τέγος, σκεδάννυμι and κεδάννυμι, is due to the operation of the laws of sentence-phonetics, the final sound of the word preceding the word in question deciding the appearance or non-appearance of the σ. In other cases σμ was either retained without variation or the μ forms were adopted to the exclusion of those with σμ. On Homeric φιλομμειδής see under AIOIC. Whenever medial -σμ- appears in Ionic or other dialects, it is either due to the workings of analogy or is from -τσμ-.

**385.] σμ in non-Hellenic words.**

In the Hellenization of words of foreign stamp a σ has been prefixed:

Σμέρδης Hdt. III 61, &c. Cf. Μάρδος, Μάρδης *Persai* 774, Assy. *Bardis*.

σμάραγδος Hdt. II 44; μάραγδος late. Cf. Skt. *marakata*, borrowed from a Semitic source.

<sup>1</sup> See note on Greg. Kor. p. 500. On μικρός see § 353.

<sup>2</sup> All Attic inscriptions of the fifth and fourth centuries have μικρός, except C. I. G. 2139 (from Aigina and dating about 403 B.C.). σμικρός is frequent in the tragic poets and in Plato.

<sup>3</sup> Greg. Kor. p. 553: κορδίνημα (γράφεται δὲ καὶ σκορδίνημα).



σμέρνη Hdt. VII 181, Aiolic μύρρα. Archil. 30 has ἐσμυρισμένας. Cf. μύρον Archil. 31, Hdt. III 22.

### Digamma.

386.] Like all other dialects in some period of their history, Ionic possessed *f*<sup>1</sup>. It is the only dialect that generally permits compensatory lengthening to attend the disappearance of the spirant after λ, ρ, ν. The dialects of Doric texture, contrary to the generally received view, when they retained the sound long into the historical period of the language, often suffer the loss of *f* without compensation. Cf. the relation of Kretan and Argive ρός to ρόνς. In Aiolic, assimilation of *f* to the preceding liquid was followed by a reduction in poetry of the geminated sound. In Attic, δέρη and κόρη, στενότερος, κενότερος, μᾶνότερος surely indicate the quondam presence of *f*<sup>2</sup>. But the activity of *f* in the earliest period of the history of Ionic is indicated in other ways than by compensatory lengthening in δειρή and κούρη, στεινότερος and κεινότερος. In πελλίς Hipponax 38 B, Phoinix of Kolophon in Athen. XI 495 C, D, we find that λ*f* could be assimilated to λλ when the accent followed λ*f*; and that, as in πέλιξ, the liquid alone remained when the accent preceded λ*f*. See Schmidt's *Neutra*, p. 47. Furthermore, *af* became *av* before a consonant, e.g. ἔκασα (-άμην) Hdt., κέκασμαι, ἐκκασόμενος Hippokr. According to the schol. Victor. on Il. XV 421 δαυλός was a form used by the νεώτεροι Ἴωνες. Of this form there is no trace in literature, though we have δεδαυμένων in Simonides of Amorgos, fr. 30, from the base δ*af*-. καύης or καύηξ in Hipponax 2, may be passed by, not so much because of its conjunction with the Aiolic ἄμμορος (Ionic ἥμορος?), but because the form itself has not yet been explained; cf. § 242.

### 387.] Digamma in literature.

Traces of initial *f* in the Ionic lyric poets (elegists and iambists) are extremely rare:

Archilochos 1: Ἐνυαλλοῖο ἀνακτορ bears the stamp of an epic formula, though not occurring in Homer (cf. Il. II 631, XVII 211). Plutarch read Ἐνυαλλοῖο θεοῖο, but this is not preferable to the other reading merely because of the quondam existence of

<sup>1</sup> The ancient grammarians, as far as they recognize the existence of *f* at all, testify to its presence in Ionic. Trypho παθ. λεξ. 11, Max (vul. Cantab. I 34) says: προστίθεται δὲ καὶ τὸ διγάμμα παρὰ τοὺς Ἴωνας καὶ Δωριεῖς καὶ Λάκωνας, ὅλον ἔναξ *f*άναξ, Ἐλενα *f*ελενα. Cf. Bekk. An. III 1165, Priscian I 13. As the sign for *six*, *f* must have been used by the Ionians. The name Στῖ is a bit of Byzantine imbecility.

<sup>2</sup> On Attic κούρη and Μουνιχία, see § 75.

*F* in *ἄναξ*. I regard the coinage of such phrases as *Ἐνναλίοιο ἄνακτος* by the Ionic elegists as on a plane with the imitation by the Ionic Homeridai of old-time epic formulae. Thus, in the later additions to the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* and in the *Hymns*, we find instances of the apparent observance of digamma, though at the period of these poems the labial spirant was an obsolescent, if not an obsolete, sound. In *ἦ δέ οἱ κόμη* Archil. 29, and *οὐδέ οἱ γέλως* Sim. Amorg. 779, the case is different, since the metre is iambic, which is the organ of the popular dialect. *ἦ δέ οἱ σάθη* Archil. 97, is from an epode, but the metre is also iambic. In Sim. Amorg. 780 we find

οὐδ' ἄν τιν' εὖ ἔρξειεν, ἀλλὰ τοῦθ' ὀργῇ

but immediately below, v. 82

ὄκως τιν' ὥς μέγιστον ἔρξειεν κακόν.

In *Mimnermos* 12, we find in VL *ἵνα οἱ θοὸν ἄρμα καὶ ἵπποι*, but in BP *ἵν' ἀλήθοον*, a reading which justifies Bergk's *ἵνα δή. γλῶσσα δέ οἱ διχόμυθος* occurs in a fragment (424) of one of the *μέλη* of Solon.

In *Theognis* many instances of the observance of *F* occur in words such as *ἴδιος* 440, and *ἰοστεφάνων* 250, which do not have *F* in Homer. The digammated word occurs also in combinations with other words, which cannot be called Homeric formulae. In *Theognis*, Hartel and others have even found traces of a written *F* as in *κίδιον* 440, *μετ'*, or *μεγ' οἶνος* 413, *εὐγεργεσίης* 548, 574. Sitzler<sup>1</sup>, who holds the opinion that *F* was not entirely extinct in the older elegists, suggests with much probability that its retention in *ἄδοι* 52, *ἄνακτα* 987, *ἔργα* 1167 is due to the pressure exercised by the local dialect of the poet. There can be no question that Megarian speech retained the spirant longer than Asiatic Ionic.

In *Herodas* 418 we read *ἐπ' ἠπίας σὺ χεῖρας, ὦ ἄναξ, τίνας*; in 6, *ἐν τῇ οἰκίῃ εἰς* at the beginning of a verse which has probably suffered some loss.

388.] Elsewhere in the lyric poets of Ionic birth the evidence against the presence of *F* is very strong.

1. Iambic writers, including the elegiacs and trochaics of Archilochos.

Archilochos: *δ' οἶνος* 21 (el.), *δ' οἶνον* 43 (el.), *διθύραμβον οἶνον* 772; *ἔσσεται ἔργον* 33 (el.), *κορωνὸς ἔργων* 391, *ἐγκυρέωσιν ἔργμασιν* 703, *σὺ δ' ἔργ'* 882; *τις ἀστῶν* 91 (el.), *μετ' ἀστῶν* 631; *Ποσειδάωνος ἄνακτος* 101 (el. Bergk's conj.), *κλυθ' ἄναξ* 751, *Διωνύσοι' ἄνακτος* 771, *χαῖρ' ἄναξ* 1192; *ἐν εἵμασιν* 122 (el.); *κατ' οἶκον* 33,

<sup>1</sup> *Jahrb.*, vol. 125, p. 507.

ἐν οἰκίῃ 39<sub>1</sub>, ἐν οἴκῳ 66<sub>5</sub>, κακὸν οἰκαδ' 98; ἦδ' ἄτη 73; ἔωθεν ἕκαστος 83; ὀδύνησιν ἔκητι 84<sub>2</sub>; πόλλ' οἶδ' ἁλώπηξ 118; καϊόλαος (καὶ (F)ύλαος) 119<sub>4</sub>.

Simonides Amorg.: οὐδὲν εἰδότες 1<sub>4</sub>, πάντα δ' εἰδέναι 7<sub>13</sub>, οὐδὲν οἶδε 7<sub>23</sub> (ἐν δόμοισ' ἰδῶν 7<sub>20</sub>), ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσ' ἰδεῖν 7<sub>22</sub>; οἱ δ' ἐτέων 1<sub>5</sub>; ἀν' οἶκον 7<sub>3</sub>, ἐξ οἴκου 7<sub>80</sub>, λιμὸν οἰκίης 7<sub>101</sub>, συνοικητῆρα 7<sub>102</sub>, κατ' οἶκον 7<sub>104</sub>, οὐδ' ἐς οἰκίην 7<sub>106</sub>; ἐν εἵμασιν 7<sub>8</sub>, ἐκπεσόντες εἵμασιν 21; ἐχθροῖσιν ἴσα 7<sub>30</sub>; πρὸς ἔργον 7<sub>45</sub>, δούλι' ἔργα 7<sub>58</sub>, δ' ἔρδει 7<sub>55</sub>, μεγιστον ἔρξειεν 7<sub>82</sub>; δι' ἄστεος 7<sub>74</sub>. πᾶσιν ἀστοῖσιν 7<sub>74</sub> (ἀνθρώποις B); ἐν γυναιξὶν ἦδεται 7<sub>90</sub>, θυμηδεῖν 7<sub>103</sub>; δ' ἕκαστος 7<sub>112</sub>.

Hipponax; συνώκησας 12, ἐς τῷκ' ἐλθῶν 20<sub>2</sub>, ῥέκει 47 (first foot); οὐδὰμ' εἶπεν 20<sub>2</sub>, ἀνείπεν 45; εἰσιν ἦδιστα 29<sub>1</sub>, ῥόδιον ἦδύ 58; μοιχὸς ἁλῶναι 74; θαλμάτια 83; Σιμώνακτος 55 B.

Ananias; καθείρξαι 3<sub>1</sub>, κήχεται 5<sub>0</sub>.

Herodas; δ' οἰκέω 2<sub>22</sub>, δ' οἰκίης 4<sub>32</sub>, ὄντιν' οἰκίης 4<sub>12</sub>, δὲ τὰ οἰκ' 2<sub>52</sub> (*scriptio plena*); ἀλλ' ἔργ' ὀκοῖ' ἔστ' ἔργα 6<sub>55</sub>, κάκ' ἔργα 3<sub>22</sub>, τοῦργον 4<sub>32</sub>, οἷ' ἔργα 4<sub>57</sub>, 7<sub>18</sub>, ἐκείνον ἢ ἔργα 4<sub>70</sub> with synizesis, χρήσιμ' ἔργα 7<sub>18</sub>. There is no *f* in ἔκητι 2<sub>77</sub>, ἑκάστου 3<sub>15</sub>, 4<sub>0</sub>; σάφ' οἶδ' 3<sub>13</sub>, τ' οἶδε 3<sub>53</sub>, αὐτίκ' εἰδήσει 5<sub>78</sub>.

## 2. Elegists.

Kallinos; ἐν δ' οἴκῳ 1<sub>15</sub>.

Mimnermos; τοῖς ἱκελοῖ 2<sub>3</sub> proves nothing unless we read, as is probable, τοῖσ' ἱκελοῖ; φέρετ' εἵκελος 14<sub>11</sub>; ἄλλοτε οἶκος 2<sub>11</sub>; δ' ἔργ' 2<sub>12</sub>; δηλεύμενος ἔργμασι 7<sub>1</sub>; ἄσπετος ἰδρώς 5<sub>1</sub>; Νηλήϊον ἄστυ 9<sub>1</sub>; ἀφ' Ἑσπερίδων 12<sub>8</sub>; μιν ἰδὼν 14<sub>2</sub>; βᾶξιος ἱμενοῖ 16. The following passages prove nothing; ἔαρος 2<sub>1</sub>, ἠριγένεια 12<sub>10</sub>, εἰδότες 2<sub>4</sub>, ῥοδοδάκτυλος 12<sub>3</sub>, ἔργον 14<sub>11</sub>.

Xenophanes; δ' οἶνος 1<sub>5</sub>, τις οἶνον 4<sub>1</sub>; ἀλλ' εἰκῇ 2<sub>13</sub>; φάσθαι ἔπος 6<sub>3</sub>; τῶνδ' οἶδα 7<sub>4</sub>. ὥς οἱ 1<sub>20</sub> proves nothing.

Phokylides; περίδρομος εἶδος 3<sub>4</sub>; ἐπίσταται ἐργάζεσθαι 3<sub>7</sub>, διδάσκέμεν ἔργα 13, καθήμενον οἶνοποτάζειν 12<sub>2</sub>.

## 3. Melic poets.

From his sympathy with the Aiolic poets we might expect in Anakreon a more persistent survival of *digamma* than in other Ionic poets. But the following instances occur of forms that once possessed but have lost *f*: ὦναξ 2<sub>1</sub>; οὐκ εἰδώς 4<sub>3</sub>, Σίμαλον εἶδον 22, μ' εἰσιδὼν 25<sub>1</sub>, δ' οἶδα 45<sub>2</sub>, οὐδὲν εἰδέναι 75<sub>2</sub>; οὐδ' ἀστοῖσι 15<sub>2</sub>; ψάλλω δ' εἵκοσι 18; ῥοχόει 32, φέρ' οἶνον 62<sub>1</sub>, δ' οἶνου 63<sub>4</sub>, παρ' οἶνῳ 63<sub>9</sub>, πλέψ οἶνοποτάζων 94<sub>1</sub> (el.); μεθύοντ' οἰκαδ' 56; σκύφον Ἐρξίῳνι 82<sub>1</sub>; ἐπίστιον 90<sub>4</sub>. εἴλυμα 21<sub>0</sub> may stand for *ef*-λυ-μα.

Solon may be adduced as evidence not merely for the absence of *f* from the Attic of his day and generation, but also for the attitude of the early elegy towards its Ionic models.

ἐπ' ἔργμασιν 13<sub>65</sub>, ὑπερήφανά τ' ἔργα 43<sub>7</sub>, παύει δ' ἔργα 43<sub>8</sub>,

ὑβριος ἔργα 13<sub>16</sub>, κάλ' <sup>1</sup> ἔργα 13<sub>21</sub>, ἀναίτιοι ἔργα 13<sub>31</sub>, μιν ἔργα 13<sub>41</sub>, πολυφαρμάκου ἔργον 13<sub>57</sub>, οὐδ' ἔρδειν 27<sub>12</sub>, ἕτερος ἔρδε 40; σύνοιδε 4<sub>18</sub>, οὐδέ τις οἶδεν 13<sub>65</sub>, δεινὸν ἰδεῖν 13<sub>8</sub>, ἔθηκεν ἰδεῖν 13<sub>22</sub>, ἐστὶν ἰδεῖν 13<sub>24</sub>; πολυήρατον ἄστν 4<sub>21</sub>, χρόνος ἀστοῖς 10<sub>1</sub>; ἔρχεται οἴκαδ' ἐκάστω 4<sub>27</sub>, εἰς μὲν ἕκαστος 11<sub>5</sub>, ἐφ' ἐκάστω 13<sub>25</sub>, δόξαν ἕκαστος 13<sub>34</sub>; ἔθηκεν ἄναξ 13<sub>53</sub>, ἐνθάδ' ἀνάσσω 19<sub>1</sub>; Κύπρις ἰοστέφανος 19<sub>4</sub>; ἐν ἔπτ' ἔτεσιν 27<sub>2</sub>, δέκ' ἔτη 27<sub>14</sub>; τῇ δ' ἕκτῃ (?) 27<sub>11</sub>; ἔχοντας ἦθη 36<sub>12</sub>.

In 4<sub>11</sub>, 13<sub>12</sub> ἀδίκους ἔργμασι, in 13<sub>36</sub> κούφαις ἐλπίσι the short form of the dative is correct.

For οὔτι or οὔτε of the MSS. Hermann, read οὐ ἔ in 13<sub>27</sub> αἰεὶ δ' οὐ ἔ λέληθε διαμπερές, ὅστις ἀλιτρόν. In 13<sub>67</sub> ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν εὐ ἔρδειν occurs. Both cases fail to prove the existence of *F*.

Cases of internal hiatus resulting from the disappearance of *F* and preserved in poetry for all time will be found enumerated in the sections upon Vowel Contact.

**389.]** The disproportion<sup>2</sup> between the cases of the retention of *F* and those of its neglect is proof enough that the sound was practically dead in Asia Minor at least by the year 700 B. C. and in Attika by the commencement of the sixth century. The evidence presented by one species of lyric reacting upon that presented by another, enforces this conclusion. The cases of retention in the elegy are no matter for wonderment. It is surprising that, with all the dependence upon the *largo fiume* of epic language, there were not more cases of the apparent survival of the sound. It is in iambic poetry, whose affiliations are so different from those of the elegy, that we are surprised to discover traces of the appearance of *F*. As regards the *Foi*'s, Fick's suggestion that δέ οἱ were practically pronounced under one accent (δέοι) would play havoc with the digammated pronoun in Homer and Pindar. μηδὲ εἰς in Hipponax 28 is a 'fixed combination,' it is true, but that is just what δέ οἱ is not. Nor is the parallelism of ἄλλοτε ἄλλος Phokyl. 15, Solon 13<sub>76</sub>, 15<sub>4</sub> in place. Such an hiatus in the *elegy* needs no special defence. The history of οἱ and kindred forms in Pindar<sup>3</sup> shows pretty clearly that in Doric poetry this pronoun was a stronghold of the *F*. In the choral parts of tragedy (*Trach.* 649, *Elektra* 196) we still find an echo of the epic and Pindaric use. Perhaps the constant

<sup>1</sup> Bergk καλὰ ἔργα. As the elegiac poets regard the penult of καλός as *anceps* καλόν Solon 13<sub>31</sub>), and as a substitute is necessary for the καλὰ of the MSS., καλ' is here preferable to καλὰ. But see Sitzler, *Studien z. d. Elegikern*, p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Excluding Theognis and Herodas, *F* is retained in the elegy 2, in iambic poems 4, in the melic of Solon 1: it is violated in the elegy 24, in iambic poems 53, in the melic of Anakreon 17, in the melic of Solon 1.

<sup>3</sup> Heimer, *Studia Pindarica*, p. 47 ff.



apparent hiatus before the word in the epos influenced the construction of nascent iambic verse, or the hiatus is a survival of the period antecedent to that of the 'founder' of iambic verse<sup>1</sup>. The Simonideian οὐδ' ἄν τιν' εὖ ἔρξειεν recalls E 650 ὅς ῥά μιν εὖ ἔρξαντα, where the ictus alone would account for the retention of the length. The older poetry held fast to the prose quantity of the εὐ- in εὐεργός, -εργής, -εργεσίη.

### 390.] Digamma upon Inscriptions.

#### 1. Asiatic Ionic.

There are no examples. It is useless to cite all the words from the older inscriptions where initial *f* might have been placed. A few noteworthy instances are 'Αναξίλειος in Miletos, Bechtel 93 (not much later than 600 B.C.), 'Αναξιμάνδρου 94 (of the same date), 'Ιστια[ίος] 97 (between 520 and 504 B.C.); Erythrai 'Εκαταίης 198 (fifth century); Chios 174 A<sub>8</sub> ἔξς, C<sub>23</sub> κο[ί]ρονιδης, D<sub>8</sub> οἰκίην, D<sub>17-18</sub> τοικ[ό]πεδον (fifth century); Teos 156 A, ἰδιώτηι, B<sub>21-25</sub> εἰδώς (fifth century).

#### 2. Island Ionic (Kyklades).

A. Naxos. Upon a dedicatory inscription from Naxos, *B. C. H.* XII (1888) p. 464, written βουστροφηδόν, we read, according to Homolle:

φι[φ]ικαπτίδης : μ' ἄ : νέθεκε : ho : Νάησιος : ποιέσας.

The inscription dates, according to Homolle, from the second half of the seventh century before our era; a conclusion adopted by Schoeffer in his *De Delo insulae rebus*, p. 20 (Berlin, 1889).

B. Naxos. On the base of the Apollo colossus dedicated by the Naxians at Delos, dated by Kirchhoff at the end of the sixth or at the beginning of the fifth century (see Roberts, I § 35) we read (Bechtel 25 = Rob. I 27 = I. G. A. 409):

τ]οῦ ΑΦΥΤΟ ΛΙΘΟΥ Εἴμ' ἀνδριὰς καὶ τὸ σφέλας

i.e. αἴφ' τοῦ, as was read by Bentley, and is read by almost all scholars, with the exception of Rochl (θάεν), and of Bergk and Wilamowitz, who equates θαφυτοῦ with θαητοῦ, i.e. θαυμαστοῦ, and compares θαυτὰ ἔργα Hsd. *Asp.* 165.

C. Amorgos. An early *abecedarium* I. G. A. Add. 390 = Rob. I 159 B contains Ε.

#### 3. Western Ionic (Euboia).

A. Chalkidian vase inscriptions of the fifth century (from Magna Graecia):

φιώ Roberts, I 190 C.

Ὀφαίης Roberts, I 190 L.

Γαρυφώνης Roberts, I 191 C.

<sup>1</sup> Arist. *Poet.* 4



Digamma has in each case the form  $\Gamma$ , except Rob. I 190, 2  $\epsilon$  EIO =  $F_{\iota\acute{\omega}}$  (?).

B. From Rhegion, a colony of Chalkis:

$F_{\omicron}i\acute{\kappa}\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$  and  $\delta\sigma\sigma\alpha$ ,  $F_{\omicron}i$  (for  $\acute{\omega}s\sigma a f_{\omicron}i$ ), cf. Bechtel 5, Rob. I 180, I. G. A. 532. The  $F$  has the same form as in the *abecedarium* of Amorgos.

$F_{\omicron}i\acute{\kappa}\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$  Rob. I 181, I. G. A. 533.

These forms occur upon a marble block found at Olympia, dedicated by Mikythos of Rhegion after 467 B. C., when he migrated from Rhegion to Tegea. The second  $F_{\omicron}i\acute{\kappa}\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$  is, according to Roberts, not by the same hand as the first, and is dated by Furtwängler after 450 B. C.

1.  $F_{\alpha}l\epsilon i[\acute{o}]p$ , conjectured by Blass in Bechtel, No. 6 A, occurs in an inscription written in the Eleian dialect by the artist. The donor of the gift to Apollo wrote in Ionic (Bechtel, 6 B); cf. No. 215.

2. In Hyele (Velia), a colony of Phokaia, we find  $\Upsilon\epsilon\lambda\eta\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$  172 I (450-400) and  $\Upsilon\epsilon\lambda\eta\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$  172 II (350). This orthography proves merely that the Phokaian  $\upsilon$  was  $u$  ( $\omega$ ), not  $\ddot{u}$ . The name of the city is Oskan and not connected with  $f\acute{\epsilon}l\omega s$ , whose  $f$  is not above question. Antevocalic  $f$  does not become  $\upsilon$  in Ionic.

391.] Upon the examples of Chalkidian  $F$  Tudeer<sup>1</sup> bases his contention that  $F$  was still alive in Euboian Ionic when Chalkis sent its colonies to the West, and that in Euboia itself it was lost between the eighth and the sixth centuries. But it can readily be shown that none of the inscriptions cited under Western Ionic are free from the suspicion of containing a non-Ionic element.  $\Gamma\alpha\rho\nu f_{\omicron} \acute{o} \nu \eta s$  contains a Doric  $\bar{a}$ <sup>2</sup>; cf. Nāts Rob. I 190, 2, and  $\chi\acute{\omega} \rho\alpha$  or  $\chi\acute{o} \rho\alpha$  *ibid.* 1 K. And if we read  $\acute{\Omega} f\alpha \tau \acute{\iota} \eta s$ , as seems probable, the initial part of the name is Doric for  $\acute{\Omega} \upsilon \alpha \tau \acute{\iota} \eta s$ , as Fick has shown (*Odysee*, p. 10). An  $\acute{\Omega} \upsilon \alpha \tau \acute{\iota} \eta s$  is known as the name of the brother of Mennes, tyrant of Kyme. Fick explained the ingression of the Doric forms on the supposition that the vases containing these non-Ionic forms were manufactured in Himera, and that the speech of Himera was a mixture of Chalkidian Ionic and of Doric<sup>3</sup>. But whether the vases in question were made in a Chalkidian colony or in Chalkis itself is a moot point that cannot be decided until ampler excavations in Euboia place us in possession of richer material. Meanwhile it should not be overlooked that from other cities of the West we possess vase inscriptions in mixed dialect, and that in Attika itself, as Kretschmer has shown, *K. Z.* XXIX 391 ff., there was a part of the population engaged in various handicrafts which

<sup>1</sup> *De Digammo*, p. 5 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Not as Kirchhoff, *Alphabet*,<sup>1</sup> p. 126, thinks, a peculiarity of Chalkidian Ionic.

<sup>3</sup> Thuk. VI 5:  $\phi\omega\eta\eta\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\beta\acute{\epsilon}\tau\eta\varsigma\ \tau\epsilon\ \chi\alpha\lambda\kappa\iota\delta\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \Delta\omega\tau\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\varsigma\ \epsilon\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\theta\eta$ .

did not speak pure Attic. Kretschmer has collected a considerable number of inscriptions upon Attic vases which are in the Doric dialect, and concludes that the Chalkidian vases mentioned above came from Attika. At all events, whether the explanation of Fick or that of Kretschmer is correct, the infusion of Doric phonetisms into the Chalkidian vase inscriptions is sufficient to undermine our belief in the presence of *f* in Chalkidian Ionic, be it the dialect of a colony or of the metropolis. A similar line of argument militates against the Ionic character of *φοικέων* and *φοι* in the inscriptions from Rhegion. Rhegion was settled by Chalkidians and Messenians (Herakl. Pont. fr. 25). In I. G. A. 388 the name of the Samian Pythagorês appears in the Doric form of Πυθαγόρας under the influence of the Rhegine dialect<sup>1</sup>.

392.] Finally, the cases of *F* upon the inscriptions from Naxos. *φι[φ]ικαπίδης* is by no means a certain transcription.

On the sign supposed to be *f*, Homolle says: 'Semble en effet porter à sa partie inférieure un troisième trait qui en ferait un E,' mais on se persuadera aisément que c'est là un simple accident de la pierre, car la ligne n'a ni la même longueur, ni la même direction que les deux traits supérieurs [this is not clear from the facsimile]; elle n'a plus non plus la même netteté.' The third character may be either ⊕ or ⊙. The fourth would seem to be Υ', but of the shaft to the left the editor says again that it seems an error: 'non seulement parce qu'il manque de netteté, mais parce qu'il viendrait butter beaucoup trop haut sur la haste verticale.'

*φιπιάδας* is attested in Boiotian inscriptions (C. D. I. 488, six times), but *φιφικαπίδης*, cited by Homolle from C. D. I. 713 A<sub>1</sub>, is not above suspicion. The inscription begins ΦΙΚ-, which Keil read 'Ι]φι-, a name known to us from Nikander and Suidas. The *ductus literarum* at least permits in the present case the reading *Εἰθυκαπίδης*. *Εἰθυκαπίτης* is no uncommon name. Upon one of the Styrian lead tablets, I. G. A. 372<sub>111</sub>, the first υ of *Ε(ῡ)θύμαχος* has the form of ι, where *Εἰθυ-* should doubtless be read. Cf. Boiot. *Εἰθυκαπίδους* C. D. I. 814<sub>11</sub> (with non-Boiot. -ους). The ι of the Styrian name is perhaps due to dissimilation from *ευ* because of the υ of the following syllable. *Εἰλειθυίαι* § 225 may be so explained.

Above all suspicion, however, is the Naxian *F* in *αφύροῦ*, though none of the other letters upon the inscription are characteristic either in form or in use (Kirchhoff, *Alphabet*<sup>2</sup>, p. 86).

393.] The peculiar position occupied by the *f* in *αφύροῦ*, singular

<sup>1</sup> The chief ancient authority on the existence of the *f* was Trypho, who wrote a treatise on the dialect of Himeræ, Rhegion, &c. If Trypho's ascription of *f* to the Ionians was *ἀξ.* § 11 is based upon its presence in the above cited inscription or in the fragments of Stesichoros of Himeræ or of Ibykos of Rhegion, it builds upon an insecure foundation.

<sup>2</sup> This is not indicated in the translation of Blass' *Aussprache* by Mr. Purton, who has added *φιφικαπίδης* to the note of the German edition.

enough in a word that did not have the spirant<sup>1</sup> originally, is rendered the more unique from the fact that all other Naxian inscriptions, except that referred to above, have lost the letter<sup>2</sup>. The Attic *ναφυ*[πηγός] C. I. A. IV C 373<sup>234</sup> and *αφύτράρ* *ibid.* IV C 477 P, the exact parallel to *αφύτροῦ*, show beyond all doubt (1) that *αφύτροῦ* is not a slip of a stonecutter who intended to engrave AFT but could not forbear inserting the Y; (2) that the spelling *αφν* was an attempt to represent the sound *au* (i. e. *a + u*) more suitably than by *av*, i. e. *a + ü*<sup>3</sup>; (3) that the sound of the diphthong *au* could not, in the opinion of the stonecutter or of those who entrusted him with the work, be adequately reproduced by *af*<sup>4</sup>, and finally (4) that the Ionic of Naxos and the Attic of the sixth century B.C. possessed the *character F*. But from the *F* of *αφύτροῦ* and *αφύτράρ* it by no means follows that the sound *F* was still alive among Naxians and Attics. The disappearance of *F* in Attic, though occurring in the period subsequent to the Ionic migration eastward, is yet early enough to permit us to assume that its use in the sixth century was an archaism. The letter was held fast by its use as a numeral. But its ordinary, its natural phonetic use was gone. A *δέρφη* in the sixth century was an impossibility, an *αφύτράρ* a possibility. Upon the *αφύτράρ* inscription *F* is absent from *ἰδεῖν* and *ἡργάσατο*.

394.] How soon after their settlement in Asia Minor the Ionians lost *F* is not certain. But by the sixth century in Naxos at least the sign was old-fashioned. One portion of Ionic territory abandoned its possession sooner than another. The speech of the Kyklades, which still shows traces of its preservation, may be demonstrated on other grounds<sup>5</sup> to have been conservative. Hence, even if *Ῥιφικαρτίδης* should be correct, it does not follow that contemporary Eastern Ionic possessed the sound. There can be no doubt that by the close of the eighth century *F* must have disappeared from the ordinary speech of the Ionic Dodekapolis.

The connection between this conclusion and the attitude of the Homeric poems towards *F* cannot be dealt with here<sup>6</sup>. There seems no reason for the belief of some scholars that wherever we

<sup>1</sup> *αὐτός* from *ā-b-to*; cf. Skt. *u*. The *au* is pan-Hellenic; cf. Doric *αὐς*.

<sup>2</sup> *Δεινόμενος* Bechtel 23, *Δειναγόρης* 24, *κΟρη* 23, and *ἐκηβόλωι* 23, 24.

<sup>3</sup> Blass, *Aussprache* 74. Actual diaeresis of *av* is not to be assumed, despite Kirchhoff.

<sup>4</sup> In Pamphylian we find *ἀφταῖσι*.

<sup>5</sup> In the differentiation of the *t*-sounds, in the retention of the rough breathing.

<sup>6</sup> On the Ionic character of *F* in Homer, see Fritsch in *Zeit. f. Gym.-Wes.* XXXVIII 612, Caier in *Jahrb. d. phil. Vereins* X 294, Kretschmer in *K. Z.* XXIX 390 ff., XXXI 285, 442, Brugmann, *M. U.* V 43, Monro *Hom. Gram.* § 405, van Leeuwen, in *Mnemosyne* XIX 149.

have a trace of *f* in the epic, the verse in question is Aiolic. That the loss of *f* in Ionic-Attic preceded its disappearance in Aiolic is no proof that the presence of the spirant in Homer is an Aiolism. In the earlier period of the Ionic cultivation of the epos *f* may have been a living sound in certain parts of Ionia, while in others it may have passed out of existence. We do not know that the diction of Homer reflects any single Ionic dialect. In the later accretions to the poems the Ionic rhapsodes may have imitated the effects produced by *f* without being conscious of its existence. The *f* controversy, so far as it concerns Homer, is to a great extent interwoven with the question when an oral was abandoned for a written transmission.

### 395.] Combinations of Digamma.

*f*ρ (initial) becomes ρ. There are no indications of the spelling βρ. Medial *f*ρ becomes ρρ in ἄρρητος, ἀπόρρητος in Hdt., ἰσόρροπος in Hdt., Hippokr., but ἐρεξα, &c., Hdt. ἐ-*f*ρύ-ς became ἐνρύς in all dialects (ε is a prosthetic vowel).

ρ*f*, λ*f*, ν*f*, μ*f* lost their *f* with compensatory lengthening § 224, 253, 254. The assimilation of κ*f* to κκ is younger than that to ππ. \*φάρμακκος has become φάρμακος (§ 162). On μικκός see § 353.

τ*f* becomes in Ionic σ, as in σέ, τέσσερες = Skt. *catvāras*. On σείω (§ 219, 4), see Brugmann *Gr. Gr.* p. 32.

Initial σ*f* becomes (1) 'f, then h, and (2) perhaps σ. ἴσος (Homeric ἰσσος) is from \**f*ισσ*f*ος. In Herodas 3<sub>93</sub> for ἰσσᾶι of the MSS. we may read ἴσσ' ἄν, but ἴσ' ἄν is preferable.

### *The Breathings in Ionic.*

396.] The Ionians, who introduced the sign H (*Heta*) to denote the rough breathing, at an early period adopted ψιλότης. The Ionians of the Dodekapolis were the first to use H as the mark of ē (*Eta*). *Heta* was the name for η in all non-Ionic countries (including Attika) which retained the rough breathing until the year 400 B.C. After that time the use of H for η, and not for h, led to the adoption of the name ἥτα, which is originally Ionic.

### 397.]

Ionic ψ(ί)λωσις is attested by the ancients, who drew no accurate lines to mark its extension in Ionic territory

Apoll. Dys. *Synt.* 55<sub>19</sub> ἐπεὶ τὰ ψιλὰ μετατιθέσιν οἱ Ἴωνες καὶ τὰ βαρύνει εἰς ψιλὰ κ.τ.λ.; Eust. 1564<sub>2</sub> ψιλωτικοὶ γὰρ ὥσπερ Ἴωνες οὕτω καὶ Αἰολεῖς, cf. 920<sub>41</sub>; Tzet. *Ex. II.* 62<sub>20</sub> οἱ Αἰολεῖς τε καὶ Ἴωνες πάντα τὰ παρ' ἡμῶν βαρυνόμενα ψιλοῦ(σι) καὶ διὰ ψιλοῦ συμφέρον ἐκφωνοῦσιν, cf. 119<sub>27</sub>. The following list contains the chief

examples of words adduced by the ancients in proof of the adoption of the *lenis* by the Ionians. No account is here taken as to whether or not the ordinary aspirated form is due to the loss of an initial spirant. Many of these words are also called Aiolic by the grammarians.

αἰρέω in ἀπεῖλεν Aug. 669, ἀποαιρέω Schol. Ven. A on A 275 (interlinear). ἀνδάνω in αὐτώδης Apoll. *Pron.* 94 C, ἄδοι Eust. 1561<sub>51</sub>. ἄδου Greg. Kor. § 18. ἄλλομαι in ἄλτο An. Ox. III 401<sub>29</sub> Aiolic or Ionic. ἄμαξα Eust. 913<sub>47</sub>, 1263<sub>22</sub>, 1372<sub>14</sub>, 1387<sub>9</sub>, 1636<sub>28</sub>, Tzetzes on Hsd. *W. D.* 450 (Doric, Aiolic, Ionic, κοινή). ἄρμα Tzetzes on Hsd. *W. D.* 156, *Chil.* V 726, *Posthom.* 65, *Ex. Il.* 78<sub>3</sub> (Hippon. 42). ἀφή Tzetzes, *Chil.* V 726 (κάφη Hippon. 7). ἔλιξ Tzetzes on Hsd. *W. D.* 450 (Attic ἔλιξ). εἰλίσσω (εἰλίχατο Hdt. VII 90) Eust. 234<sub>11</sub>. ἔνη Eust. 1866<sub>12</sub>. ἥλιος in ἀπηλιώτης<sup>1</sup> Hdt. IV 22, Apollon. in Hdn. II 379<sub>23</sub> (Choir. *Dict.* 698<sub>31</sub>), II 839<sub>28</sub> (Choir. *Dict.* 878<sub>2</sub>, An. Ox. IV 374<sub>5</sub>, cf. 198<sub>8</sub>), Greg. K. § 18, Apoll. *Pron.* 3 A, *Adv.* p. 139<sub>14</sub> (Schn.), Eust. 83<sub>3</sub>, 1562<sub>38</sub>, Tzetzes on Hsd. *W. D.* 156, 413, ἀντήλια Eust. 83<sub>3</sub>, 1562<sub>38</sub> (ἀπηλικέστερος Hdt. III 14 but ἀφηλικέστερον = πρεσβύτερον Greg. Kor. § 134). ἑορτή Et. M. 351<sub>56</sub>. ἔπηλις Eust. 1562<sub>38</sub>, Arkad. 31<sub>12</sub>. ἥμος Tzetzes on Hsd. *W. D.* 412 (παρὰ δὲ Ἀττικοῖς καὶ δασύνεται). Ἥφαιστος Apollonios in Hdn. II 839<sub>29</sub> (Choir. *Dict.* 878<sub>3</sub>, An. Ox. IV 374<sub>4</sub>). ἱεσθαί Suidas s. v. πρόκα, Hdt. VI 134 (λέναι often occurs in the MSS. of Hdt.). ἱκνέομαι in ἀπικόμην &c. Joh. Gr. 241, Greg. Kor. § 18, Vat. 699, Aug. 669, Birnb. 678<sub>39</sub>, Et. Gud. 428<sub>3</sub>, 439<sub>60</sub>, An. Ox. I 318<sub>33</sub>, Et. Mag. 624<sub>16</sub>. ἱρεύς Eust. 1623<sub>61</sub>, cf. 515<sub>35</sub>. ἱρηξ Eust. 920<sub>44</sub> (but ἱρηξ Greg. K. § 66, who quotes Hesiod), 1248<sub>48</sub>, 1734<sub>17</sub>. ἵππος in ἐπ' ἵπποι Leid. 629, ἐπ' ἵππων Joh. Gr. 235, Vat. 694, λεύκιππος Eust. 83<sub>2</sub>, 524<sub>28</sub>, 1562<sub>37</sub>, Tzetzes on Hsd. *W. D.* 156. The asper in ἵππος is due to that of the preceding article. ἐπίσταμαι Apollonios in Hdn. II 839<sub>27</sub> (Choir. *Dict.* 877<sub>34</sub>, An. Ox. IV 374<sub>4</sub>), Et. Mag. 364<sub>53</sub>. ἰστία in ἐπίστιον Hdn. II 379<sub>23</sub> (Choir. *Dict.* 699<sub>1</sub>), II 146 (on Z 265), An. Ox. IV 198<sub>6</sub>, Greg. Kor. § 89, Eust. 1562<sub>33</sub>, 46. ὀδός in αὐτόδιον Eust. 1562<sub>37</sub>, 1605<sub>12</sub>. οἶος Greg. Kor. § 18. ὀμίχλη Et. Mag. 624<sub>14</sub>, Et. Gud. 428<sub>2</sub>, An. Ox. I 318<sub>33</sub>. ὀρᾶν Joh. Gr. 235, Leid. 629, Vat. 694 (ἐπορᾶν), Joh. Gr. 240, Aug. 668, Birnb. 678<sub>13</sub>, Apoll. *Synt.* 55<sub>22</sub> (κατορῶ). ὀρκος in ἐπιorkῆσαι Scholiast Ven. A on IX 193. ὀς in ἀπ' ὧν Aug. 669. ἀπουρίσαι Eust. 1282<sub>15</sub>, cf. 1774<sub>38</sub>. ὤρα in κατωραίζεται σερμύνεται Hesych. (Ionic?); cf. Et. M. 448<sub>45</sub>.

### 398.] Spiritus asper in the Inscriptions.

Since the inscriptions offer the most valuable evidence for the presence or absence of the rough breathing in Ionic, all

<sup>1</sup> On ἀπηλιώτης see § 410.



examples which afford absolute proof of the use of the *asper* (i. e. actual presence of *h* or aspiration of a *tenuis*) will be adduced below. Only from the inscriptions previous to 403 B. C. will be cited examples of words which might have been provided with the *asper*, but are without it, and from those of a later date only cases of aspirated *tenuis*. Roberts' method of aspirating such old Ionic inscriptions from Asia Minor as are free from all taint of Atticism is not to be defended. Certainty in so elusive a matter as the placing of the correct *spiritus* cannot be expected in the later inscriptions. Bechtel puts the *lenis* in quite late documents provided they contain some Ionic form. In many of the inscriptions from the fourth century which contain Attic forms the same scholar adopts the *lenis*, while in others he uses the *asper*. All Κοινή inscriptions should have the aspirated forms.

A divergence in the treatment of the initial *spiritus asper* between the divisions of Ionic constitutes one of the chief marks of sub-dialectal difference. Only the Asiatic Ionians adopted ψιλότης. The dialect of Western Ionic and that of the Kyklades have retained the rough breathing.

Medial *σ* upon its disappearance left an intervocalic *spiritus asper*, which, if the initial syllable of the word was provided with a *lenis*, was in Attic and some other dialects transferred to the beginning of the word. Thus εἶω is from \*εἶω < \*εἶσω Lat. ūro. Asiatic Ionic must be regarded as rejecting, the dialect of the islands and of Eubœa as adopting, this phonetic principle. In Asiatic Ionic *λερός* or *λρός*, in Thasos and Siphnos *λερός* resulted from \**ισερός*, \**ίερος*.

399.] Asia Minor, including the Ionic of the Dodekapolis and of the colonies, even when these are islands such as Iasos, Leros, Teos, Chios, Samos, Samothrake. Care will be taken to notice whether the dialect of the islands differs from that of the metropolis.

The Ionians of the East, i. e. those included under this division, had lost the initial *asper* at the time of our earliest inscriptions from Asia Minor, while all the other Ionians had preserved it.

Miletos: Θ in the older group of Milesian inscriptions never denotes *h*; and Η in the younger group is likewise always used for *η*. In the Abu-Simbel inscription, however, Θ may denote either *h* or *η* (Θαγήσερμος, ΤΘλεφος), though not all forms capable of receiving the *asper* are provided with Θ. But there is nothing to show that those words in the Abu-Simbel document which receive the *asper* were written by Milesians; and the evidence of Πά(μ)βις ο Φολοφώνιος makes for the assumption that all that part of the inscription which is the work of Ionians is to be written without the *asper*. 93 ολ, Ἠγήσανδρος; 94 οί; 96

ἡμέας; 97 Ἰστια[ῖος]; 98 δ; cf. also Roberts I 132 *bis* from Naukr. (ὑπ[οκρητή]ριον), and 132 *ter* from Naukr. (δ), Bechtel 237, Ἡρης Naukr. I 447 is to be read Ἡρη not Ἡρη, cf. No. 689. ἀπ' ἐκάστου occurs in 100<sub>2</sub>. In 102<sub>2</sub> Bechtel writes ἱερή, since the coin is of the fourth century; cf. likewise ἱερῇ in Pantikap. 123, and Ephesos 150, both late inscriptions.

Prokonnesos: H is used for η only. 103 ὑποκρητήριον, τοῦρμοκράτεος and ἡθμόν (cf. ἀπηθέω). Roberts' question as to the propriety of writing ἡθμόν is otiose, although Ηηθμόν appears on the Attic copy. This copy has several cases of H. In later times, at least, ἡθμός was the proper form; cf. Scholiast on Apoll. Rhod. I 1294 (quoted by Roberts).

Iasos: No. 104 dates from about the middle of the fourth century and its forms may receive the Attic *asper*. No. 105 is also Attic in colouring.

Kyzikos: In the second part of 108 (dating perhaps from the first century B.C.) Bechtel writes the *lenis* because of its archaistic character. But the contemporary dialect of Kyzikos must have followed the Κοινή usage.

Priene: In No. 144, about 350 B.C., from the territory of the Πανιώνιον, we find κατάπερ, though Bechtel writes the *asper* on initial vowels. This κατάπερ is not decisive as to the deaspiration of Ionic in Priene in the middle of the fifth century. See below under Chios.

Ephesos: H is used for η throughout in No. 145. καθάπερ in No. 147<sub>11</sub> occurs in an inscription almost entirely Hellenistic. ἐπεξῆς 148<sub>34</sub> dates, according to Dareste, from about the period of king Mithridates.

Kolophon: δ with no sign of θ in No. 152 from Abu-Simbel, Roberts I 130 E: Πά(μ)βις δ Φολοφώνιος. Roberts' δ is incorrect.

Smyrna: ἐφ' ἰση in C. I. G. 3137<sub>76</sub> is late.

Teos: Ἐλεσίβιος δ Τήιος in No. 155 from Abu-Simbel. Roberts' (I 130 B) Ἐλεσι- and δ are incorrect. In No. 156 (middle of the fifth century) H is used throughout for η, never for ἁ. The sole trace of aspiration is καθημένον (B 31). C. I. G. 3094<sub>12</sub> has καθ' ἔτος and Le Bas-Waddington 87 ἀφ' ἰσού (both late inscriptions). In No. 158 which contains scarcely a remnant of Ionic, we find, line 20, ἀπήγησιω despite καθάπερ lines 4, 25, καθισταμένοις line 32. See below under Chios.

Abdera: Ἑρμῇ and Ἑρμοστράτου in No. 162 = Rob. I 143. H is used for η throughout. Cf. the coin legends Ἑπ' Ἑρμοκρατίδew 163<sub>3</sub>, Ἑπ' Ἑροδότου 163<sub>5</sub>, [Ἑ]π' Ἑροφάνε[ος] 163<sub>6</sub> (see on Erythrαι below), Ἑγησαγόρης 163<sub>4</sub>. Ἑρμῇ occurs in No. 171 Lampsakos. Ἑρμῖew 180 Chios, but Ἑρμῖαι is written in Eryth. 204<sub>14</sub> (about 354 B.C.).

Chios: H is employed in No. 174 = Rob. I 149 to denote η.

There is no sign of the *spiritus asper*. In 174 A ἡ 's line 2, Ἑρμώνοσαν 2, Ἑρμωνόσης 4, ἕξ 5, ἑβδομήκοντα 7, ὄση 8, ἑκατόν 13, οἰροφύλακες 15, 19, οἱ 18; in 174 B πέντ' ἡμέρη[ι]σιν 5, ἡμέρην 15, and ὃ τι 20; in 174 C ἡ 3, ὃ 10, Ἰκέσιος 14, Ἠγεπόλιος 14, ἑπτακοσίων 18 and 25; in 174 D Ἰ[κ]εσίου 14, ἐνός 19. In 175 = Rob. I 150 we find ὁδόν.

μεθέλῃ 174 A 11 is to be explained as καθημένον in Teos, κάθοδον in Halikarnassos, i.e. by the assumption that in a compound the original rough breathing is preserved, whereas, when occurring in the uncompounded form, an aspirated word becomes subject to the influence of later phonetic laws of Ionic and suffers deaspiration. Cf. καθημένη Sim. Am. 7<sub>90</sub>, κάθοδος Anakr. 43<sub>6</sub>, καθεύδοντα Hippon. 61 (attributed by Schneidewin to Hipponax), καθεύδει Anakr. 88<sub>2</sub>; καθάπερ and καθισταμένοις Teos, καθημέρων on an Ionic papyrus of the fourth century B.C. (*Philol.* XLI p. 746). That this principle, differentiating the simple from the uncompounded words, did not obtain throughout the length and breadth of the dialect is clear from the numerous forms in Herodotos and from Teian ἀπήγησιν. Both of these forms must be held to be innovations, not survivals. ἀφήγησις was the old compound, which, existing side by side with uncompounded words in ἡγ- from ἡγέομαι<sup>1</sup>, became ἀπήγησις. So too with ἐπίμερον in Sim. Am., κατάπερ in Priene, Halikarnassos. See Fick *B. B.* XI 247, Bechtel *Ion. Inschr.* p. 98. The same principle may account for such forms as καθεύδω in Sappho.

Maroneia: Ἐπὶ Ἠγησαγόρεω 196, 10, Ἐπὶ Ἡρακλείδεω 196, 11.

Erythrai: In 206 A 14, 36, 42, B 14, 45, 50, 60 we find ἐφ' ἱεροποιού, but ἐπὶ ἱερο[ποιού] C 14, cf. C 8. This shows that the non-elision of the ι does not prove that the vowel of the following word began with the *lenis*.

Samos: Θ and Η are employed to denote η. τῆρηι 211, Ἡφαιστίων 212. Roberts has the first correct, the second wrong, as also [Η]ραγόρης ὁ in his No. 154 = Bechtel 213, where read [H-] and ὁ. No. 216 οὔρος, not ὄρος, since there is no Η on the stone (Attic ΗΟΡΟΣ is found in C. I. A. I 493 ff., also in Samos I. G. A. No. 8). Cf. § 253. No. 221<sub>32</sub> with καθότι is from 322 B.C.

Amorgos (inscriptions of Samian origin, see § 400): In 228 = Rob. I 158 A, ἈΗρσίων is read by Bechtel Ἀρσίων, by Roberts Ἀηρσίων, which is a new and strange name. Ἀρσίων (with aspirated ρ) is the hypocoristic form of Ἀρσίνοος. Bechtel compares ΦΘράθοο = Φράζον in Rob. I 25 (Delos).

Halikarnassos: Η is used for η, not for ἥ. Bechtel 238 = Rob.

<sup>1</sup> Even in Doric we find such names as Ἀγησίλαος with the *lenis* of ἡγω, in contrast to Ἀγηίστρατος from ἡγέομαι. Cf. Ἀγίω Bechtel 131, 11, from Olbia.

I 145 has  $\delta$  1,  $\delta$ , 'ΑλικαρναΤ[έω]ν 2,  $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\rho\eta$ [ι] 3,  $\lambda\sigma\tau\alpha\mu\acute{\epsilon}$ [νου] 5,  $\acute{\alpha}\pi'$  οὐ 18,  $\acute{\alpha}\delta\omicron\varsigma$  19,  $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}\pi$ [ε]ρ 19,  $\delta\rho\kappa\tilde{\omega}$  <ι>σ[αι] 20,  $\delta$  τ[ι] 20, οἱ 21, ὕστερον 22,  $\delta\rho\kappa\omicron\nu$  24,  $\delta\rho\kappa\omicron\upsilon\nu$  26,  $\eta\mu\acute{\iota}$ [ε]κτον 26,  $\delta\rho\kappa\omicron\nu$  27, οἴτινες 29,  $\delta\tau\epsilon$  30, ὕστερον 31, ὥστε 34,  $\lambda\epsilon\rho\acute{\alpha}$  36, 'Αλικαρνησσ- 40 and 41,  $\delta\varsigma$  43,  $\delta\rho\kappa\iota\alpha$  44,  $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{o}\pi\epsilon\rho$  43. The only form that indicates  $h$  is  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\theta\omicron\delta\omicron\nu$  40, on which see under *Chios*. In No. 246, we find  $\kappa\alpha\tau\iota\delta\rho\upsilon\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$  on a stelè of unknown period. All the other inscriptions from Halikarnassos are certainly late.

Mylasa: *C. I. G.* 2693, c. 4 has  $\kappa\alpha\theta'$  ἔτος. See above under *Teos*.

Adespota: No. 255 with TETEPEI =  $\tau\eta\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\eta$  has been referred by Bechtel to an Asiatic-Ionic source on account of the absence of the aspiration. Cf.  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\nu$  Simon. Amorg. VII 113, Hippon. tr. 18<sub>3</sub>. See § 134, note, Roberts I p. 374.

In No. 260 = Rob. I 166 we read  $\rho\acute{\alpha}\psi\omega\iota\delta\acute{o}\varsigma$ , though the ultimate provenance of the inscription is uncertain. There is no H.

#### 400.] Kyklades (Island Ionic).

Naxos: Θ and Η represent (1) the *spiritus asper*, (2) the short or long *e* sound related to an original A (see § 166). (1) In No. 23 = Rob. I 25 ΘκΘβόλωι stands for  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\eta$ -<sup>1</sup>. Aspirated ρ and  $h\varsigma$  for χς occur in ΦΘΡΑΘΣΟ (Φράξου). In No. 24 = Rob. I 26 Α ΕΚΗβόλωι there is no denotation of  $h$ ; No. 26 = Rob. I 28 ΗΟ. Cf. Roberts §§ 33, 35. (2) ΝικάνδρΘ, ΘκΘβόλωι,  $\lambda\omicron\chi\epsilon\alpha\acute{\iota}\rho\Theta\iota$ , ρούρΘ,  $\kappa\alpha\sigma\iota\gamma\upsilon\eta\tau\Theta$ , ΔεινοδίκΘο,  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda(\lambda)\Theta\omega\nu$  in No. 23 = Rob. I 25; ΔειναγόρΗς, ΕκΗβόλωι in No. 24 = Rob. I 26 Α; 'ΑλξΗνωρ, ἐ]ποιήσεν in No. 26 = Rob. I 28; ΚαριώνΗ Rob. I 29.

Amorgos (inscriptions of Naxian origin, see § 399): Η denotes both  $h$  and  $\eta$ . No. 31 = Rob. I 160 Β Η<sup>π</sup>ποκράτης, Η<sup>π</sup>ποκλῆς: No. 33 = Rob. I 160 F  $\eta\lambda$ [ι]ς where in Η<sup>λ</sup> the Η stands for  $h\acute{\epsilon}$ . Η represents  $\eta$  in ΔΗμαινέτΗς,  $\mu\nu\eta\mu\alpha$ , τΗς in No. 29 = Rob. I 158 D; τΗς in No. 32 = Rob. I 160 C, also in Rob. I 159 B (an *abecedarium*), and in the very obscure inscription, Rob. I 160 Α: ΦαιστυλίΘς (?),  $\sigma\upsilon\beta\acute{\alpha}\kappa\eta\nu$ . In *B. C. H.* VIII 24 (10. 16)  $\kappa\alpha\theta'$  ἐνιαυτόν is due to the analogy of  $\kappa\alpha\theta'$  ἔτος with inorganic  $h$  from *f*.

Keos: Η denotes  $\eta$  (pan-Hellenic). In No. 40 = Rob. I 31 Α, Η by an error stands for Ε in  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\parallel\theta\eta\sigma\alpha\nu$ ; see Roberts *ad loc.* In No. 41 = Rob. I 32,  $\chi\rho\nu$ ]σΗν,  $\kappa\alpha\tau\eta\zeta'$ , and Η =  $\eta$  are quite doubtful; in No. 42 = Rob. I 31 Β, ΞεινΗρετος, ΕὐδΗμος: in No. 46 = Rob. I 33 Β, [ $\Lambda$ ]φροδίτΗι,  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\epsilon}\theta\eta\kappa\epsilon\nu$ . We find but one word in the older inscriptions (apart from the doubtful  $\eta$  mentioned above): ΙστιΗι (Bechtel No. 45 = Rob. I 33 Α) which must be transcribed 'Ιστίηι. No. 43 = Rob. I 32 Α

<sup>1</sup> The initial Θ is not an error for ΒΕ but a peculiar sign, used elsewhere (Delos and Oropos), for δ.



(after 420 B.C.) has no sign for the *asper*, H representing  $\eta$  (=  $\bar{a}$ ) and  $\eta < \epsilon + \alpha$ , except in  $\delta\iota\alpha\rho\alpha\nu\theta\eta\iota_{17}$ ,  $\theta\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta\iota_{28}$ .

Delos: H stands for  $h\bar{e}$  as in Naxos and Oropos. Cf. No. 53 = Rob. I 24 A  $\text{HKHB}\Omega[\lambda\omega\iota]$ , where H also represents  $\eta < \bar{a}$ .

Paros: H appears for  $\eta$  only. No. 58 = Rob. I 16 has  $-\epsilon\beta\delta\sigma-[\mu\eta]\rho\alpha\nu\tau\acute{o}\upsilon\tau\eta\varsigma$ ,  $\epsilon\chi\sigma\epsilon\pi\acute{o}\iota\eta\sigma\epsilon\nu$ : No. 59 = Rob. I 17  $\Delta\text{H}\mu\kappa\acute{\iota}\delta\eta\varsigma$ ,  $\text{Τελεστοδίκη}\text{H}$ ,  $\sigma\tau\eta\sigma\alpha\nu$ ,  $\kappa\acute{o}\iota\rho\eta\iota$ ,  $\gamma\epsilon\nu\epsilon\text{H}\nu$ ,  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\text{H}\mu\sigma\acute{o}\nu\eta\iota$ : No. 60 = Rob. I 15  $\mu\text{H}\tau\text{H}\rho$ ,  $\theta\upsilon\gamma\acute{\alpha}\tau\text{H}\rho$ ,  $\pi\acute{o}\iota\eta\mu\alpha$ : Rob. I No. 18  $\acute{\alpha}\nu[\epsilon]\theta\text{H}\kappa\epsilon\nu$ .  $\epsilon\phi\eta\beta\acute{\iota}\eta\nu$  67 is from Roman times. Rob. I No. 19 = *I. G. A.* 406, a boundary stone, has  $\text{HOPOC TOIEPO}$ . If this is Ionic the transcription must be  $\text{H}\acute{o}\upsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$  not  $\text{H}\acute{o}\rho\omicron\varsigma$ . It is unfortunate that upon no Parian inscription before 403 B.C. do we find any word capable of aspiration<sup>1</sup>; else we might settle the question whether Rob. I 19 contains an example of  $\text{H} = h$ , or whether  $\text{HOPOC}$  is Attic  $\delta\rho\omicron\varsigma$  and the boundary stone of Attic provenance<sup>2</sup> (as the Samian  $\text{HOPOC}$  *I. G. A.* 8, cf. *C. I. A.* I No. 493 ff.). The absence of H from  $\text{IEPO}$  is to be noticed, because in Siphnos (Rob. I No. 20) we have  $\text{HIEP}\Omega\text{N}$  and in Thasos  $\text{IHPON}$  for  $\text{HIPON}$  (No. 70 = Rob. I 23).

Thasos: H denotes  $\eta$ , e.g. in  $\text{N}\upsilon\mu\phi\text{H}\iota\sigma\omega$ ,  $\text{N}\upsilon\mu\phi\text{H}\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\tau\text{H}\iota$ ,  $\theta\text{H}\lambda\upsilon$ , &c. in No. 68 = Rob. I 22.  $\delta\mu$  is expressed by AM in the same inscription (cf. § 292, 3). In No. 70 = Rob. I 23 we find  $\text{IHPON}$  which stands for  $\text{HIPON}$  (cf.  $\iota\rho\acute{o}\nu$  Bechtel 71, and  $\iota\epsilon\rho\acute{\epsilon}\alpha$  71,) rather than for  $\text{IEPON}$ , as Roberts (I p. 61, note 1) assumes; cf.  $\text{IEMI}$  for  $\text{EIMI}$  in Theodosia, Bechtel No. 125. In *J. H. S.* VIII 402, a document of the fifth century, H denotes  $\epsilon$ .

Siphnos: H represents  $h$  in  $\text{H}\iota\epsilon\rho\acute{o}\nu$  (Bechtel No. 88 = Rob. I 20), the only inscription of ancient date. Were others extant, H would express  $\eta$  as well as  $h$ .

Lastly, we must examine the inscriptions of—

#### 401.] Euboeia.

##### A. Chalkis and Colonies.

Kyme: H represents  $h$  twice: in  $\text{H}\upsilon\pi\acute{\upsilon}$  Bechtel 3 A = Rob. I 177 A, and in  $\Theta\acute{o}\varsigma$  Rob. I 173.  $\eta$  is expressed by E in the oldest inscriptions free from any encroachment of the Ionic alphabet.

Rhegion: H represents  $h$  in  $\text{HO}\Sigma\Sigma\text{A}$  Rob. I 180 (but see § 373). In the parallel inscription, Rob. I 181, the same word has no H, the only letter preserved after  $\chi\rho\eta\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\nu$  being O.  $\text{P}\text{H}\gamma\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma$  occurs on a coin legend, hence  $\text{P}[\eta]\gamma\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma$  in Bechtel

<sup>1</sup> Except perhaps  $-\epsilon\beta\delta\sigma-[\mu\eta]\rho\alpha\nu\tau\acute{o}\upsilon\tau\eta\varsigma$  No. 58, though here the medial  $h$  was scarcely to be expected.

<sup>2</sup> The latter supposition is more probable than to hold with Kirchhoff and Roberts I § 29 that the H is an archaism similar to that found on Attic boundary stones of a later period. Fick places the inscription at the earliest about 400 B.C. because *asper* and *lenis* appear.



6 B must be without H=*h*. In Bechtel No. 6 B, Ionic H is used for *η* [Γλ]αυκίHs, 'ΕρμHι, and there is no sign for *h*: O stands for *ὀ*, Ερμῆι for 'Ερμῆι. This inscription is later than 450 B.C.

Bechtel No. 13=Rob. I 179 is of Chalkidian origin. In lines 7 and 11 we find Θότι, line 8 Θο, line 9 Θαιρεί[σ]θω. Rob. I No. 183 contains Ηιπ(π)οδρομης: it is a Chalkidian inscription from Gela.

We may here insert the vase inscriptions: Ηιπολύτη Rob. I 188 B, cf. 'Εχιππος Rob. I 189 ('Ρόπιος with no H, 188 K), Ηιπ(π)αῖος 190 I G, Ηίπ(π)ος 190 II A, Ηηρακλῆς 191 B and also 192 B.

#### B. Eretria and Styria.

Eretria and Oropos: Under Eretria we may class Oropos No. 18, where (line 18) we find αὐθημερόν, ἀφ' ἐκάστου (line 35), ἐγκαθεύδειν (line 36), ἐγκαθεύδοντος (line 39), καθεύδειν (line 44); and finally Ησπέρης (lines 46-47)=Hεσπέρης<sup>1</sup>, the sole instance of H on the stone, which is certainly older than 377 B.C. This case of H is an archaism according to Wilamowitz in *Hermes* XXI p. 98.

Styra: Bechtel No. 19 contains the following names in point: ΕὐΗάγης 108 (the only example of medial H in Ionic inscriptions), Hεσχατίων 110, Ηυπεί(ρ)ων 111, Ηηγεμονεύς 200, Ηιππώνδης 373, Ηομήριος 374 (cf. *I. G. A.* 372). E in No. 19 represents *ε*, *η* (pan-Hellenic), *η* < *ā*, spurious EI, and (rarely) genuine EI (12, 265). No H is found in 'Ερμόκριτος 371, nor in 'Ραῖβος 82, 'Ρύμβις 299.

Certain *adespota* may be referred to the Ionic of Euboeia or of the Kyklades on the score of possessing *h*. Bechtel No. 265, found near the Parthenon and dating before Ol. 80, has Ηυῖός, but Ηγέλοχος. No. 266 is also classed as Ionic by Bechtel. In line 4 we find Ηυῖς.

#### *Spiritus Asper in Literature.*

#### 402.] The Iambographic Poets.

Iambographic poetry best reproduces the speech of the people. Cf. Fick *Bezz. Beitr.* XI 246 ff.

Archilochos: Archilochos has retained with but two exceptions the influence of the *asper*. These exceptions are ἐπ' ἡμέρην 70<sub>2</sub>, where most of the MSS. have ἐφ', and ἐπ' ἥβης 115. The *asper* appears in ὑφ' ἡδονῆς 102, ἐφ' ἥπατι 131 (. . . παρ' Ἀρχιλόχῳ

<sup>1</sup> On Θ or H=*h*, cf. Naxos 23, Delos 53 ἐπηβάλοι. In Styra 19<sub>200</sub> HE is=*h* ('Ηγεμονεύς). Hεσχατίων occurs 19<sub>110</sub>.

διὰ δασέος Athen. III 107 F), θῆτέρη 93, Γλαῦχ', ὄρα, or Γλαῦχ', ὄρα 54 by force of the punctuation. In verbs compounded with a preposition (which prove but little if the rule upheld § 399, under *Chios*, be here available): ἀφελκε 42, ἐφέπων 132, ἐφίμερος 213, κάθημαι 873, καθαιρεῖ 116. The evidence of Parian or Thasian inscriptions is in itself not sufficient warrant for ascribing to Archilochos a thoroughgoing use of the *asper*.

Simonides of Amorgos: ἐπίμερον 751, τοῦτέρου 7113, but χῶς 241, τοῦθ' ὄρα 780, ἐφήμεροι 13, καθημένη 790, and ἀφεῖσα 241. In view of similar inconsequences in other poets, it would be an over-refinement of criticism to explain ἐπίμερον in contrast to ἐφήμεροι, by referring it to the character of the settlement of Amorgos, i.e. by Naxians, Samians, and Milesians<sup>1</sup>. As Simonides was by birth a Samian we might expect a constant disregard of the *asper*. Naxian influence alone could have introduced the rough breathing.

Hipponax: κάφῃ 71, ἀκούσατ' Ἰππώνακτος 131, τοῦτέρου 183 ('ἰωνικῶς'), ὀδίνῃ πιαλεῖ 21 B, κῶπόλλων = καὶ ὁ Ἀπ- 31, ὠπόλλων = ὁ Ἀπ- 45, ἐπ' ἀρμάτων 42, κατ' ὕπνον 89. The *asper* however appears in ἀγέι 11 (where its existence is improbable, cf. § 156), θαῖμάτια 83, κοῦχ ἀμαρτάνω 83, and in ἀφέω 75 and καθεύδοντα 611 (see above, § 399). As an iambic poet of the Asiatic mainland, Hipponax represents with tolerable fidelity the speech of his countrymen.

Ananios has γνοίῃ χ' ὄσφ in the choliambic fragment No. 3, but κῆμέρης 510 (tetr.), cf. Chios 174 B 14. καθείρξαι occurs in 31.

In *Herodas* we observe nearly sixty cases of the presence of the *asper*, and only twenty of the *lenis*. The *asper* has been misplaced in χῆρωτες 704.

#### 403.] Elegiac Poets.

Instances of deaspiration in the texts of elegiac poets from the twelve cities are extremely rare: Xenophanes 210 has ταῦτα κ' ἅπαντα, according to the majority of the MSS., though Bergk follows *B* in reading χ' ἅπαντα. In 219 we find τοῦνεκεν, a form which is however also epic (*Hesiod*).

The elegiac poets usually accept the aspirated forms through inability to break with epic tradition: Mimnerm. 12, ἐφ' ὕδωρ, 12, ἀφ' Ἑσπερίδων and ἀφικόμεθα 92: Xenophanes 117 οὐχ ὕβρις and ἀφίκοιο: Phokylides of Leros has οὐχ ὁ 11.

#### 404.] Melic Poets.

In the melic poets there are scarcely any traces of the placing of the *lenis* for the *asper*: Anakreon has ἐσκαροπᾶς 16 (*Apoll.*

<sup>1</sup> *ἐπίμερον* and *ἐφήμεροι* have a parallel in *Herodotos* ἀπικέσθαι by the side of ἀφικέσθαι in *Xenophanes*.

*Synt.* 55), ἐπίστιον 90<sub>4</sub>, but οὐκέθ' ἦβη, κάθοδος 43, καθεύδει 88<sub>2</sub>, λευκίππων 12 B from original ἵππος.

#### 405.] Herodotos.

In view of the unanimous testimony of the inscriptions of Ionic Asia Minor as to the loss of the rough breathing, it is imperative that the text of Herodotos should be made to conform to the dialect of his day. The influence of an initial rough breathing may however be admitted to a certain extent. In compounds it has aspirated a preceding tenuis; though in numerous instances such forms as ἀπίκετο may be justified with the same propriety as the Teian ἀπήγησις, on which see § 399, under *Chios*.

The following instances of the occurrence of the *lenis* or variation between *lenis* and *asper*, deserve notice. Words with an initial *f* are expected to show the *lenis*.

ἐδώλια I 24 in *C b*. ἔργω, ἔργνυμι: ἐσεργνῦσι II 86, κατεργνῦσι IV 69, κατέργοντες VI 102, εἶρξε III 136 (*v.l.* ἔρξε), ἔργεσθαι VII 197 (*v.l.* εἶργ- and εἶργ-): ἔρκτήν is however found IV 146. ἔρξαν V 65, ἀπέρξαντες IV 62, but ἔρδον IX 103 (*P* ἔ-), ἔρδεσκε VII 33 (*P*); cf. Sim. K. 5<sub>20</sub> ἔρδῃ: on ἔρδω in Hesiod, see Rzach's *Dialekt d. Hsd.* p. 359. ἔσμός V 114. ἥώς though ἔω is a frequent *v.l.*; ἐωθινός occurs in III 104; in ἥώς, as in other words here mentioned, the *lenis* is original (ἥώς < ἄχσως). ἱρηκας II 67, cf. Eust. II. 920<sub>44</sub>: τὸ δὲ ἱρηξ ἰωνικῶς ψιλοῦται, εἰ καὶ τὸ ἱεραξ δασύνεται. In III 76, despite ἱρήκων in MSS. *Rd*, we read with Stein the form with the *lenis*. ὄλμος, οὔλος, οὐρίζειν. ὦρη *heed, care* III 155 (ὦρη most MSS.), as in the tragedians. ὦρη *season* II 4, I 32. εἰλίσσω has the *asper* II 38 according to Stein, as εἰλίχατο VII 90, though Eust. 234<sub>11</sub> wrote εἰλ-; cf. Tzetzes on *Hesiod, W. D.* 450: τὸ ἔλιξ Ἀπτικοὶ δασύνουσιν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ πάντες ψιλοῦσιν. ἰστίη has the *asper*.

The non-aspiration of ὑπέατι in the MSS. of Hdt. IV 70 deserves notice, as the deaspiration of words with initial *v* is extremely rare in the Greek dialects, with the single exception of Aiolic. Cf. ὑδρίαν I. G. A. 321<sub>45</sub>, ὑπεδέξατο C. I. A. I 442<sub>3</sub>, ὑπαργύρω C. I. A. I 165<sub>6</sub>, 173<sub>4</sub>, ὑπάργυρα C. I. A. I 32 B 28; see Roberts I § 43. This *lenis* appears before *v* only in those dialects whose *v* was the old sound *oo* (*u*).

#### 406.] Occurrences of tenuis for aspirate in Herodotos.

The MSS. of Herodotos have the tenuis (1) before an initial guttural spirant and (2) not infrequently in compounds.

1. A final tenuis is not aspirated:—οὐκ ὁμολογέουσι I 5 (cf. § 348), and so also in the case of ἀπό, ἐπί, κατά, μετά, ὑπό, and ἀντί<sup>1</sup> (Bredow, p. 203 ff.).

<sup>1</sup> ἀπ' ἔδου Græg. Kor. § 18, who also cites οὐκ αἰεί τε ἦσαν.

2. In compounds whose tenues are due to the influence of the lenis of the uncompounded word.

ἀπαμμένους II 121 (δ); ἀπηλιώτης IV 22 (§ 397); ἀπικνέοντο IV 125, cf. ἀπίζονται Charon 9 (§ 397); αὐτημερόν II 122, VI 139; ἐπέδρης I 17, v. l. ἔδρης, ἐπέδρην V 65 (ἔφεδρον V 41); ἐπέξῃς II 77; κατὰ=καθά I 208 (elsewhere κατὰ τὰ, but καθ' ὡς IX 82) where Kirchhoff would prefer κατ' ἄ; κατὰ περ I 118, 131, 169, κατύπερθε II 5; κατίσαι II 121 (ε), cf. II 126; κατηγέοντο IV 125, ὑπηγεομένης Demokr. 92. All MSS. have καθεύδουσι in Hdt. IV 25, with which we may compare καθεύδει II 95. Stein has κατ- in both cases. In VIII 49 the MSS. have ἀφ-, Stein ἀπέιτο. Dindorf incorrectly conjectures ἀπήσειν in VII 193 for ἀφήσειν, since there is an obvious reference to ἀφήμι in order to explain Ἀφέται.

In the Herodoteian crasis of ὁ+αὐτός to ὡτός (§ 258) we find the *asper* vanishes; cf. τοῦτερον (but θάτερα IV 157 and οὔτερος I 34).

407.] As the case now stands it is impossible to discover the exact usage of Herodotos as regards compounded words; and it will continue to be impossible until we are placed in the position of being able to control by the inscriptions the form of each word whose second component part originally began with the *asper*. In fact, as we know that κάθοδος is a legitimate Ionic form of the fifth century, it may be doubted whether ἔφεδρον in Hdt. V 41 is not correct and ἐπέδρης I 17 a fictitious form<sup>1</sup>. Great as are the limitations in respect of our knowledge of the Ionic *asper*, it should be recognized that to write ἐπέδρης in one case and ἔφεδρον in another (as the editor of Dietsch's text does), is not in accordance with probability, whatever may be said for the advisability of such a procedure from the point of view of the textual critic who has not the courage to disregard MS. evidence.

#### 408.] The Asper in Hippokrates.

Hippokrates usually employs the *asper* in the same way as the Attic. οὐκ ὑπέστρεψεν II 664, according to Ermerins, where Littré (with *A F G I*) reads οὐχ; οὐκ οἶον II 74 (Littré οὐχ), οὐχ ὑποδέχεται II 76 in both Ermerins and Littré. In VII 96 for ἐφ' ἄμαξαν, a v. l. is ἐπ', cf. Homeric ἐπ' ἄμαξαν M 448 (see § 397), VII 326 κῶμφαλός=καὶ ὁ ὄμφ. (in θ). On ἀπ' ὄρων in II 74, see Gomperz, *Apologie der Heilkunst*, p. 77, where other forms are discussed: ὑπ' ὄτεν VI 34, VI 98, ὡτός VIII 588, ἀπικηται VII 8, ἀπικνέται VI 390, ἐπόδοισι VI 508, μετεωῦτοῦ VI 114 (in *M*), where other MSS., except *A*, have μετ' ὡτοῦ.

#### 409.] Pseudo-Ionists.

Aretaios has the *asper* throughout, or with such insignificant

<sup>1</sup> See Thumb, *Asper*, p. 58.

exceptions as not to disturb the usual Attic practice. The medical writers form a pronounced exception to Herodotos and his imitators. Lukian: *Dea Syria* ἀπικνέομαι very often; but ἀφῆς *V. A.* 6, &c.; ἐπικνέεται § 15, with ἐφ- three times, κατ- three times, κάθεται § 16; κατ' §§ 17, 44; μετήσομαι § 18; ὑπηγέονται § 57, ὑφ- § 46; ἀντ' § 12; οὐκ § 52.

In the *De Astr.* there are nine cases of ἀπ in composition and ἀπ' ἡμέων § 21; μετέποντα § 13.

Arrian: ἀπηγέομαι, ἀπικνέομαι in all ten times, with φ four times; ἀπ' § 3, the only certain place; ἐπεῖναι § 11; ἐφ- four times; ἐπ' § 32, ἐφ' five times; κατ- twenty-seven times (κατάπερ, κατύπερθε, κατοράω, κατορμίζονται, κατηγεομένων, κατήκω), καθ- thirteen times; κατ' §§ 11, 29, 30, καθ' four times; μεθ- not μετ-; ὑφ- not ὑπ-; οὐχ ὅ § 5.

Abydenos: ἀπίκατο 1; καθορμίσονται 1; μετρίει 1.

Eusebios: ἀπεστήκεε 8; ἐπ' 5; προσεκατέατο 8; κατ' ὅτεω 5; καθ- twice; οὐκ ἀμαρτεῖν 2, ἀπ' 6.

Eusebios Myndios: ἀπ'- but once and no case of ἀπ': ἐπησθείην 1, ἐφ- twice; ἐπ' 44, 63, ἐφ' twice; κατηγεομένους 63, καθ- twice; οὐχ 14, 36, 53.

In the supposititious letters of Herakleitos κατ- occurs once (12). These letters have ἀφ', as that of Thales.

*Vita Homeri*: ἀπικνέομαι twenty-three times, ἀπηγέομαι §§ 22, 23, ἀπικνέομαι, κατήμενος § 9, κατίζων 10, 12; elsewhere καθ-. So also ἀφ', μεθ'.

#### 410.] *Varia.*

In Attic we find a few instances of the *lenis* that may be ascribed to an Ionic source: ἀντήλιος *Agam.* 519, *Aias* 805, ἀπηλιώτης *Kykl.* 19 and in prose and inscriptions. ἐπημαξευμένη occurs in *Antig.* 251. Even Aristophanes has ἀπηλιαστής *Aves* 110. See § 397.

ἰποδάκει, the reading of the vulgate *Persai* 656, cannot be defended as an Ionism of tragedy, and is to be abandoned on other grounds.

In late inscriptions we find the *asper* even where Classic Attic has the *lenis*: καθ' ἐνιαντόν *B. C. H.* VIII 2410, 16 Amorgos', ἐφ' Ἰση *C. I. G.* 3137<sub>11</sub> (Smyrna), ἀφ' Ἰσου *Le Bas-Waddington* 87 (Teos), καθ' ἑτος *C. I. G.* 3094<sub>11</sub> (Teos).

### *Sentence Phonetics.*

#### 411.] *Assimilation of Consonants.*

The assimilation of a nasal to the consonant of the following word is very common.

ν becomes μ before π; Kyzikos 1111<sub>9</sub>, Zeleia 113<sub>24</sub>, Naukr. 139 C, Ephesos 147<sub>6</sub>, 12, Abdera 162, Erythr. 206 B 58, Samos



221<sup>11</sup>, Halik. 240<sup>13</sup>, 21, 29, 30, 33, 35, 37, 41, 47, Mylasa 248 B 7, 8; No. 261.  $\nu$  becomes  $\mu$  before  $\phi$ : Zeleia 114 F, Eph. 147<sup>6</sup>.  $\nu$  becomes  $\mu$  before  $\beta$ . Halik. 240<sup>33</sup>, Eph. 147<sup>2</sup>.  $\nu$  becomes  $\mu$  before  $\mu$ : Eph. 145, Chios 174 C 24, Erythr. 206 A 25, Halik. 240<sup>51</sup>.  $\nu$  becomes  $\gamma$  before  $\kappa$ : Ephesos 147<sup>14</sup>, 18, Teos 158<sup>20</sup>, Chios 174 C 22, Erythr. 206 A 47, B 29, Halik. 240<sup>18</sup>, 13, 26, 34.  $\nu$  becomes  $\lambda$  before  $\lambda$ : Halik. 240<sup>8</sup>, 29, 31<sup>1</sup> ('Ελλιμένιος Thas. (L) 8, cf. *J. H. S.* VIII 402, 18).  $\nu$  becomes  $\sigma$  before  $\sigma$ : Halik. 238<sup>41</sup>.  $\kappa$  becomes  $\gamma$  before  $\beta$  in *ἐγβαλεῖν* Teos 158<sup>21</sup>. Cf. the variations in Herodoteian MSS. between *Ἐκβάτανα* and *Ἀγβάτανα*.  $\kappa$  becomes  $\gamma$  before  $\delta$ : Chios 174 B 22 (*καγδικασάντων*), Head *H. N.* 504.  $\kappa$  becomes  $\gamma$  before  $\lambda$ : Samos 220<sup>35</sup> (*ἐγλείπει*). We may also notice *Ἀνκάος* on an Ionic vase *C. I. G.* 7375, *Ἐνκαιρος* Styra 19<sup>185</sup>, *συνγράφη*<sup>2</sup>, *J. H. S.* VIII 402<sup>21</sup> Thasos. In Herodas we find *-νγ-* 177, *-νπ-* 190, *σύγ-σφιγγε* 526.

## DECLENSION.

## 412.] The Dual.

By the fifth century the use of the dual in the literary monuments of Ionic had entirely passed out of existence. Recent editors of Herodotos are rightly unanimous in extirpating the two cases in which all the MSS. agree in its retention: I 11 *δυοῖν ὁδοῖν παρουσέων Γύγη δίδωμι αἵρεσιν*, 91 *ἐκ γὰρ δυοῖν οὐκ ὁμοεθνέων ἐγεγόνεε*. Elsewhere *δυῶν*, *δυοῖσι* are the forms adopted. While the inscriptions have no instance of *δυοῖν*, *δυῶν* occurs in Chios 174 D 14, a document which however inflects the numerals after the Aiolic norm. Hipponax 29 has *δύ' ἡμέραι* as might be expected. Hippokrates avoids the dual with such persistency that it may be doubted whether he employed it at all. All of the examples quoted from the Hippokratic corpus are found in the treatises of the younger school. These are VI 472 *δυοῖν διαφόροι . . . συμφόροι* where the MSS. have *διαφόροις* or *διαφόρων*: VII 120 *ἀμφοῖν τοῖν ὀφθαλμοῖν* ( $\theta$  has the pl.): VII 128 *τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ πονέετόν τε καὶ ἐξεχετο* ( $\theta$  has the pl.): VII 138 *δυοῖν*: VIII 54 *ἀμφοῖν*: VIII 76 *τοῖν ὀφθαλμοῖν* in  $\theta$  (*v. l.* has the pl.): VIII 326 *τῷ πόδε* ( $\theta$  has the pl.), *τοῖν ποδοῖν* (not in  $\theta$ ), *τῷ μηρῷ* ( $\theta$  has the pl.), *τοῖν σκελοῖν* (*τῶν σκελέων* in  $\theta$ ): in IX 84 we find such an anomaly as *δυοῖ γαστέρων*: VIII 144 *τοῖν σφυροῖν* but  $\theta$  has *ἐκ τῶν σφυρῶν*: VIII 236 *τῷ*

<sup>1</sup> But *τὴν*  $\Lambda$ - 240<sup>100</sup> *ἐν*  $\Lambda$ - 240<sup>220</sup> 31.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *ΣΥΝ* for *ΣΥΜΜΑΧΙΚΟΝ*, Ephesos, Head *H. N.* 495, Samos *ibid.* 516.

χεῖρε (*θ* has the pl.). As regards the Ionic writers of the Renaissance under Hadrian, Lukian *d. S.* § 30 adopts *ὀργυιέων δυοῖν*, Arrian *δυοῖν* § 7, *δοκίμω ἀνδρε* § 17, *ἀμφοῖν τοῖν χεροῖν* 16, *τοῖν σκελοῖν* 14 *dis*, *ἐκατέρω* 14. Aretaios writes once *τὸ πόδε*, but not elsewhere where pairs of the parts of the body are spoken of. These cases of the occurrence of the dual must be regarded as deviations from normal Ionic in the direction of Attic. See § 573 for the dual in conjugation.

#### 418.] Gender, &c.

1. The grammarians regarded as Ionic the use of the following words as feminine: *ἡῆρ* Eust. 775<sub>15</sub>, 1566<sub>16</sub>, *κίων* 1390<sub>17</sub>, 1399<sub>18</sub>, 1923<sub>19</sub>, *ἑσπερ* 1652<sub>20</sub>, *ἱπποί* (cf. Et. M. 473<sub>21</sub>), *κύνες*, *ἡμιόνοι* 877<sub>22</sub>, 1390<sub>23</sub>, *ἐλλές* 1390<sub>24</sub>, *ἔσες* Et. M. 473<sub>25</sub>, *ἐσθιές* Eust. 1126<sub>26</sub>, *βοῦς* Et. M. 473<sub>27</sub>, Eust. 1390<sub>28</sub>, *σῦς*, *χεῖρες* 1752<sub>29-30</sub>, Athen. IX 375 C, *χῆνες* 1876<sub>31</sub>, *βινός* 679<sub>32</sub>, 1926<sub>33</sub>. *βοῖζες* too is feminine in Ionic according to Eust. 1631<sub>34</sub>, Schol. i 315 and Photios II 135; *ἄστράγαλος* (but cf. Anakr. 46) Bekk. Anecd. I 454<sub>35</sub> = Bachm. Anecd. I 154<sub>36</sub>. In comparison with Doric, Ionic has to show a larger number of nouns whose feminine gender awakened the attention of the grammarians. Occasionally the use of the masculine for the feminine is noticed, as in the case of *ἄσβελος* in Hipponax (Bekk. Anecd. I 17<sub>37</sub>); *ἄρριχος* when masculine is Ionic, when feminine Attic: Et. Mag. 149<sub>38</sub>, Bachm. An. I 146 (Bekk. An. I 446), cf. Eust. 1163<sub>39</sub>, 1533<sub>40</sub>, Schol. Arist. *ἄρες* 1309. Joh. Gr. 240 holds that *ἑσπερος* (Hom.) is Ionic for *ἑσπέρα*, cf. *δ τιδρας* Hdt. I 132, *τιδρη* VIII 120. *δ κέγχες* is found in a Delian document, Ditt. *Syll.* 367<sub>41</sub>. In Hippokr. VI 198 *δ φάρυξ* where *θ* has the fem., so VI 212. An Ionic change from the fem. to the neuter is claimed by the An. Par. III 156<sub>42</sub> on the score of *παρεῖδ*; *ibid.* III 464<sub>43</sub> *κέλευθα* for *κελεύθους*.

2. Such forms as *νέες*, *ἐρήνες*, *ἐρυσάρματες* for *νέαι* &c. are called Ionic by Joh. Gr. 240 B, Greg. K. 444, Meerm. 652, Aug. 667.

3. *φι* is archaistic in all post-Homeric monuments, as indeed it is in Homer. *θεόφι* in Naukr. I p. 63, No. 28 (*Παρμενίσκος θεόφι*) is perhaps the only occurrence of *φι* in a prose document. This inscription is not necessarily Ionic.

### Â Declension.

#### 414.]

This declension embraces masculines in *-ης*, feminines in *-η* and *-ᾱ*, where other dialects have *-ās* (Attic *-ης* in part), *-ā* (Attic *-η* except after vowels and *ρ*) and *-ᾱ*. The dialects vary considerably in their adoption of the forms in *-ᾱ*.

Masc.	Fem.	Plur.
ης	η, ᾱ	αι
εω, εω, ω, ευ, εος, ευς	ης, ης	εων, εων, ων
ηι	ηι, ηι	ηισι, ηις, αις
ην, εᾱ	ην, ᾱν	ᾱς
η, ᾱ	η, ᾱ	αι.

In the following discussion of the cases of the singular, especial attention is directed to the occurrences of Ionic  $\eta$  = Attic  $\bar{a}$  after  $\rho$  and vowels. Most of the inscriptional forms are enumerated and the date of the ingression of the Attic  $\bar{a}$  noted. On forms where  $\eta$  was preceded by  $\epsilon$ , see § 263. For cases of the presence of Ionic  $\eta$  in Attic, see § 72.

Hdt. has  $\eta$   $\psi\acute{\alpha}\mu\eta$ ,  $\eta$   $\tau\acute{\alpha}\phi\eta$ ,  $\eta$   $\phi\omega\eta$ . There are many words which end in  $-\alpha\chi\eta\varsigma$  instead of  $-\alpha\chi\varsigma$ . Hippokr. and Hdt. have  $\eta$   $\tau\acute{\alpha}\theta\eta$  and  $\tau\acute{o}$   $\tau\acute{\alpha}\theta\alpha\varsigma$ .  $\tau\acute{\alpha}$   $\text{Ἀββ}\eta\pi\alpha$ , not  $\eta$   $\text{Ἀββ}\eta\pi\alpha$ , is the form in the Ionic of Hdt.

#### 415.] Nominative Masculine (Inscriptions).

The inscriptions have generally preserved throughout the fourth century the specifically Ionic  $\eta$  after  $\rho$  and vowels. See § 172.

1. After  $\rho$ :  $\text{Ἀθηναγόρης}$  Teos 161 (2),  $\text{Δειναγόρης}$  Naxos 24,  $\text{Ἥγησαγόρης}$  Abdera 163 (4), Samos 217,  $\text{Ἀρισταγόρης}$  Ephesos 151 (1),  $\text{Δημαγόρης}$  151 (2),  $\text{Πυθαγόρης}$  Samos 226 (1) bef. 350 B.C., 262 Asiatic Ionic (after 408 B.C.), Thasos (L) 10 B<sub>2</sub>, Head *H. N.* 512, 518,  $\text{Πρωταγόρης}$  Halik. 240<sub>22</sub> and in several other examples from the Thasian inscriptions in the Louvre dating from 300–275 (first and second periods according to Bechtel).

The Attic  $\bar{a}$  has forced an entrance in  $\text{Νικαγόρας}$  Eph. 147, (300 B.C.), cf.  $\text{Νικαγόρης}$  Thasos (L) 71<sub>10</sub>;  $\text{Ἀν[α]ξαγόρας}$  Smyrna 153<sub>12</sub>, an inscription which is almost Attic.  $\text{Ἀρισταγόρας}$  Thasos 82 A 5 225–200 B.C., cf.  $\text{Ἀρισταγόρης}$  Thasos (L) 4 B 9 about 300;  $\text{Φαναγόρας}$  Erythrai 206 B 55 (after 278 B.C., cf.  $\text{Φαναγόρης}$  Thasos (L) 6 D 8 about 300 B.C.;  $\text{[Ἡ]ραγόρας}$  Thasos (L) 14 A 11 and in eight names in  $-\gammaόρας$  from the Thasian inscriptions in the Louvre 15 C 11, 20 A 9, 16<sub>12</sub>, 18 C 8, 18 C 6, 18 B 13, 19 B 8, 15 A 5, 15 B 5, 15 A 10, 16<sub>1</sub>;  $\text{Ἀθηναγόρας}$  Klazom. Head *H. N.* 491.

In No. 215 = Rob I 156 we find  $\text{Πυθαγόρας Σάμιος ἐποίησεν}$  attached to an offering of Euthymos, a Lokrian ἀπὸ Ζεφυρίου. As this Pythagoras is called by Pausanias (VI 6 4 ff.) an inhabitant of Rhegion, he doubtless belonged to the Samians who came in 494 B.C. to Sicily (Hdt. VI 23) and became subjects of Anaxilas of Rhegion. Cf. Loewy *Insch. gr. Biblihauer*, No. 23) and above, § 172.  $\text{Πυθαγόρης}$  in 261 is the name of an immigrant Ionian in Salymbria, a colony of the Doric Megara.

2. After  $\iota$ :  $\text{Ἀστίνης}$  Styra 19<sub>173</sub>,  $\text{Κριτίνης}$  19<sub>86</sub>,  $\text{Χαροπίνης}$  19<sub>151</sub>,  $\text{Μικρίνης}$  19<sub>255-258</sub>,  $\text{Πυρρίνης}$  19<sub>202-203</sub>,  $\text{Σωσίνης}$  19<sub>443</sub>,  $\text{Δουρίνης}$  21, Euboian Ionic.  $\text{Ἐστίνης}$  Erythr. 206 B 16,  $\text{Τισσιωίνης}$  Halik. 240<sub>42</sub>,  $\text{Αλυσίνης}$  Thasos (L) 3<sub>1</sub>,  $\text{Γλαυκίνης}$  Rhegion 6 B,  $\text{Εἰκοίνης}$  Keos 44 B 9,  $\text{Πανσαρίνης}$  Thasos 78 B 3,  $\text{Μιησίνης}$  Thasos 75 B 9,  $\text{Πα[μ]φαίνης}$  Thasos (L) 19 A 6,  $\text{Ἀντίνης}$  Rob. I 190, No. I, E,  $\text{Τυαίνης}$  Latyschev II 202.

Attic  $\iota\alpha\varsigma$  is found e.g. in  $\text{Πασίας}$  Mykonos 92<sub>11</sub> (Makedonian period),  $\text{Πασίας}$  104<sub>23</sub> and  $\text{Φασίας}$  104<sub>30</sub> Iasos (before 353 B.C.),  $\text{Ἀντωνίας}$  Eph. 120 (time

of Hadrian), 'Ιππίας, Πανσανίας Smyrna 153<sub>31</sub>, an almost Attic inscription, Κριτίας Thasos 82 A 7 (225-200 B.C.), 'Εστίας Erythr. 206 A 9 (cf. 206 B 16 'Εστίης), Πανσανίας Perinthos 234 B 42, and Thasos (L) Νικίας 11 B 4, 'Αμφίας 12 A 4.

3. After ε: Αλνέης occurs on a Chalkidian amphora in Rob. I 189 F.

4. After υ: Παναμύης Halik. 238<sub>31</sub>, gen. Παναμύω see § 429; Σληύης Naukr. I 235, name of a barbarian Ionized.

Attic δ occurs in Μαρσύας Iasos 104<sub>7</sub> (before 353 B.C.).

5. Other nominatives in -ῆς: 'Αριστῆς Eryth. 206 B 21, 'Ερμῆς<sup>1</sup> Samos 220<sub>32</sub>, 'Αθηνῆς on an Abderite coin in the British Museum (*Catal.* 71, No. 48), Λε(ω)νῆς Keos 44 A 5, 'Ηγῆς Chios 179, cf. 'Ηγίης in Hdt., 'Απελλῆς Iasos 104<sub>18</sub>. For other forms, see § 263, 3. On the development of the declension of the hypocoristic -ās, -ādos for -ās, -ā, see below, § 546.

If 'Ηγέας and 'Ελπέας Keos 44 B 4, B 16 are not Attics, these two names are the two earliest examples (except Πυθαγόρας, above under 1) of the expulsion of the Ionic sound. The document is perhaps older than 400 B.C. It is highly probable that these individuals are not Ionians. The name Δημέας Delos 57 is from a much later period (second century). On Μικᾶς Thasos (L) 14 A 7, 'Ηρᾶς Thasos (L) 18 C 3, see § 165, note. On supposed cases of -eās in the Styrian lead tablets, see § 157.

#### 416.] Nominative Masc. (Lyric Poets).

'Ερμῆς Hippon. 55 B; 'Απελλέης Anakr. 72 B is not different from 'Απελλῆς cited under § 415, 5. Μεγίστης in Anakr. 41 may be read Μεγιστῆς (cf. Μεγιστᾶς upon Attic and Boiotian inscriptions). 'Αναξαγόρας Anakr. 105 is corrupt.

#### 417.] Nominative Masc. (Prose).

In Hdt.<sup>2</sup> 'Ερμῆς, βορῆς (e.g. VI 44 no MS. has -έης), 'Αριστῆς, Πυθῆς, &c., § 263, 3. Αλνείης Menekrates in Dion. Halik. *A. R.* I 77 (Jac.).

#### 418.] Nominative (Accusative) Feminine in -ᾶ.

The Ionic dialect, while presenting many traces of resemblance to Attic and other less closely connected idioms in respect of the retention of -ᾶ in the nom. fem., pursues a different path from Attic especially in the treatment of abstract nouns in -ειη from -εσ- stems. When Ionic has -ᾶ, this termination is not the property of this dialect alone.

<sup>1</sup> In 3H3 ~ 93H on a vase in Overbeck's *Atlas zur Kunstmythol.* pl. IV, No. 6, H3 is a dittography.

<sup>2</sup> Greg. Kor. § 1 'Αρχίης.



Examples of  $\tilde{a}$ :  $\tau\acute{o}\lambda\mu\tilde{a}$ <sup>1</sup> Hdt. VII 135, and Eurip. *Ion* 1264, *Androm.* 702, and in Plato, whereas in Doric we have  $\tau\acute{o}\lambda\mu\acute{a}$ , Pindar. *Ol.* XIII 11, and so *Ion* 1416 (?). Cf. schol. Ven. on  $\Gamma$  130.  $\beta\alpha\sigma(\lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha)$  is referred to § 177.  $\mu\acute{o}\iota\rho\alpha$  in Hdt., Anaxag. 5, Archil. 16, Mimn. 6, Solon 20, 1363, Tyrta. 7;  $\mu\acute{o}\iota\rho\alpha\nu$  Sol. 2718, 112, Sim. Am. 7104, 114, Sim. K. 516, Demokr. 194, inscrip. adesp. No. 265 in Bechtel's collection, cf. § 439 II A.  $\nu\acute{\alpha}\rho\kappa\alpha$  Hippokr. VI 368, VIII 310, 312 (also in Menander, no. 498, Kock).

In many cases this  $\tilde{a}$  is difficult of explanation<sup>2</sup>. Many words belong to the class of which  $\mu\acute{o}\iota\rho\alpha$  is an example, the iota of the pre-Hellenic suffix  $-ia$  having been transferred to the radical syllable ( $\mu\acute{o}\rho-ia$ ,  $\mu\acute{o}\iota\rho\alpha$ ). Thus  $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\phi\tilde{u}\rho\alpha$ ,  $\sigma\phi\tilde{u}\rho\alpha$  are to be derived from  $-\tilde{u}\rho-i\tilde{a}$ . Where there is a variation between a short and a long vowel as in the case of  $\tau\acute{o}\lambda\mu\alpha$ , it has been suggested that the form with  $\tilde{a}$  is due to the influence of such doublets as  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\theta\epsilon\iota\acute{\alpha}$  and  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\theta\epsilon\iota\tilde{\alpha}$ . It is, however, by no means certain that the confusion between  $-i\tilde{a}$ , the nominal suffix, and  $-i\tilde{a}$ , the adjectival suffix (§ 174), is older than the creation of a  $\tau\acute{o}\lambda\mu\tilde{a}$  from  $\tau\acute{o}\lambda\mu\acute{a}$ .

Whether  $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha\delta\epsilon\alpha$  Hdt. IX 102 or  $\chi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\alpha$  (Stein, Holder) is the correct form is not clear. C has  $\chi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\epsilon\alpha\nu$ , P  $\chi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\eta\nu$ . The same variations recur in the case of the name of a Phokian town, VIII 33. Here R has  $\chi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\eta\nu$ .

In some cases the MSS. of Hdt. have retained, in opposition to their procedure elsewhere, the forms in  $-ei\tilde{a}$ ,  $-oi\tilde{a}$ . Thus we find  $\epsilon\tilde{u}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\iota\alpha$ ,  $\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\iota\alpha$ ,  $\epsilon\pi\iota\mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha\nu$ ,  $\epsilon\mu\acute{\mu}\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha\nu$ ,  $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\phi\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\iota\alpha$  (§ 176),  $\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\iota\alpha$ ,  $\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\iota\alpha\nu$ ,  $\epsilon\tilde{u}\nu\omicron\iota\alpha\nu$  (§§ 178, 441). Hdt. has both  $\Phi\acute{\omega}\kappa\alpha\iota\alpha$  and  $\Phi\omega\kappa\alpha\iota\eta$  according to the MSS. (§ 179).

Adjectives in  $-us$  have feminine  $-eia$  or  $-ea$ , § 219. Hdt. has  $\delta\alpha\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\iota\alpha$  III 32.

#### 419.] Hyper-Ionic $\eta$ for $\tilde{a}$ .

The maleficent ignorance of the late grammarians and scribes did not fail to lay its hands upon the  $\tilde{a}$  which was a genuine heirloom of the Ionic dialect. To these sciolists  $\eta$  was the one unmistakable sign of Ionic lineage. Not only was the  $\tilde{a}$  after  $\rho$  attacked by them, but also the  $\tilde{a}$  in the feminine of nouns and adjectives where it follows upon  $\iota$ . The dialectological treatises

<sup>1</sup>  $\tau\acute{o}\lambda\mu\eta$  in Hdn. I 255<sup>6</sup>, 324<sup>21</sup>, II 426<sup>1</sup>, cf. Bekk. An. I 66<sup>25</sup>  $\tau\acute{o}\lambda\mu\eta$  καὶ  $\tau\acute{o}\lambda\mu\alpha$ ,  $\pi\rho\acute{o}\mu\eta\eta$  καὶ  $\pi\rho\acute{o}\mu\eta\alpha$ ). It is not elsewhere attested. Joh Gr. 241  $\chi\rho\acute{o}\tau\tau\alpha\iota$  δὲ καὶ συσσελλομένῃ τῷ  $\alpha$  ἀντὶ τοῦ  $\eta$  Ἰωνες, Δωριεῖς δὲ ἰκτεῖνομένῃ. Cf. Phrynich. (L) p. 331.

<sup>2</sup> See Misteli K. Z. XVII 177, XIX 119; Osthoff's *Forschungen*, II 25; Brugmann, *M. U.* II 201, *Grundr.* I § 639; Wheeler's *Not. Accenti*, 35 ff., Solmsen, K. Z. XXIX 64, Johansson, K. Z. XXX 411.



of Gregory and the Gramm. Meermannianus are the heirs of this error. Gregory § 10 (cf. § 45 and Gramm. Vatic. p. 696) says τὸ *ā* εἰς *η* τρέπουσιν . . . Ἦρα Ἦρη, σφαῖρα σφαῖρη: the Gramm. Meerm. p. 650 Ἦρα Ἦρη, χώρα χώρα, ὦρα ὦρη, σπεῖρα σπεῖρη, where dialect forms are confounded with pan-Hellenic formations (σφαῖρα, σπεῖρα). In Hdt. I 204 all the MSS. have *μοίρην*; in IV 120 *d* has *μοίρη*, and so too the Aldine edition which generally accepts the perversities of the hyper-Ionizing movement. In II 17 it alone has *μοίρην*. *μοίρην* recurs in Lukian's *Astrol.* § 10, *μοίρη* Euseb. § 9. *νεαίρη* is found in the pseudo-Hippokrates VII 312, 316, 320. where, however, the Vienna codex *θ* (the oldest MS. of Hippokrates) has *-ρα*. *εὐρέη* is found in III 212. In Hdt. IV 120 the Aldine edition has *μῖη*, a form repudiated by the MSS. of the historian, though occurring in Hippokrates<sup>1</sup> and Aretaios. Hyper-Ionic *οὐδεμῖη* appears even in Solon XIII 46, where no MS. pronounces in favour of the genuine Attic and Ionic form. *οὐδεμῖην* is also found in Lukian *Syr. D.* 19, *Astr.* 27, 29. In the inscriptions there occurs no case of nom. or accus.; *μιᾶς* Olynth. 8 B 13 is Attic. *μιῆς* Sim. Am. 2 (conj.), Herodas 1<sub>41</sub>, 7<sub>70</sub>, *μιῆ* Theognis 664 (in *A*), Herodas 5<sub>66</sub>, are the genuine Ionic forms which were the starting-points for the creation of the hyper-Ionic *μῖη*. In the vulgate of Herodas III 1 we find *μυῖην*.

In the fem. of adj. from masc. *-υς*, Hdt. usually has *-εα* (§ 506). *εη* is found in some or all MSS.: *τρηχέη* IV 23, *τρηχέην* IX 122, *βαθέην* I 75, *δασέη* IV 109, *δασέην* IV 21. Hippokr. has *ὀξέη* VI 172 (*θ*), 174, VIII 132, *ὀξέην* 178, 180, *θηλείην* VIII 274 (*-ιαν θ*). *βαθέην* even occurs in Homer, Π 766 (Nauck *βαθύν*). *παχείην* is found in the MSS. of Sim. Amorg. 31 B. The pseudo-Ionists not infrequently have *η*. Lukian *Syr. D.* *ἡμισέη* 14, *θηλείην* 15, 51; Arrian, *πλατεῖην* 16, *τραχέη* 23, 37 (cf. 32); *βαθέην* 27; Eusebios § 5 *ιθείη*, Euseb. Mynd. 63, *εὐρέη*. Cf. *τρηχέην* Anth. Pal. VII 315.

If in the one passage in an inscription where such an *η* form appears (Latyschev II 370):—

Ἦδε(ι)η κεῖμαι, θυγάτηρ τε ἑμα μοι Φίλον(ικ)η  
 μήμην [δ'] Ἰστησε(ν) Σάτυρος Π(ι)σ(τ)αξένο(ν) [δδ]α.

the form Ἦδε(ι)η were certain, the forms adduced above might stand on a better footing. While the omission of the *ι* presents no difficulties (cf. Ἦδέα C. I. A. III 2324, 3186), Aschik's limitations as an epigraphist are such as to throw suspicion upon his transcription. Aschik himself suggested Ἦδ(ιεν)η. As Latyschev remarks, the *ο* for *οτ* in the genitive would permit us to place the inscription in the fourth century; a date much too early in my opinion

<sup>1</sup> *μηδεμῖην* II 180 (*μῖαν* in 2269), *μῖην* VIII 334 (*μῖαν θ*), *οὐδεμῖην* II 648 (*-αν A*), II 655 in but one MS. All have *μῖαν* II 664, as Herodas 1<sub>2</sub>, 5<sub>72</sub>.

for the emergence of the hyper-Ionic  $\eta$ . Until the stone is rediscovered, no weight should be attached to its evidence.

**420.] Ionic  $\eta$  = Attic  $\alpha$ .**

Old Attic with its  $-\alpha$  in abstract nouns was like Ionic with its  $-\eta$ . Since, so far as we can make out, Ionic rarely, if ever, adopted the  $-\alpha$  termination (§§ 175, 178), there is a divergence between the two allied dialects, which has been brought about by the transference in later Attic of the ending  $-\alpha$  from the feminine adjectival stems to the category of abstract nouns. We are never certain when we find a form like  $\alpha\lambda\eta\theta\epsilon\iota\alpha$  in later Ionic that it is not due to the influence of Attic; though no reason may be adduced why Ionic should have refused to admit the innovation which changed to such an extent the character of the prose speech in Attic.  $\iota\pi\epsilon\iota\eta$  is attested as Herodoteian (§ 177), despite  $\iota\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\alpha$  in Homer and other dialects. On  $\iota\sigma\tau\iota\alpha\iota\eta$ ,  $\text{Μηδελην}$ , see § 179.

Mimn. 9<sub>0</sub>, Hdt. I 15, 149 have  $\Sigma\mu\acute{\upsilon}\rho\eta\eta\nu$ ; so *Vit. Hom.* 5 (but  $\Sigma\mu\acute{\upsilon}\rho\upsilon\alpha$  2).  $\pi\acute{\upsilon}\mu\upsilon\eta$  is found in Hdt. III 107.  $\pi\acute{\upsilon}\mu\upsilon\eta$ <sup>1</sup> may be an adjective form from  $\pi\upsilon\mu\upsilon\acute{\nu}\acute{o}\varsigma$  (Brugmann, *Berichte d. sachsischen Gesell. d. Wiss.* 1883, 191)  $\pi\acute{\upsilon}\mu\upsilon\alpha$  on this view might be an analogue of  $\pi\acute{\rho}\omega\alpha$ , though it may have been formed as other words in  $-\alpha$  (above).  $\pi\acute{\rho}\omega\eta\eta\nu$  Hdt. I 194 (cf. VII 180) is clearly erroneous.

For the Attic form  $\pi\epsilon\iota\upsilon\alpha$ , we find an apparently Ionic form  $\pi\epsilon\iota\eta$  in Plato *Lys.* 221 A, *Phil.* 31 E; cf. Trypho in *Apoll. Conj.* 228, Schn. (quoting o 407), Hdn. II 456<sub>10</sub> = An. Ox. II 302<sub>1x</sub>. Et. Gud. 74<sub>34</sub> and Schanz' *Proleg.* to Gorgias p. VII. With the form  $\pi\epsilon\iota\eta$  we may compare  $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\zeta\eta$  mentioned by Hdn. II 372<sub>10</sub> = An. Ox. I 339<sub>12</sub> (cf. I 368<sub>9</sub>).  $\pi\epsilon\iota\eta$  and  $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\zeta\eta$  are not hyper-Ionisms, but genuine Attic formations whose  $\eta$  still resists satisfactory explanation.

**421.] Inflection of  $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\alpha$ ,  $\mu\acute{\nu}\acute{\epsilon}\alpha$  = Attic  $\gamma\eta$ ,  $\mu\acute{\nu}\alpha$ <sup>2</sup>.**

The following forms of the word  $\gamma\eta$  occur:—

(1)  $\gamma\alpha\iota\alpha$ , found in Homeric and Old Ionic  $\gamma\alpha\iota\alpha\nu$  Mimnerm. 12<sub>0</sub>, Kallinos 1<sub>4</sub>. (2)  $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\alpha$  does not occur in any case of the singular, but is attested by  $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\iota$  Zeleia 112<sub>4</sub>, (shortly after Granikos),  $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$  Hdt. IV 198<sup>1</sup>,  $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\iota\varsigma$  Mylasa, C. I. G. 2693 F 9.

<sup>1</sup>  $\pi\acute{\rho}\omega\mu\eta$  is found in the tragic poets and in *Wasps* 399

<sup>2</sup> See Merzdorf in *Curtius' Stud.* IX 225, Schmidt, *A. Z.* XXV 146, XXXII 349, Fick, *B. B.* XI 250, Bechtel, *Ion. Inschr.* p. 54, Wackernagel, *A. Z.* XXVII 264, G. Meyer, *Gramm.* § 126, Frisch, *V. H. I.* 19, 39, J. Jansson, *B. B.* XV 183 ff. The last named scholar proposes to explain the interrelation of  $\iota\sigma\theta\eta\alpha\iota\alpha$  and  $\iota\sigma\theta\eta\alpha$  in the manner described above.

<sup>3</sup>  $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$  A B E,  $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$  I,  $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$  P,  $\gamma\alpha\iota\omega\nu$  d.

according to Le Bas, No. 414, γέας Chios 174 C 12 (fifth century), Halikarn. 240<sub>3</sub> (not much later than 400 B.C.), Mylasa 250, C. I. G. 2693 F 6 according to Le Bas, No. 414, Latyschev II 353, in an inscription from the Μουσ. κ. βιβλ. quoted by Bechtel, p. 147, Olymos 251<sub>6</sub>, and Le Bas 338 (both late), Zeleia 114 F, and in a fragment of Demokritos preserved by Clem. Alex. *Strom.* I p. 304 A. The nom. γέη is not found in any part of Ionic. (3) γῆ = γᾱ in Doric, Eleian, Aiolic, Thessalian, Boiotian, &c. and = δᾱ in Doric, ζᾱ in Kyprian, occurs in Hdt. I 193, Herakl. 21, 23 (?), 76 (?) in Pherekydes of Syros in a fragment quoted by Diog. Laert.; in γῆς Herakl. 68, cf. § 430; in Teian γῆι, 156 B 9, γῆ Herodas 2<sub>23</sub>; in γῆν Herakl. 8, Hdt. I 30, Teos 156 A 6, Iasos 104<sub>31</sub>, Erythr. 204<sub>16</sub>, Halik. 238<sub>9</sub>, 240<sub>7</sub>, 12, 16, 18, &c., Amphip. 10<sub>4</sub>.

μνέ[α] is a probable conjecture, Paros 62, μνῆς Herodas 7<sub>79</sub>, 91, μνῆν Herodas 2<sub>61</sub>, 82, μνέαι Hdt. II 168, VI 79, μνέων Hrd. 2<sub>22</sub>, μνέας Hdt. III 13, 89, μνέας Hrd. 7<sub>90</sub>. μνᾱ is found in μνᾱς Hipponax 20<sub>3</sub>, Hrd. 5<sub>21</sub>, Thasos in *J. H. S.* VIII 402, l. 10. μνέες is a strange reading in the *Syria Dea* § 48. Cf. ἡμιμνήιον Paros 62, δέμνεως Hdt. V 77.

The explanation of these forms is as follows:—

*γᾱf-īd	*μνᾱ-īd	Nom. *γᾱf-īd	*μνᾱ-īd
*γῆd	*μνῆd	Gen. *γᾱmās	*μνᾱmās (cf. Lokr. μναιᾱῖες).

From γῆα, μνῆα, Ionic γέᾱ, μνέᾱ may arise directly, and from gen. γᾱi-, the Old Ionic nom. γᾱῖα; from μνᾱῖς > μνᾱmῖς comes the Ionic nominative μνᾱ, contracted from \*μνᾱῖ (cf. Δανᾱ, from Δανᾱ(ι)η, found in the Hekataian Δανᾱ. § 273). Attic μνᾱ is derived from \*μνᾱῖ by a similar transference of the weak case-form into the nominative. Ionic γῆ is to be derived from \*γῆη, whose final η is due to the influence of that of γᾱmῖς. γῆη became \*γέη by shortening of the first η before the second η. The former presence of f in the word for earth is probable, less certain in μνᾱ.

In compounds we have γεω- derived from γῆω<sup>1</sup>; γαιω- (§ 211) from γᾱi- the weak case-form; and γειο- from γῆιο-. δέμνεως is derived from -μνῆω-.

#### 422.] Nominative Feminine in η after ρ and vowels (Inscriptions).

Νικάνδρῃ Naxos 23, Οούρῃ Naxos 23, Ἀρισταγόρῃ Erythr. 206, C 38, one of the few Ionisms in 206, Μνησιδώρῃ Amorgos 39, Βιττάδῃ Priene, *Millh.* XVI 291. Ὀλβίῃ is a form preserved till late imperial times (§ 173), Μιλησίῃ 99 Miletos, Ἐκαταίῃ Parion 115, Ἰωρίῃ Pantikap. 121, Κο]μοσαρύῃ Phanag. 167, Ἡρῃ Naukr. 447, 841 ff., Ἰερῇ Pantikap. 123, Ephesos 150, time of

<sup>1</sup> γῆωχέοντι Hdt. VII 190 is suspicious. Ionic γεω- has forced its way into a Doric μῆωμ of Theokr. I 13 - V 101.

Hadrian, < ἱερε(ι)η, cf. Hdt. ἱρεῖη I 175, V 72 (§ 177), Κλεαγόη Eretria, *A. J. A.* VII 247 (No. 2), Ζωβίη *ibid.* 249 (No. 20). Δωροφέα Rob. I 29 (fifth century) is not Ionic. In Chian inscriptions in Paspates' *Glossary*: Ἀρτεμισίη 13, Σαμίη 13: in Latysehev II: Ἰρίη 97, Λειμείη p. 310; Ἰκεσίη Teos, *Mitth.* XVI 296. Attic -iā in Εὐ(π)ορία Pantik. 121, Κασταλία Phanag. 168, &c.

#### 423.] Nominative Feminine in η (Lyric Poets).

Uncontracted -έη in adjectives is unusual even in -αλέη, e.g. Ἀγχαλέη Hippon. 99, with which cf. ἀργαλέη Anakr. 43, κερδαλέη Archil. 89, (-ῆ in Ammon. and An. Par.). ἀργυρέη is the correct form in Anakr. 33 according to Bergk, and Rossbach, *Metrik* III 567, ἀργυρή according to Hiller in the *Anthologia Lyrica*<sup>4</sup> No. 29; the latter form is correct. πορφυρέη Anakr. 23. Archil. 19, has συκῆ in an epigram (Renner -έη).

#### 424.] Nominative Feminine in η (Prose).

Hdt. has σιδηρέη I 39, a form obsolete in the Ionic of the fifth century (see under Accus.). On ἀδελφή, see § 263, 1. κενεή in Aret. 146 is from κενεφός. For διπλήη, in all MSS. of Hdt. III 42, we must read διπλῆ<sup>1</sup>, which occurs in Hippokrates (§ 263, 3, b).

#### 425.] Genitive Masculine.

The form of the genitive in Ionic possesses a peculiar interest both from the variety of its formation and from the interrelation of vowels. -ᾶν is Homeric, Boiotian and in a few cases Kyprian, -ā is Doric and Aiolic, an ā which must have differed in pronunciation from that of τιμά. Homer's -εω is generally diphthongal, and in Ionic the ω is without effect upon the accent.

#### 426.]

The Ionic genitive according to the grammarians:— 1. -εω preceded by a consonant, ἀγκυλομήτεω An. Par. IV 86, Et. M. 11, Et. Gud. 5; [Αἰνεῖδω Et. Gud. 5;] Ἀλτεω Eust. 1225, (cf. schol. Nik. Alex. 8), the only instance in Homer of dissyllabic εω. Read Ἀλτα, C having Ἀλταω, Ἀρχτεω Greg. K. 384. Ἀτρεῖδω Hdn. I 408, = An. Ox. III 228, Hdn. II 313, 314 = An. Ox. I 347, = An. Par. III 115, Ἰωνεῖ καὶ οἱ ποιηταί, Hdn. II 679, II 267, = An. Ox. I 157, = An. Par. III 338, Hdn. II 665, = Choir. 120, An. Ox. III 231, Choir. 134, An. Ox. I 91, I 19, (έω, I 248, II 404, Et. M. 153, L., Et. Gud. 5, 83, Joh. Gr. 242, Greg. K. 385, Meerm. 655, Eust. 13 init., schol. Ven. A on B 461, O 214; αὐλητέω Hdn. I 408, = An. Ox. III 228; θαλάω Hdn. I 408, = An. Ox. III 228; Καστέω An. Ox. III 228; Κόμτεω Hdn. II 679, An. Ox. 231, Choir. 134; Λαέρτεω Joh. Gr. 242, Meerm. 655; Λαερτιδτεω Joh. Gr. 242; μέκεω Hdn. II 679, = An. Ox. III 231, Choir. 139, Bekk. An. 1399; Βερφέω

<sup>1</sup> Bredow proposed διπλόη, a form found in Hippokr. III 186, 250.

Hdn. II 313<sub>6</sub> = An. Ox. I 347<sub>10</sub> = An. Par. III 115<sub>3</sub> ('Ιῶνες καὶ οἱ ποικύαι), Joh. Gr. 239 B, cf. 242, Greg. K. 385, Vat. 695, Excerpt. Birnb. 677<sub>6</sub>; 'Ορέστω Hdn. I 408<sub>13</sub> = An. Ox. III 228<sub>14</sub>, An. Ox. I 19<sub>22</sub>, I 20<sub>3</sub>, Et. M. 153<sub>26</sub>, 22, Et. Gud. 83<sub>20</sub>; Πέρστω Joh. Gr. 239 B, cf. 242, Greg. K. 385, Vat. 695, Birnb. 677<sub>6</sub>; Πηλείδτω Hdn. II 267<sub>10</sub> = An. Ox. I 157<sub>3</sub> = An. Par. III 338<sub>7</sub>, An. Ox. I 9<sub>11</sub>, Et. M. 153<sub>26</sub>, 154<sub>3</sub>, Et. Gud. 5<sub>20</sub>, Eust. 13 *init.*, Meerm. 655; Πηληιδέτω Hdn. II 314<sub>3</sub> = An. Ox. I 347<sub>20</sub> (cf. 346<sub>27</sub>), An. Par. III 115<sub>9</sub>, 299<sub>23</sub>, Eust. 12 *ad fin.* Joh. Gr. 239 B, cf. 242, Greg. K. 385, Birnb. 677<sub>6</sub>; Πηλειδέτω (sic) Meerm. 655, Vat. 695; Πριαμίδτω Hdn. II 314<sub>3</sub> = An. Ox. I 347<sub>20</sub>, Hdn. II 655<sub>21</sub> = Choir. 120<sub>20</sub>, An. Ox. II 404<sub>22</sub>, An. Par. III 115<sub>9</sub>; τρεῖςτω Joh. Gr. 241 B.

(2) Forms with a vowel preceding -τω: Αἰελέτω Hdn. I 408<sub>13</sub>, cf. An. Ox. III 229<sub>20</sub>, Hdn. II 665<sub>17</sub> = Choir. 120<sub>20</sub>, An. Ox. I 9<sub>11</sub> (-έτω), Et. M. 153<sub>26</sub>, Eust. 13 *init.*, Greg. K. 385; 'Ασέτω and 'Ασέτω Hdn. I 52<sub>15</sub>, I 408<sub>13</sub>, II 243<sub>23</sub> = Schol. B D L V on B 461, II 479<sub>14</sub>, An. Ox. I 19<sub>22</sub>, I 20<sub>3</sub> ('Ασέτω), Et. M. 153<sub>26</sub>, 22, 154<sub>3</sub>, Et. Gud. 83<sub>22</sub>, 27, schol. Ven. A on B 461, Greg. Kor. 385; Βερέτω and Βερέτω Hdn. II 317<sub>22</sub> = schol. V on H 238, cf. II 705<sub>20</sub>, An. Ox. I 20<sub>7</sub>, Et. M. 153<sub>26</sub>, Et. Gud. 83<sub>24</sub>, Eust. 444<sub>27</sub>, 994<sub>27</sub>; 'Ερμέετω and 'Ερμέετω Hdn. I 408<sub>14</sub> = An. Ox. III 228<sub>16</sub>, An. Ox. I 20<sub>4</sub>, Et. M. 153<sub>26</sub>, 22, Et. Gud. 83<sub>20</sub>, Eust. 13 *init.* 444<sub>27</sub>, schol. Ven. A on O 214, 'Ερμέετω schol. Nik. Alex. 8; Θυμμελίτω Hdn. I 52<sub>15</sub>, I 408<sub>13</sub>, II 243<sub>23</sub> = schol. B D L V on B 461, II 479<sub>14</sub>, Et. M. 153<sub>27</sub>, Et. Gud. 83<sub>22</sub>, Eust. 444<sub>27</sub>.

#### 427.] Genitive Masculine (Inscriptions).

The following list of inscriptional forms does not include nouns which are elsewhere declined in part according to the -ες declension, *e.g.* 'Απταξέρξευς Myl. 248 A B C 1, names in -πίθης, -φάνης, -άλκης, &c., which may be found § 527. Other cases of the admission of -εος or -εως have been inserted. Inscriptions whose date is quite doubtful have been omitted. The forms in -ᾶ and -ου are not Ionic, and those in -εος, -εως are due to the influence of sigmatic stems which have affected the accusative as well as the genitive singular. On the -ω forms, see below. The -εω forms are not yet satisfactorily explained. Bechtel (*B. B.* X 282) claims that this -εω is in reality an Ionic spelling for -εο (cf. § 246) and that this -εο represents -εω by a change of -ω to -ο. The fact that no example of the change of final εω to εο is known in Ionic or any other dialect, does not increase our sympathy for Bechtel's explanation of ἐθεόρεον, θεοροί, &c.: that εω, which originally arose from final -εω, forced its way into a medial syllable. See § 287. Brugmann, *Gr. Gr.* § 19, endeavours to account for -εο by assuming that the ω of -εω became ο under the influence of the final ο in the ending of the O declension (ἱπποο).



	ΕΩ	Ω	ΕΥΣ
VI Cent.	Δεινοδίκεω Nakos 23 Λαμπσαγόρεω Amorgos 29		
V Century	Λυκκίδεω Rhegion 6 B Κ[ρ]ιτωνίδεω Paros epigr 60 Ἑρμοκρατίδεω Abd. 163, Ἀπολλωνίδεω Halik. 238, ιδεω Milet. 96, Rob. I 136, cf. Kirch. 26 Μολπασγόρεω Abd. 163, Πρωτίεω Abd. 163, Πυθίεω 256, unc. loc. Θεικυλάωνε[ω] Halik. 238, [Μ]εγαβάτεω Halik. 238, Ἡ ραγ]όρεω Samos 213 Φαναγόρεω Perinth 233 Ἀρχαγόρεω Halik. 240 C D	Ἀσίω Chios 174 C 27 Ἀννικῶ Chios 174 C 13 Πυθῶ Chios 174 D 4 Λυσῶ Chios 174 D 17 Πα'ναμύω Halik. 238, 240 A 11 Μικιννῶ Halik. 240 A 38 Ἀρχαγορῶ ibid. B 3 Βρώλω Halik. Ditt. Syll. 6 D 22	
IV Century	Ἑρμείω Amorg. 230 Ἑρμείω Sam. 220, <sup>21</sup> (this form also Chios, Paspates 34 Ἑρμείω Chios 180 Ἐχεκρατίδεω Amorg. 35 epigr., perhaps third cent. Μορμυθίδεω Milet. 97 Ἀπολλωνίδεω Chios 176 and Paspates 43, Στρατωνίδεω Naukr. Bechtel, 139 C Ἡρακλείδεω Maron. 196, <sup>11</sup> Φάνεω Iasos 104, <sup>11, 20</sup> Φάνεω Abdera 163, <sup>17</sup> Ἰππάρχεω Kyz. 111 Σκύθεω Phanag. 164 Ἀθηνίω Maron. 196, Ἀπαιλλίω Maron. 196, εὐεργέτεω Myl. 248 C 9 Ποίκεω Teos 157, Ἠγησαγόρεω Maron. 196, Ἰ[σ]αγόρεω Kyz. 109 Ἡραγόρεω Samos 218 Νυμφηγέτεω Samos 219 Μάγ,ε]ω Pantikarp., Lat. II 116 Ἀτάτεω ibid. II 164 Σπιθάμεω ibid. II 381 Εὐαλακίδεω ibid. II 154 <sup>1</sup>	Πανσανίω Abd. 163, <sup>18</sup> and Cat. Brit. Mus. Thrace II, No. 57 Πακτίω Myl. 248 C 3, 13	Ἡρακλείδεω[s] Keos 49 Οὐλιδέω Iasos 104, Φοινικίδεω Iasos 104, <sup>2</sup>



	ΕΩ	Ω	ΕΥΣ
III Century	<p> Φιλωνίδεω Thasos 77 A 5  Αλκίδεω Th. 75 A 11  Νικίδεω Th. 75 B 1  'Απολλωνίδεω Th. 78 B 15  Λεωνίδεω Th. 78 C 13  Κοσμίδεω Th. 79  Πειραυτίδεω Th. 80  Φιλ'οξενίδεω Th. 81  Λητίδεω Th. 81  Φρυγικίδεω Th. (L.) 7.  Βραττίδεω Th. (L.) 7 B 9, 10.  Ευαλκίδεω Th. (L.) 310  Θυωνίδεω Th. (L.) 49  Νικίδεω Th. (L.) 89  'Αλεξίδεω Th. (L.) 912  Φιλιστίδεω Th. (L.) 1012, 12 B 9  'Αναξαγόρεω Th. 75 B 7  Πυθαγόρεω Th. 78 A 6  'Αθηναγόρεω Th. 79 (cf. Μανδραγόρεω Paspal. 1, Chios,  'Ηραγόρεω Th. (L.) 39  Σφοδραγόρεω Th. (L.) 4 B 7  Λεαγόρεω Th. (L.) 710  Σημαγόρεω Th. (L.) 83  Πρηξαγόρεω Th. (L.) 109  Κυδραγόρεω Th. (L.) 12 B 11  Χάρμεω Th. 75 B 3  Κ'άννεω Th. 80  'Αριστέω Th. 8 B 10  Θαλέω Eryth. 206 B 46  Βεθαύρεω Th. (L.) 39  Τηλεφάνεω Th. 51  Πρόκεω Th. 1010  'Αγίεω Olbia 1311 (III C?) </p>		<p> ['Η]γη[τε]ρί(8)ενς Thasos 77 A 14  Λεώδενς Th. 77 B 7  'Αμφικλείδενς Th. 77 B 10  'Αριστείδενς Th. 77 B 14  Θεοτιμίδενς Th. 81 B 14  Φασίη(ρ)ίδενς Th. 82 A 6, Th. (L.) 6 B 1  Θρασωνίδενς Th. 82 A 3  'Αγλαίδενς Th. 82 B 12  'Ονομασικλείδενς Th. (L.) 6 C 11  Διο[σ]κουρίδενς Th. (L.) 11 C 11  'Αλκιδένς Th. (L.) 12 C 6  Πυλάδ[ε]νς Th. (L.) 1310  'Ιππαγόρενς Th. (L.) 13 B 2  Πυθαγόρενς Th. 81  Λυσάγορενς Th. (L.) 11 A 6, 11 C 10  Νικαγόρενς Th. (L.) 12 A 6  Παγγήθενς Th. (L.) 6 C 7  Δημεύς Th. (L.) 11 A 3 </p>
II Century and later	<p> Μηδίκεω Kyz. 108 B 1.  Χάρμεω Teos 160  Πόρκεω Maron. 195.  Ιππάρχεω Kyzik. Mitth. X 102.  Φαρνάκ.ω Lat. II 299 (late epigr. with Doric forms)  Ζεύξεω Eretria, 'Εφημ. ἀρχ. 1887, 83 ff. </p>	<p> Μενώνδω { Eretria,  Χαίριω { 'Εφημ. ἀρχ. 1887, 83 ff. </p>	

ΕΘΣ	Α	ΕΥ	ΟΥ
Φιλεων(δ[ε]ος)Tha- eos 73	Χαιρέα Thaeos(L.) 14 A 6	'Αριστευ Eryth. 206 B 9	'Ερμού Eryth. 206 B 43
Ζεφυριδεας Th. (L.) 14 2	Πειθ(α) Th. (L.) 14 A 12	'Ακασ]τευ Eryth. 206 A 33	Φανηγόρου Eryth. 206 B 56
	'Απολλᾶ, Κλεων- δρίδα Iason, J. H. S. IX 341, No. 2	Πυθει Eryth. 206 C 35, and Smyrna 183m	Πυθείου Eryth. 206 C 15
			Καλλίου Eryth. 206 C 20
	'Ανδρία Delos 56m Χειρέα Th. (L.) 15 A 9		'Ασκληπειῶν Pharos 67
	'Αρκεσίλα Th. (L.) 18 C 11		Πυθείου Delos 56m
	'Αναξίλα Th. (L.) 20 A 13		Προκλείδου C L O. 3105 Τεον
			Τριμυγόρου Pharos 87
			Τριμῶ Τεον 158m

The above tabulation shows that  $-\epsilon\omega$  holds its own until the fourth century. At this period its supremacy was attacked by other forms of Ionic complexion, as  $-\omega$ ,  $-\epsilon\nu$ ,  $-\epsilon\nu\varsigma$ . The last mentioned form is due to the desire to give an Ionic stamp to  $-\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ , which had made its way in from Attic. On the other hand the purely Attic forms in  $-\omicron\nu$  gradually gain power. That so few examples of  $-\omicron\nu$  appear under the head of the third and following centuries is due to the fact that only such inscriptions as contain any trace of Ionism however slight have been taken into account. By the end of the third century  $-\epsilon\omega$  is practically dead. The ending  $-\tilde{a}$  is non-Ionic and in place on inscriptions in the names of Dorians only.

C. I. A. II 4, B 19 (about 400 B. C.), the only Attic inscription showing a form in  $-\epsilon\omega$ , contains a list of banished Thasiotes. The Rhodian  $\Sigma\alpha\mu\acute{\iota}\delta\epsilon\nu\varsigma$  is due to the influence exercised by Ionic upon the native dialect. The Ionic  $\Sigma\alpha\mu\acute{\iota}\delta\eta\varsigma$  for  $-\delta\alpha\varsigma$  occurs C. I. G. 2534.

$\Phi\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ , read by Prof. Gardner on an electrum stater, Rob. I p. 177, cannot be correct. If not  $\Phi\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta\tau\omicron\varsigma$ , the Ionic form of the seventh century would be  $\Phi\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\omega$ .

#### 428.] Genitive Masculine (Lyric Poets).

The genuine Ionic poetical form is  $-\epsilon\omega$ , which in the lyric poets, as in Hesiod, must always<sup>1</sup> be read as one syllable (even when a short vowel precedes), except when  $-\epsilon\omega$  is reduced from  $-\epsilon\epsilon\omega$ . Besides  $\epsilon\omega$  we meet with (2) the epic (Aeolic)  $-\tilde{a}\omicron$ , (3) the Doric  $-\tilde{a}$  only in the Megarian Theognis, and (4) a few cases of Attic  $-\omicron\nu$  which must give place to  $-\epsilon\omega$  in case the poet is of Ionic stock. In the late parts of Theognis this  $-\omicron\nu$  may be defended.

##### 1. $\epsilon\omega$ .

##### A. Iambographic Poets.

Archilochos:  $\Gamma\acute{\upsilon}\gamma\epsilon\omega$  25,  $\mu\acute{\upsilon}\kappa\epsilon\omega$  47 (trim.), cf. § 438, 1,  $\text{'}\Lambda\rho\epsilon\omega$  48 trim.,  $\Lambda\epsilon\pi\tau\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\omega$  70 tetr.; on  $\Sigma\epsilon\lambda\lambda\eta\tilde{\iota}\delta\epsilon\omega$ , cf. Bergk on No. 104 and § 233.  $\Lambda\upsilon\kappa\acute{\alpha}\mu\beta\epsilon\omega$  28 is merely a conjecture of Elmsley. The MSS. have  $\Lambda\upsilon\kappa\acute{\alpha}\mu\beta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ , cf. § 531, II 2.

Hipponax:  $\text{'}\Lambda\tau\tau\acute{\alpha}\lambda\epsilon\omega$  15<sub>2</sub>,  $\Gamma\acute{\upsilon}\gamma\epsilon\omega$  15<sub>4</sub> trim.,  $\delta\epsilon\sigma\pi\acute{o}\tau\epsilon\omega$  64,  $\mu\omicron\lambda\omicron\beta\rho\iota\tau\epsilon\omega$  77 for the incorrect  $\mu\omicron\lambda\omicron\beta\rho\acute{\iota}\tau\omicron\nu$  of Eustathios.

Herodas:  $A\tilde{\iota}\tilde{\iota}\delta\epsilon\omega$  1<sub>32</sub>,  $\gamma\rho\alpha\mu\mu\alpha\tilde{\iota}\sigma\tau\epsilon\omega$  3<sub>0</sub>,  $M\acute{\upsilon}\tau\tau\epsilon\omega(?)$  4<sub>30</sub>,  $\text{'}\Lambda\pi\epsilon\lambda\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega$  4<sub>73</sub>,  $\pi\alpha\nu\tau\acute{o}\epsilon\rho\kappa\tau\epsilon\omega$  5<sub>42</sub>,  $\beta\upsilon\rho\sigma\omicron\delta\acute{\epsilon}\psi\epsilon\omega$  6<sub>88</sub>, and so  $\text{'}\Lambda\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\epsilon\omega$  3<sub>01</sub>; probably  $-\epsilon\omega$  is reduced from  $-\epsilon\epsilon\omega$  in  $\Pi\upsilon\theta\acute{\epsilon}\omega$  1<sub>70</sub>. The only exception to the rule stated at the head of this section is presented by  $\Pi\rho\eta\tilde{\iota}\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\omega$  4<sub>23</sub> ( $\omicron\acute{\iota}$  Π.  $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\delta\epsilon\varsigma$ ), which is a contaminated form.

<sup>1</sup> On the exception  $\Pi\rho\eta\tilde{\iota}\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\omega$  Herodas 4<sub>23</sub>, see under 1 A below.  $\Phi\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\epsilon\omega$  is also an exception in Latyschev II 299, a very late epigram. Here the  $-\omicron\nu$  was a necessity.



B. *Elegiac Poets.*

Tyrtaios: Μίδεω 12<sub>6</sub>, Κινύρεω 12<sub>6</sub>, Τανταλίδεω 12<sub>7</sub>.

Theognis: Αἰολίδεω 702, 'Αἶδεω 703, 802, 1124, Βόρεω 716.

Solon: 'Αἶδεω 24<sub>8</sub> and πολυτέχνεω 13<sub>49</sub>. The recurrence in Solon of the Ionic elegiac form ought to guard us against substituting therefor the Attic forms. Anakreon too has 'Αἶδεω 43<sub>6</sub> (melic) and Αἰγείδεω 99 (eleg.).

Phokylides: 1 Φωκυλίδεω Bergk, as elsewhere, *v. l.* -ίδου; 3 Φωκυλίδεω, Stobaios -ίδου, 4 Φωκυλίδεω, Stob. -ίδου, 5 *vulgo* -ίδου, 6 -ίδεω.

Σμερδίεω (—υ—) occurs in the pseudo-Simonideian epigram 184<sub>8</sub>.

2. -āo, an imitation of epic usage<sup>1</sup>, cf. § 446, 3: 'Αἶδαο Theog. 244, 427, 906. Αἰήταο Mimn. 11<sub>3</sub>. Πίσαο Xenoph. 2<sub>3</sub>, 2<sub>21</sub>.

Αἰήταο, the only example of -ao from an older poet of Ionic birth, is, however, not to be suspected because the verse immediately preceding has been lost. Αἰήτεω τε πόλιν is therefore an otiose conjecture. τελέων in the same fragment is an exception to the tendency to contraction. In the MSS. we often meet with -ao as *v. l.*, e. g. Tyrt. 12<sub>6</sub>.

3. Doric -ā in Theognis: Εὐρώτα 785, 1088.

4. Attic -ου(?).

Archilochos is said by Eust. II. 518<sub>22</sub> to have used the genitive 'Αρου "κατ' Ἰάδα διάλεκτον." This is scarcely correct, and Bergk reads 'Αρεω (frag. 48), though he does not change μολοβρίτου Hipponax 77. Phokylides' name appears as Φωκυλίδου in MSS. of Stobaios and Strabo (see above on -εω). ου often occurs as *v. l.*, e. g. Theog. 702. In 1014 the pseudo-Theognis has 'Αἶδου. This form was not possible in the elegy before the rise of Attic poetry.

429.] **Genitive Masculine (Prose).**

1. -εω from nominatives in -ης preceded by (a) a consonant or (b) any vowel except ε. Examples: (a) Hdt. Ἰσαγόρεω, Λευτυχίδεω, Ἀρταβάτεω, Κρητίνεω, Μάνεω, Κανδαύλεω, Ἀμύντεω (cf. Ἀμύντα § 427), Ἐπιάλτεω, Ξέρξεω; Hippokr. Αἰταγόρεω II 664, but Ἀγλαΐδου same page, Φρυγίχιδεω II 704, Οἰκέτεω III 60; Demokr. Ἀἶδεω Mor. 54; Herakleitos Τευτάμεω; Xanthos Ἀλυάττεω, Σαδυάττεω, cf. Müller, *F. H. G.* I p. 40 *b*; Pherekydes of Leros Βρόντεω, Στερόπεω, Ἀργεω 76, Αἰήτεω 60. Lukian uses no other form except -εω, while Arrian in the *Indikè*, and Eusebios

<sup>1</sup> Greg. Kor. 611 is corrupt: Αλακίδαο γὰρ Ἰωνικῶς καὶ Αλακίδεω Ἀττικῶς. The more accurate grammarians thought that the Homeric -ao was either Aiolic or Boiotian, but Tzetz. Ex. II. 117<sub>18</sub> opines that ἐκατηβέλταο is Ionic, -εω Attic.

Myndios are not so conservative in following Ionic usage. The *Vita Homeri* has -εω throughout (6, 17, 38). Even in the supposititious letter of Pittakos to Kroisos (Diog. L. I 81) we find, together with Aioliisms, 'Αλυάττεω.

(b) After ι: Hdt. νερνίεω, Πανσανίεω, 'Ασιέω, Λυδίαεω; Uranios 12 κοχλίου, cf. 'Ερμίου in Chios and Bechtel, *Ion. Inschr.* p. 109.

After υ: Hdt. Μαρσύεω, Πακτύεω, Πρωτοθύεω.

After ω: Hdt. Κώεω.

After αι: Hdt. 'Αρταχάεω.

After ει: Αλκείεω Menekrates *apud* Dion. Halik. p. 77 (Jac.).

After ευ: Hdt. 'Αλεύεω.

2. If, however, the ης of the nominative was preceded by ε, εεω in the genitive is avoided by the hyphaeresis of one ε (or, what is practically the same thing, by the contraction of εω to ω) in order to escape the hiatus<sup>1</sup>. In confirmation of this explanation, which was adopted by the ancients<sup>2</sup>, the following forms are cited from Hdt.: 'Αριστέω, 'Ανδρέω, Πυθέω (found in Herodas), βορέω, 'Ερμέω; βορέω from Hekat. 67; 'Ερμέω from Lukian, *Syr. d.* 38 *Astr.* 20, Euseb. Mynd. 63, cf. Homeric 'Ερμείω, βορέω; 'Ερμέω hymn Herm. 413, Aphr. 149. In § 263, 3 it is shown that the nom. of these nouns in the fifth century was not -εης, as is generally assumed, but -ῆς. No form in -εεω is permissible. Dindorf's βορέεω is a creature of his imagination deriving no support from the statement made in An. Ox. I 207, &c.

If with these Herodoteian forms cited in 1 a and 2, we compare those known to us from inscriptions, certain noteworthy differences come to light. Whereas Hdt. has Πανσανίεω VIII 3, the inscriptional form is Πανσανίω, and whereas Hdt. has Πακτύεω I 158, the Mylasian document has Πακτύω. From the fifth century there is a considerable number of inscriptions which place the termination -ω from -εω < -εεω after consonants, *iota*, and *upsilon* beyond peradventure, whereas in the text of Hdt. there is no instance of the contraction of -εω derived from -εεω. That the inscriptions in no wise impeach the validity of the Herodoteian -εω, is clear from 'Ασιέω and Πυθέω. Between Πυθέω and Πυθῶ there can be no radical difference. The -ω form, so far from being a distinct grammatical innovation designed to dislodge the older form in -εω, is probably nothing more than a difference of writing to express more exactly the pronunciation. In fact the extent of the pronunciation of -εω as -ω in the speech

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bennett's *Cyprian Dialect*, p. 29. When εε is followed by a vowel, hyphaeresis of one ε never takes place in case εε was originally separated by f. Cf. Schmidt's *Neutra*, p. 323 note.

<sup>2</sup> Eust. II. 994<sub>37</sub> τὸ δὲ Βορέω ἰωνικὸν ἐστὶ, συγκοπὴν ἐκ τοῦ Βορέεω. Cf. § 426, 2.

of the people eludes observation; but it was no doubt more widely diffused than might be inferred from our texts. We have already noticed (§ 428) that a dissyllabic *-εω* is not found in any genuine fragment of older Ionic lyrical poetry.

It has been held<sup>1</sup> that the Homeric forms *Αἰνέω* E 534, *ἔμμελίω* Δ 47, 165, Z 449<sup>2</sup>, and the inscriptional *Ἀσίω*, *Παναμύω*, *Πακτύω*, &c., warrant our formulating the rule that whenever *-εω* is preceded by any vowel (not merely by *ε*) it becomes *-ω*. So long however as we have *Ἑρμῖεω* and *Ἀγῖεω* in the stone records, it is futile to maintain that the numerous instances of *-εω* after *ι* and *υ* represent the efforts of the grammarians and copyists to foist upon Ionic prose a form foreign to the idiom of the dialect.

In Attic literature *-εω* occurs only in the case of an Ionic name or in that of a name which passed into Attic through an Ionic source. *E.g.* *Θαλίω* Plato *Rep.* X 600 A, *Τήρεω*, *Πυθέω* Thuk. II 29, *Καμβύσεω* Xen. *Κυρ.* I 2, 1 (*-ου* Dind.).

The tendency to introduce Homeric forms into the text of Herodotus appears in *Γηρυόναο* in the Romanus, IV 8.

Attic *-ου* appears in *Βορέου*<sup>3</sup> III 102 (C), IV 51 in R (and so in Arrian *Ind.* 2) in *Μαρσίου* VII 26 and *Ἀριστέου* IV 15. Stein follows the MSS. in editing *Κυνίου* VI 101. In VIII 11 *ΑΒSv* have *Αλσχαίου* (adopted by Stein) the rest *Αλσχρέου*.

Occasionally the MSS. of Hdt. have *-εος* by transference to the *-εσ* declension, *e.g.* *Σιτάλκεος* IV 80, where Stein reads *-εω* with P, *Ὀράνεος* III 71, 84, 88, 144. *Ἀστυδάγεος* is the regular form in Hdt. *Ῥοδάνης* is inflected according to the consonantal declension though *Ὀράνης*, &c., have also forms of the *Â* declension:

#### 430.] Genitive Feminine (Inscriptions).

The genitive feminine has *-ης* after *ρ* (*Σέρρης* Hdn. I 371<sub>6</sub>): *Ἡρης* Samos 226., Naukr. Bechtel 237. In fact the form *Ἡρης* was kept in the language of dedications long after it had disappeared from the speech of the people. Thus the Samian *Ἡρης* 226, dates from the time of Augustus or Tiberius<sup>4</sup>. Cf. §§ 172, 173. The Attic *Ἡρας* occurs in Samos 220<sub>36</sub> (346–45 B. C.), 221<sub>37</sub> (322 B. C.), *Ἡρας Τελείας* Erythr. 206 C 15 (after 278 B. C.). See Head, *H. N.* 517.

After *ι*: *δασειῆς* Zeleia 114 E 4, *Μητροβίης* Latyschev II 248, cf. p. 306, *[Θεοδο]σίης* *ibid.* II 8, *γερουσίης* Ephesos (Wood's

<sup>1</sup> So Erman in Curtius' *Stud.* V 294 ff., Fritsch, *Stud.* VI 126. This is also the view of Kirchhoff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ἀσίω* A D and Aristarchos in B 461, added to this list, is now often read *Ἀσίρ* as in C. See Leaf *ad loc.*

<sup>3</sup> Cf. C. I. A. I 321<sub>39</sub>, and Hesychios s. v. *Βερεῖω*, Hdn. II 640<sub>25</sub>.

<sup>4</sup> Genitives in *-ρης* occur in a very late period of Ionic, *e.g.* *κοσμητῆρης* in C. I. G. 3002, and in Wood, *Discoveries*, App. 8, No. 14. Even in the MSS. of the New Testament such forms as *στειῆς*, *μαχαίρης* appear. See § 173, footnote.

*Discoveries*, App. 6, No. 19, 302 B. C.); of the same period *προθυμίας* *l. l.* No. 21. Quite late forms are *ἱππωνίης* Kyzik. 108 B, (first century), *Μαιανδρίης* Kyz. 112 (first century), *Λυκίης Corp. Inscr. Sem.* I, No. 45, pl. 8. Of Attic provenance are *Προξενίας* No. 261, *ὕγελας* 129<sub>14</sub> Olbia (period of the empire).

After *υ*: *Καμασαρύης* Latyschev II 19<sub>5</sub>.

The Ionic genitive is *γῆς*, *e. g.* Herodas 1<sub>54</sub>, Halik. 238<sub>17</sub>, Teos 156 B 22, inscriptions free from all trace of Atticism; also 264 *aisap.* See § 421. *γαίης* in Latyschev II 37 (epigram) is the epic form.

#### 431.] Genitive Feminine (Lyric Poets).

-*ης* is regularly contracted in the earlier period of the Ionic lyric: *πορφυρῆς* Sim. Am. 1<sub>18</sub>, *γαλῆς* 7<sub>50</sub>, *χρυσῆς* Mimn. 1, Theog. 1293, 1381, as in Homer (Renner -*έης*), *ρόδῆς* Archil. 29<sub>2</sub> (tr.), *συκῆς* Anan. 5<sub>2</sub> (tetr.). Open *η* is found in *ἀργαλέης* Solon 4<sub>3</sub> (eleg.), adjectives in -*αίος* often remaining uncontracted.

#### 432.] Genitive Feminine (Prose).

Herodotos has *σιδηρέης* I 38, 39, for which the contracted form should be read. Open *η* occurs in *Τεγέης* VI 105, *Θυρέης* I 82. When *f* disappears between *η*, contraction does not result, *e. g.* Hdt. *νέης* I 60, Aretaios 170 *κενεῆς*. In adjectives in -*ος* we have -*ης*, *e. g.* *θηλέης* Hdt. II 35.

#### 433.] Dative (Inscriptions).

The dative of the *À* declension has in Ionic three endings, -*ηι*, -*η*, -*ει*. The occurrences of -*η* and -*ει* are rare.

##### 1. The ending -*ηι*.

We find *ηι* after *ρ* and vowels in every Ionic inscription from the earliest to the latest times, whether in pure dialect or tainted with Atticisms (*e. g.* Eph. 147) except (1) in the specific cases of -*η* and -*ει* mentioned below, and (2) in the few instances of -*αι* which are given below in the note. Even in late imperial times -*ηι* occurs, *e. g.* *Εἰλειθυίηι* Paros 66.

Cases of -*αι* in the dative singular. *Ἀμύνται* 8 A 2 Olynthos is not an Ionism. *δημοσίαι* 261 (of the fifth century, is an Attic inscription except for *Πυθαγόρην*, § 415, 1, cf. *δημοσίηι* Mylasa 248 B 11; so also *Ἰβίαι* 72, Thasos third century, *εὐνοίαι* Eph. 147, an inscription almost Hellenistic, the only Ionisms being *χρυσέωι*<sub>101</sub> and [ἐφ' Ἰσηι] *καὶ δημοίηι*<sub>11</sub>, cf. Samos 221<sub>2</sub> where this formula recurs. Other Atticisms are *Ἀγροτέραι* 165, Phanagora in latter half of fourth century, cf. *Θευδοσίης*, l. 4), *Ἀστάραι* Phanag. 167, *Θεᾶς Ἰστωραι* Keos 52 (Roman period), *Ἰγείαι* Paros 67 (time of the empire), *Ἐρμίαι* Eryth. 204 (not much before 345-44 B. C.). *Ἐρμῆι* is always the dative of *Ἐρμῆς*, *e. g.* *Ζελεῖαι* 162, Lampsak. 171. No case of -*αι* occurs before 350 B. C.

## 2. The ending -η.

The oldest example of the expulsion of *iota adscriptum* is Μάνη Kyzikos 108 A, an inscription of the sixth century. The later copy (108 B), dating from the first century B. C., has also M[ά]νη. Next comes αὐτῇ Chios B 175<sub>4</sub>, an epigram of the fifth century, and then τῇ βουλῇ Erythrai 199 (after 394 B. C.), an inscription which preserves ωι throughout; ἐ]μ Μαλυεῖη in 201, another Erythraian inscription of the fourth century (early part)<sup>1</sup>; Mylasa 248 C 15 (355-54 B. C.) δημοσίη; Zeleia 113<sub>15</sub> τῇ πόλει (shortly after Granikos); τῇ βουλῇ Priene (territory of the Πανιώνιον) 144<sub>2</sub> (middle of the fourth century). From the Roman period we have Οἰκιστῇ and Πυθίῃ Miletos 101. The latter form occurs also in C. I. G. 2885 and B. C. H. I 287; ἀ[γ]αθῇ [τυ]χῇ Olbia 129<sub>1</sub>, Προστάτῃ 129<sub>2</sub> (period of the empire). In imperial times -ΗΙ and -Η, not -ΕΙ, occur on Attic inscriptions.

## 3. The ending -ει.

The ending -ηι is often written ΕΙ in Attic after the year 380 B. C. ΕΙ prevails after 300 B. C., decreases from 200 on and ceases entirely with 30 B. C. (Meisterhans, p. 30 ff.). We find the following examples of this orthography in Euboian Ionic: ἐκατέρΕΙ τΕΙ πόλΕΙ Eretria 15<sub>8</sub> (between 410 and 390); στήλΕΙ Eretria 15<sub>17</sub><sup>2</sup>. ΤΕΙ θυσίΕΙ Oropos 18<sub>27</sub> (from 411-402 B. C. or between the Peace of Antalkidas and 377); ἰδίΕΙ Oropos 18<sub>14</sub>.

-ει is thus substituted for -ηι in the dative about the beginning of the fourth century.

δυνάμει Teos 156 B 32 is a locative, all the datives in this inscription ending in -ηι. The subjunctives have -ει, which is not from -ηι, cf. § 239.

In Oropos, No. 18 the subjunctive termination is -ει throughout. In Olynthos -ηι is not affected. In Amphipolis 10 -ηι is the dative form, -ει the subjunctive ending.

The Kymaian inscription Rob. No. 173 has ΕΙ in the subj. κλέψῃ; and in Becht. 3 A = Rob. 177 A we have τΕΙ κλίει, which we transcribe with ηι. Cf. κλίῃ Keos 43<sub>6</sub>.

4. It is noticeable that, whereas in Attic -ει gains ground towards the end of the fourth century B. C., in those inscriptions from the Kyklades and the Ionic mainland of Asia Minor which show Attic influence (notably Eph. 147, 300 B. C.) there is no trace of a dative in -ει<sup>3</sup>. As far as Ionic is concerned, the weakening of -ηι to -ει in the dative is restricted to Euboian Ionic. In other Ionic regions we find εἰ from medial ηι; see § 235.

<sup>1</sup> An I, found upon the stone after the H, is held by Bechtel to be a break in the marble.

<sup>2</sup> The ΕΙ's of No. 16 (Eretria) are not to be counted, since -ωι, not -ει, is found in the datives.

<sup>3</sup> But cf. B. C. H. VI 6 ff. (= Bechtel, No. 56), a Delian inscription (185-180 B. C.), which has η and εἰ, e.g. τῇ l. 6, 7, τεῖ l. 2, 27; πέμπτη(ι) l. 61; τρεῖς(ι) l. 62.



*Discoveries*, App. 6, No. 19, 302 B. C.); of the same period προθυμίας *l. l.* No. 21. Quite late forms are ἱππωνίης Kyzik. 108 B<sub>5</sub> (first century), Μαιανδρίης Kyz. 112 (first century), Ανκίης *Corp. Inscr. Sem.* I, No. 45, pl. 8. Of Attic provenance are Προξενίας No. 261, ὑγείας 129<sub>14</sub> Olbia (period of the empire).

After *v*: Καμασαρίης Latyshev II 19<sub>5</sub>.

The Ionic genitive is γῆς, *e. g.* Herodas 1<sub>54</sub>, Halik. 238<sub>17</sub>, Teos 156 B 22, inscriptions free from all trace of Atticism; also 264 *adesp.* See § 421. γαίης in Latyshev II 37 (epigram) is the epic form.

#### 431.] Genitive Feminine (Lyric Poets).

-ης is regularly contracted in the earlier period of the Ionic lyric: πορφυρῆς Sim. Am. 1<sub>16</sub>, γαλῆς 7<sub>10</sub>, χρυσῆς Mimn. 1, Theog. 1293, 1381, as in Homer (Renner -έης), ῥοδῆς Archil. 29<sub>8</sub> (tr.), σικέης Anan. 5<sub>2</sub> (tetr.). Open εη is found in ἀργαλέης Solon 4<sub>30</sub> (eleg.), adjectives in -αλεος often remaining uncontracted.

#### 432.] Genitive Feminine (Prose).

Herodotos has σιδηρέης I 38, 39, for which the contracted form should be read. Open εη occurs in Τεγέης VI 105, Θυρέης I 82. When *f* disappears between εη, contraction does not result, *e. g.* Hdt. νέης I 60, Aretaios 170 κενεῆς. In adjectives in -υς we have -εης, *e. g.* θηλέης Hdt. II 35.

#### 433.] Dative (Inscriptions).

The dative of the A declension has in Ionic three endings, -ηι, -η, -ει. The occurrences of -η and -ει are rare.

##### 1. The ending -ηι.

We find ηι after *ρ* and vowels in every Ionic inscription from the earliest to the latest times, whether in pure dialect or tainted with Atticisms (*e. g.* Eph. 147) except (1) in the specific cases of -η and -ει mentioned below, and (2) in the few instances of -αι which are given below in the note. Even in late imperial times -ηι occurs, *e. g.* Είλειθυίηι Paros 66.

Cases of -αι in the dative singular. 'Αμόνται 8 A 2 Olynthos is not an Ionism. Δημοσίαι 261 (of the fifth century) is an Attic inscription except for Πυθαγόρηι § 415. 1, cf. Δημοσίηι Mylasa 248 B 11; so also Ἰδίαι 72, Thasos third century, εὐνοίαι Eph. 147<sub>1</sub>, an inscription almost Hellenistic, the only Ionisms being χρυσέωι<sub>10</sub>, and [ἐφ' ἰσηι] καὶ ὁμαίηι<sub>11</sub>, cf. Samos 221<sub>2</sub>, where this formula recurs. Other Atticisms are 'Αγροτέραι 165, Phanagoria latter half of fourth century, cf. Θεοδοσίηι, 14), 'Αστάραι Phanag. 167, Θεᾶι Σωτείραι Κων 52 (Roman period), 'Υγεία Paros 67 (time of the empire), 'Ερμιαί Eryth. 204 (not much before 345-44 B. C.), 'Ερμήι is always the dative of 'Ερμῆς, *e. g.* Ζελεΐα 162, Lampsak. 171. No case of -αι occurs before 350 B. C.

## 2. The ending -η.

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The ending -ῃ is often written ΕΙ in Attic after the year 380 B. C. ΕΙ prevails after 300 B. C., decreases from 200 on and ceases entirely with 30 B. C. (Meisterhans, p. 30 ff.). We find the following examples of this orthography in Euboian Ionic: ἐκατέρΕΙ τΕΙ πόλΕΙ Eretria 15<sub>6</sub> (between 410 and 390); στήλΕΙ Eretria 15<sub>17</sub><sup>2</sup>. ΤΕΙ θυσίΕΙ Oropos 18<sub>27</sub> (from 411-402 B. C. or between the Peace of Antalkidas and 377); ἰδίΕΙ Oropos 18<sub>14</sub>.

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<sup>1</sup> An I, found upon the stone after the H, is held by Bechtel to be a break in the marble.

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<sup>3</sup> But cf. B. C. H. VI 6 ff. (= Bechtel, No. 56), a Dorian inscription (185-180 B. C.), which has η and εἰ, e. g. τῇ l. 6, 7, τεῖ l. 2, 27; πέμπτη(ι) l. 61; τρεῖ(ι) l. 62.

Dubois suggests Τῆραι Παλ[α]ίης for |ΠῆΤΠΔΛ|Δζ B. C. H. VI, p. 190 (Amorgos). This is quite improbable. Cf. Ἡρη Paros 65, Samos 223.

#### 434.] Dative Singular (Lyric Poets).

The open -εῖ is found only in κυνέη Tyrt. 11<sub>32</sub> which is an Homeric reminiscence. εῖ was contracted in the earliest period of the Ionic lyric. *Scriptio plena* occurs in σφαίρη πορφυρέη Anakr. 14<sub>1</sub>.

#### 435.] Dative Singular (Prose).

The genuine contemporary form occasionally comes to light in the MSS. of Hdt., e.g. κυνῇ IV 180, where Stein's κυνέη is entirely unsupported. But βορέῃ V 33, VI 139 is without v.l.; so too δωρεῇ III 130, γενεῇ I 3, 35. νῇ is adduced from the Σαμίων ὄροι by Hdn. II 912<sub>3</sub> (nom. νῆ=νέα). A crude hyper-Ionism is ἡμερέῃ in Abydenos 1.

Some MSS. of Hdt. have -εῖ by transference to the -ες declension, e.g. Κναξάρεῖ I 73, 74, cf. -ῇ I 16. Ἀστυάγεῖ, or -εῖ, is the regular form in the MSS., e.g. I 74, 119, 129.

#### 436.] Accusative Singular Masculine (Inscriptions).

1. *Masculine* in -ην, e.g. Ἀρισταγόρην Mykon. 92<sub>14</sub>, Πυθαγόρην 261, name of a Salymbrian on an Attic monument (cf. § 415, 1 note), παλαίστρην Naukr. Bechtel 139 C. Attic forms are Νικαγόραν Eph. 147, 8 (300 B.C.), Ἀμύνταν 8 A 5, not an Ionian; Ἐρμῖαν Erythr. 204<sub>25</sub> (345-44 B.C.) is the earliest instance of the admission of the Attic form.

#### 437.] Accusative Singular Masculine (Lyric Poets).

Ἐρμῆν Hipponax 32 is the regular post-Homeric form in all branches of Ionic. Βορέην in Tyrt. 12<sub>4</sub> is the Homeric form.

#### 438.] Accusative Singular Masculine (Prose).

1. Hdt. has βορέην in all MSS. I 6, 174, III 97, IV 31, VII 189, 201. Elsewhere there is fluctuation between βορέην and βορῆν (II 101, IV 22, 116) or all MSS. have βορῆν. The latter is the form found in Lukian, *Syr. d.* 28. The correct form is βορῆν though rejected by Bredow, Stein, and Holder. Ἐρμῆν is found in all MSS. V 7. μύκην is Hekataian, cf. μύκῃ in Archil., § 428. See § 545.

2. The overreaching character of the -ες stems is manifest in the declension of proper names of the ᾤ declension, whose genitives and datives in Herodotos end regularly in -εω, -ῇ, but whose accusative have -εα<sup>1</sup>. In the attack upon the ᾤ de-

<sup>1</sup> These accusatives in -εα are frequently called Ionic by the grammarians. Apoll. Adv. p. 191, Schn. cites Ζέρεα, Πολυδέκτεα (not in Hdt.), Γεγεα. Cf. Hdn. II 835<sub>22</sub>=Choir. 866<sub>25</sub> (cf. Choir. 561<sub>22</sub>, 601<sub>2</sub>, 860<sub>22</sub>). Ζέρεα is usually selected as the example. Cf. An. Ox. IV 211<sub>20</sub> and IV 363<sub>24</sub>, An. Par. IV 232<sub>22</sub>.

clension, the accusative appears to have offered the first avenue of approach, the genitive the second.

Some of the examples of the accusative in *-εα* may here be given, while the reader is referred to Bredow, pp. 225 ff., for a complete list of the forms in question. I give merely those cases where Stein has adopted the accusative in *-εα*<sup>1</sup>: (1) names in *-δης*: Λεοτυχίδεια VI 65, 73, 85; Ἰπποκλείδεια VI 129; Μιλτιάδεια VI 35, 37 *bis*, 39, 135, 136 *bis*: (2) names in *-γορης*: Ἀρισταγόρεια V 32, 33, 65, but Ἀρισταγόρην V 35 *bis*, 37; Στησαγόρεια VI 38; Λυσαγόρεια VI 133: (3) other names: Μιτροβάτεια III 120 *bis*, 126, 127, but Εὐροβάτην IX 75; Γύγεια I 10, 11, but Γύγην I 8, 15; Ἀλυάττεια I 73, 74, III 48; Κανδαύλεια I 10, 11, 12; Ἀράξεια I 205, 209, 211, III 36, but Ἀράξην IV 11; Ξέρξεια IV 43, VII 4, 38, 46, but Ξέρξην VII 5, 6 *bis*, 12, 17 *ter*, 27, 56, 118, 120, 130, 145, 208, 210, 223, VIII 22, 25, 69, 110, 113, 114, 118 *bis*, 119, IX 1, 116 *bis*; Ἀρτοξέρξεια (*sic*) VII 151 *bis*, 152; Πέρσην VIII 3, 108, 109, and throughout; Δηϊόκεια I 96; Καμβύσεια III 1 *bis*, 2 *bis*, 3, 10, 15, 31, 32, 34, 44, 62, 64, 66, 73; Ὀροίτεια III 120, 121, 124, 125, &c.; Σανδώκεια VII 196; Φαρνούχεια VII 88 (Arrian's *Anab.* has *-χην*); Ἐπιάλτεια VII 213, but Ἐπιάλτην VII 218 *bis*, as VII 214; Ὀτάνεια III 141, V 25, VI 43, VII 61, but Ὀτάνην III 76; Ἀστυάγεια is the regular form in Hdt.

In the pseudo-Ionists these accusatives in *-εα* in proper names occur, *e.g.* Ἀττεια Lukian, *Syr. d.* 15, but Ἀττην *Ikarom.* 27; in Arrian Ὑδάσπεια 310, 196, Ὑδραώτεια 310, Γάγγεια 42.

The presence of this metaplastic form in proper names gave rise to the view among the hyper-Ionizing scholars that even in appellatives this *-εα* was permissible. We find δεσπότηεια Hdt.<sup>2</sup> I 91, IV 43, III 1 (*-ην* in *R*), VII 88 (*-ην* *PR*), and in Lukian, *Syr. d.* 25. δεσπότηην is found in all MSS. I 212, III 134, IV 136. ἀκινάκεια is found in III 118, but ἀκινάκην VII 54, a reading rightly adopted by Stein. The same editor rejects κυβερνήτεια the reading of *R* in VIII 118, a form adopted by Bredow and Krüger. In these common nouns the activity of the μεταγραφάμενοι does not seem to have extended much beyond the expulsion of *-ην* from the accusative. But that they tampered with other case-forms appears from ἀκινάκεος in all MSS. IV 62. The Aldine edition has ἀκινάκεϊ in the same chapter.

#### 439.] Accusative Feminine (Inscriptions).

##### 1. Accus. in *-ην*.

Et. M. 386<sub>11</sub>, Eust. 1946<sub>28</sub> (Ἀστυάγεια). Sometimes the form is mentioned without being specially referred to Ionic, *e.g.* Bekk. An. II. 967<sub>13</sub>.

<sup>1</sup> Stein as a rule adopts *-ην* where Bredow prefers *-εα*.

<sup>2</sup> For Brugmann's purpose (*Grundr.* II § 395) this form may be regarded as genuine.



A.  $\eta$  after  $\rho$  and  $\iota$  in  $\pi\rho\omicron\epsilon\delta\rho\acute{\iota}\eta\nu$ <sup>1</sup> Erythr. 199<sub>5</sub>, 202<sub>10</sub>, 203<sub>7</sub>, Iasos 105<sub>10</sub>, *J. H. S.* IX 341, No. 2 (elsewhere Attic  $\alpha$ ), Zeleia 114 A B C E;  $\iota\epsilon\rho\acute{\eta}\nu$  Naukr. 753;  $\delta\lambda\iota\gamma\alpha\rho\chi\acute{\iota}\eta\nu$  Thasos *J. H. S.* VIII 402, 20,  $\delta\iota\alpha\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\sigma\acute{\iota}\eta\nu$  Zeleia 113<sub>10</sub>,  $\omicron\acute{\iota}\kappa\acute{\iota}\eta\nu$  Keos 43<sub>15</sub>, Halik. 240<sub>14</sub>,  $\epsilon\phi\eta\beta\acute{\iota}\eta\nu$  Paros 67,  $\pi\alpha\tau\rho\iota\acute{\eta}\nu$  Iasos *J. H. S.* IX 341, No. 3 (from the third century),  $\epsilon\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\eta}\nu$  Teos 156 B 30;  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\tau\rho\eta\nu$  Thasos 72<sub>10</sub>,  $\xi\upsilon\lambda\omicron\sigma\pi\omega\lambda\acute{\iota}\eta\nu$  Teos *Miltth.* XVI 292, and in the forms found in the epigrams preserved in Latyschev II ( $\beta\acute{\iota}\eta\nu$  167,  $\eta\lambda\iota\kappa\acute{\iota}\eta\nu$ ,  $\theta\alpha\lambda\epsilon\rho\acute{\eta}\nu$  171).  $\text{N}\acute{\iota}\kappa\acute{\alpha}\nu$  Paros 72<sub>8</sub> is from  $\text{N}\acute{\iota}\kappa\acute{\alpha} < \text{N}\acute{\iota}\kappa\acute{\alpha}\eta$ , cf. § 273.

Attic forms:  $\Sigma\alpha\lambda\upsilon\beta\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$  261, an Attic sepulchral monument to Pythagor $\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$  of Salymbria and dating from the fifth century.  $\pi\omicron\lambda\iota\tau\epsilon\lambda\alpha\nu$  Zeleia 114 A B C (shortly after Granikos), Iasos *J. H. S.* IX 341, No. 3, Samos 221<sub>27</sub> (322 B.C.), Eph. 147<sub>10</sub> (300 B.C.);  $\pi\rho\omicron\beta\upsilon\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$  Samos 221<sub>8</sub>;  $\Pi\epsilon\rho\eta\tau\epsilon\lambda\alpha\nu$  Erythr. 206 A 17 (after 278 B.C.);  $\pi\alpha\iota\delta\epsilon\lambda\alpha\nu$  Teos 158<sub>7</sub> (very late).

B. After  $\epsilon$  in adjectives denoting material, and in nouns.

It is a significant feature of the dialect that  $\epsilon + \eta$  is always contracted, whereas  $\epsilon\omicron\iota$ ,  $\epsilon\omega$  are retained, at least in the official language, till after Christ. Examples are  $\chi\alpha\lambda\kappa\eta\nu$  Erythr. 199<sub>1</sub>, (after 394 B.C.), 202<sub>12</sub> (about 350 B.C.);  $\chi\rho\upsilon\sigma\eta\nu$  has been restored upon an epigram Keos 41.

In nouns  $\epsilon + \eta$  is contracted:  $\kappa\omega\lambda\eta\nu$  Miletos 100<sub>3</sub>.  $\gamma\epsilon\nu\epsilon\eta\nu$  Paros 59 epigr. is poetical.

2. Accus. in  $-\acute{\alpha}\nu$ .

A. From nouns in  $-\acute{\alpha}$  (pan-Hellenic, cf. § 418).  $\theta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\sigma\sigma\alpha\nu$  Teos 156 A 10 (Ol. 76-77), Halik. 240<sub>44</sub> (fifth century), Erythr. 204<sub>17</sub> (345-44 B.C.);  $\epsilon\rho\epsilon\upsilon\nu\alpha\nu$  Mylasa 248 C 9 (355-54 B.C.);  $\gamma\lambda\omega\sigma\sigma\alpha\nu$  Mil. 100<sub>8</sub>;  $\mu\omicron\iota\rho\alpha\nu$  in No. 265 *adlexp.*, before Ol. 80 probably, in honour of  $\text{H}\acute{\gamma}\epsilon\lambda\omicron\chi\omicron\varsigma$ , an Ionian from Euboea or the Kyklades;  $\text{E}\rho\mu\acute{\omega}\nu\omicron\sigma\sigma\alpha\nu$  Chios 172 A 2 is =  $\text{E}\rho\mu\acute{\omega}\nu\alpha\sigma\sigma\alpha\nu$ , the  $\omicron$  of the penult being due to assimilation.

Attic forms:  $\epsilon\beta\omicron\iota\alpha\nu$  Samos 221, (322 B.C.), cf. § 178.  $\delta\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha\nu$  is the regular form in Ionic inscriptions: Zeleia 114 A B C D E (after Granikos), Ephes. 147<sub>10</sub> (300 B.C.), Iasos 105 (late), *J. H. S.* IX 341, 2, 3 and 4, Erythr. 199<sub>1</sub> (after 394 B.C.), 202<sub>8</sub> (about 350 B.C.?) despite  $\delta\tau\epsilon(\lambda, \epsilon\iota)\eta\nu$  Kyzik. 108 B 3 (first cent.). Cf. § 175.

B. From adjectives in  $-\upsilon\varsigma$ , fem.  $-\epsilon\iota\alpha$  (Pan-Hellenic) we have  $\delta\alpha\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\nu$  Miletos 100<sub>2</sub>, cf. §§ 219, 419, 441.

#### 440.] Accusative Feminine (Lyric Poets).

$\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\eta\nu$  occurs in Hipp. 32. Open  $\epsilon\eta$  is found in  $\kappa\upsilon\nu\acute{\epsilon}\eta\nu$  Tyr $\tau$ . 11<sub>32</sub>, the Homeric form, as  $\gamma\epsilon\nu\epsilon\eta\nu$  Solon 27<sub>10</sub>, epigr. Paros 59.  $\sigma\upsilon\kappa\eta\nu$  is found in Hipponax 34,  $\kappa\omega\lambda\eta\nu$  Xenoph. 5 (Renner  $-\acute{\epsilon}\eta\nu$ ).

<sup>1</sup> The  $\eta$  of  $\pi\rho\omicron\epsilon\delta\rho\acute{\iota}\eta$  holds its ground when that of other words has succumbed to the Attic  $\alpha$ .



χαλκήν is found in Herodas III, χρυσήν in Phoinix of Kolophon *apud* Athen. 495 E. From ἀθρόος we have ἀθρόην Archil. 35.

#### 441.] Accusative Feminine (Prose).

1. Herodotos has in all MSS. κυνέην I 84, II 151, 152, 162, συκέην I 193, IV 23, χαλκήν II 151, χρυσέην I 52. For λεοντήν IV 8, as is edited by Stein, most of the MSS. have λεοντήν, *R* λεοντήν. In this reading we have an indication of the genuine form of the fifth century which is supported by διπλήν V 90 (all MSS.<sup>1</sup>) despite διπλέη III 42 in all MSS. Cf. § 263, 3. διπλήν is found K 134, τ 226.

Open εη occurs in δωρεήν II 140, III 84, 97; ἰδέην I 80, IV 109; Μαλέην IV 179, VII 168, 'Ρέην Lukian, *Syr. d.* 15.

When *f* disappeared εη remained open: *e.g.* στερεήν Hdt. I 52.

2. Accus. in -ᾶν from nom. in -ᾶ (§ 418).

With εὔνοϊαν (§ 439 2, A) we may compare the Herodoteian form, which, although the nom. is εὔνοϊη, is εὔνοϊαν in III 36. So also διάνοϊαν I 46, 90, II 162, IX 45. Other Attic forms are ἐπιμέλειαν VI 105, εὐ- or ἐμμέλειαν VI 129. See §§ 175 and 178. 'Ωρείθυϊαν or 'Ωρειθυίην are both found in the MSS., § 178. On the hyper-Ionic μοίρην Hdt. I 204, see § 419; on πρῶρην, § 420. μίαν, not μίην, is the correct form, Hdt. I 164, Herodas I<sub>22</sub>, &c.; cf. § 419.

Hdt. has δασέαν III 32 (MSS. δασείαν). On other forms from the -us adj., see § 506.

#### 442.] Vocative Singular.

Herodotos III 34, 35, 63, &c. has the vocative Πρήξαστες from the analogy of the -es stems; cf. Στρεψιάδες *Clouds*, 1206, 'Ηράκλειδες Herodian II 690<sub>33</sub> (from a comic poet). The reverse procedure appears in Κυπρογένη Theognis 1323, Arkadian 'Ατέλη C. D. I. 1205, and Aiolic Σώκρατε, &c. Πρηξάσπης is inflected in Hdt. according to the consonantal declension, though in III 75 αζ have the genitive in -εω.

Hipponax has 'Ερμῇ 1<sub>2</sub>, 16 *bis*, 21 A, 89, and so Herodas 7<sub>14</sub>. Other forms are Μιμνῇ 49, Anakreon Σμερδίη 5, Μεγιστῇ (or Μεγίστη) 16<sub>2</sub>, 74<sub>3</sub>.

Vocatives in -ᾶ from names in -ης: Λυκάμβα Arch. 94, Κυράγχα Hippon. 1<sub>2</sub>, Κανδαῦλα Hippon. 1<sub>2</sub>. κριτή (Hipponax 118) stands for κριτά according to Priscian (*Hipponax* εἵηθες κριτή *μν* κριτά). Cf. 'Ηλιε καλλιλαμπήτη Anakr. 27. The Homeric *νύμφα* would seem to be Aiolic, despite the statement of the schol. Ven. A on Γ 130 that it is Ionic. This form of the vocative is in reality pan-Hellenic, though retained with greater consistency by Aiolic than any other dialect.

<sup>1</sup> Bredow reads διπλόην as Hippokr. III 186, cf. 250. The adj. in the fem. when *d* follows is διπλεία = Ionic διπλή < διπλέη; when *e* follows it is διπλῆς, cf. διπλῆς Aischyl. fr. 33. διπλόη is a substantive.

## 443.] Nominative Plural.

On γέαι Zeleia, No. 113<sub>40</sub> (after Granikos), δύο μνέαι Hdt. VI 79, cf. § 421. λιναί Samos 220<sub>21</sub> is an unusual contraction in an adjective of material. The contracted form is also found in Hdt. This nom. is scarcely Ionic. γαλαί IV 192, Hrd. 7<sub>90</sub> is a doubtful form because εαι is often left open, while εη is contracted. Cf. Merzdorf in *Studien*, VIII 145.

## 444.] Genitive Plural.

Homer -άων, -εων<sup>1</sup> (and -ῶν, when ι precedes and in the forms of the article and pronoun), Boiot. -άων, Doric and Aiolie -ᾶν. In Ionic we have -έων or -ῶν in both masculine and feminine.

In Homer we find τάων and τῶν, in the later Ionic only τῶν. In other dialects which preserve in the declension of nouns a fuller form of the genitive, the article presents the shortest form possible according to the laws of the dialect in question. Thus in Thessalian we find τᾶν κοινάων as well as τᾶν κοινᾶν, in Boiotian τᾶν δραχμάων. τέων was too ponderous a form. ῥῶν was never used for ῥῶν.

-εων is attested as Ionic by Joh. Gr. 239 B, Greg. Kor. 379, Gram. Meerm. 649 (-άων Aiolie, cf. 655), Vat. 696, Hdn II 2, Et. M. 787<sub>30</sub>, Drakon 160<sub>37</sub>, An. Ox. I 178<sub>10</sub>; Doric (?) An. Ox. I 382<sub>15</sub>, Et. Gud. 493<sub>30</sub>. Herodian II 229<sub>15</sub> = An. Ox. I 239, also wrongly attributes the termination -εων to the Dorians. In the passage referred to, for Δωριεῖς read Ἰωνες, because of the statement made in II 21.

## 445.] Genitive Plural (Inscriptions).

600-500 B. C.		500-400 B. C.	
ΕΩΝ	ΩΝ	ΕΩΝ	ΩΝ
ΔΑ(Λ)ΗΩΝ Naxos 23. This form has been re- garded as stand- ing for ἄλλων not for ἄλλων, on the ground that no diph- thong possesses more than three ποταε. If this is the case -εων is the direct descendant of -ηων. See B. B. XI 268		Ἀθηναίων Abd. 163 <sub>7.6</sub> Τελητίων Velia 172, 450-400) Μαρωνιτών 196, Maroneia Μαρωνιτών 196, Μαρωνιτών 196, and Cat. Brit. Mus. 125, No. 15 front Χαλμακιτών Halik. 238 <sub>2.11</sub> Ὀρχομενίων Keos 434 after 420) Νυμφίων Siph. 88	Μαρωνιτών Cat. Brit. Mus. 125, No. 15 reverse

<sup>1</sup> In Homer dissyllabic -εων is found but three times πυλίων H 1, M 340, θυρέων φ 191; -εων 20 times in II, 19 in Od.; -ῶν at verse end in Σκαίων Γ 263, Ζ 307, κλισίων Ψ 112, δμῶν τ 121; παρειών Ω 794, δ 194, 223, λ 529, τ 190, τρυφαλειών Μ 339, Μαλειών τ 187, παλαιών β 118. But in all these instances dissyllabic -εων is excluded by the metre.

400-300 B. C.		300-200 B. C.	
ΕΩΝ	ΩΝ	ΕΩΝ	ΩΝ
<p>Νεοπολιτέων Neap. 4<sub>1</sub>; 84, bet. 400-350</p> <p>Ἀμφιπολιτέων Amph. 10<sub>5</sub>; No. 11 (424-358)</p> <p>δημοτέων Orop. 18<sub>15</sub> (411-402, or between Antalk. Peace and 377)</p> <p>Ἀβδηριτέων Abd. 163<sub>14</sub>, 15, 16 bet. 400-350</p> <p>Τορετέων 127 Pantikar., or Phanagoreia (387-347)</p> <p>Μαρωνιτέων Maron. 196<sub>6</sub>, 12</p> <p>δραχμέων Orop. 18<sub>10</sub>, 16 (411-402, or between Antalk. Peace and 377)</p> <p>Καλωνέων Eryth. 201<sub>23</sub></p> <p>Θηγέων Eryth. 201<sub>19</sub></p>	<p>Νευπολιτῶν Neap. 4<sub>1</sub>, 350-300</p> <p>Αἰνεητῶν Ainea 12</p> <p>Αἰνητῶν mentioned Becht. p. 7 (Alex. the Great period)</p> <p>Ἴητῶν Ios 91</p> <p>Alex. the Great</p> <p>πολιτῶν Zeleia 113<sub>3</sub>, 22 after Granikos; Iasos 105<sub>4</sub></p> <p>Μαῖτῶν Pantik. 119, 120, 122, Phanag. 166, 167, 168, latter half of the cent.</p> <p>Τορετῶν Phanag. 165, latter half of the cent. Cf. also Lat. II 36</p> <p>Ἑλητῶν 172<sub>3</sub>, about 350 B. C.</p> <p>Μασσαλιητῶν Massalia Becht. p. 106</p> <p>Ἀθηνῶν Samos 216 Attic form, 365-322 B. C.</p> <p>ἀδικιῶν Oropos 18<sub>19</sub> (411-402, or between Peace of Antalk. and 377 B. C.)</p>		<p>ἐξεταστῶν Eryth. 206 A 25 (after 278 B. C.)</p> <p>ἐπιπραβεισῶν Eryth. 206 C 20 is Attic (after 278 B. C.).</p> <p>Περηγειῶν Eryth. 206 A 14, C 53 (after 278 B. C.).</p> <p>δραχμῶν Eryth. 206 B 49, C 49</p>

200 B. C. ———		Of doubtful date	
ΕΩΝ	ΩΝ	ΕΩΝ	ΩΝ
<p>Ὀλβιοπολιτέων (Olbia 130<sub>3</sub>, 2nd cent.)</p> <p>Ὀλβιοπολειτέων (Olbia 130<sub>3</sub>, 2nd cent.)</p>	<p>Ἰουλιητῶν Kos 52, Roman period</p> <p>Μισσητῶν Samos 232 (Roman)</p> <p>Κεραμμητῶν Kera-mos 253 (Rom.)</p> <p>δικῶν Teos 158<sub>21</sub></p> <p>Μουσῶν Teos 158<sub>22</sub></p>	<p>Νυμφέων Μυχιδέων Naxos 27, in letters of a tolerably early period</p> <p>Νυμφέων Samos 219 (fourth cent.)</p>	<p>Βαργυλιητῶν 252</p>

Especially noteworthy are the following forms: ἀδικιῶν Oropos 18<sub>19</sub>, on a document that retains -εων after a consonant; βοηγιῶν and λαμπαδαρχιῶν Teos, *Miltth.* XVI 292 (perhaps before 350 B.C.); Naxos 27 preserves -εων after ι (Μυχιέων). Cf. Ἀσίῳ and Ἐρμῖεω in Chios. Cf. § 289, 2.

The evidence of the inscriptions warrants the statement that the Ionic termination -εων after consonants was not attacked by the Attic -ῶν until the middle of the fourth century. After the fourth century -εων is practically dead.

#### 446.] Genitive Plural (Lyric Poets).

There are four sets of forms in the lyric poets<sup>1</sup> of which the first two are Ionic; (1) Ionic -έων, (2) -ῶν, (3) Homeric (Aeolic) -άων, (4) Doric -ᾶν. Between (1) and (2) there is no essential difference.

##### 1. Ionic -έων is invariably monosyllabic.

##### A. The Elegiac Poets.

Tyrtaios: ψυχέων 10<sub>14</sub>.

Theognis: πετρέων 176 (cf. v. l. πετρῶν), πολιητέων 219, μεριμνέων 343, 1153, Κυψελιδέων 894.

Solon: Μουσέων 13<sub>61</sub> (by conj.: the MSS. have -άων and -ῶν) also 26<sub>2</sub>, where Fick calls for the Attic -ῶν, as in Ἀθηνῶν 33<sub>6</sub><sup>2</sup>, and δεσποτῶν 36<sub>12</sub> (so Bergk). See under 2.

Mimnermos: μελεδωνέων 6<sub>1</sub>. See under 2.

Xenophanes: Ἑλλαδικέων 5<sub>1</sub>. See under 2.

##### B. -έων in the iambic poets and Anakreon.

Archil. Μουσέων 1<sub>2</sub>, τερπωλέων 22, Γυρέων 54<sub>2</sub>, θυρέων 127.

Hipponax: κριθέων 43<sub>2</sub>.

Ananios: μεσέων 5<sub>0</sub>.

Phoinix of Kolophon: κριθέων 1<sub>1</sub> (Schn.).

Herodas: βροντέων 7<sub>65</sub>, μνέων 2<sub>22</sub>, Μοιρέων 4<sub>20</sub>, Μουσέων 3<sub>71</sub>, πορνέων 2<sub>36</sub>, χιλέων 3<sub>4</sub>, ἀστροδιφέων 3<sub>64</sub>, and so δημοτέων 2<sub>30</sub> and ἡμερέων 3<sub>60</sub>.

Anakreon: σατινέων 21<sub>12</sub>, Μουσέων 94<sub>3</sub> (eleg.).

##### 2. Ionic -ῶν.

Mimnermos: 7<sub>3</sub> πολιτῶν, 6 μελεδωνῶν in Bergk, for which read μελεδωνέων or μελεδῶνων; cf. μελεδῶνες Od. τ 517.

Xenophanes: 5<sub>4</sub> αἰοιδῶν . . . Ἑλλαδικῶν, which may be read -έων.

Hipponax: Βακχῶν 91 (MSS.). Αἰνειῶν 42.

Theognis: Μουσῶν 769, 1056, κριθῶν 1249, θυελλῶν 1273, ἀνιῶν 344, ταχεῶν Ἀρπυιῶν 715, πολιτῶν 455, κακῶν μεριμνέων

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Renner in Curtius' *Stud.* I 201 ff.

<sup>2</sup> So also -ῶν for ὁμέων 11<sub>6</sub>, ἡμέων 13<sub>71</sub>.

343, 1153; cf. *v. l.* 176, 219, 343, 1153. Verses 455, 769, 1249, 1273 have been regarded as spurious.

Solon: In the elegies Σαλαμυναφετῶν 2<sub>4</sub>; Ἀθηνῶν 33<sub>6</sub> tetr., δεσποτῶν 36<sub>12</sub> trim. See Renner, *l. l.* p. 205.

In the later elegy -ῶν is found in Μουσῶν Dionys. Chalk. 4<sub>6</sub>, Σκοπαδῶν Kritias 5<sub>1</sub>. Hrd. 2<sub>22</sub> has Ἀττικῶν.

3. Aiolic -άων, in imitation of epic usage, only in the later elegists, never in iambic poets.

Theognis: μεριμνάων 766 and Μουσάων 250; περινισομενάων Phokyl. 11.

Xenoph.: 5<sub>4</sub> ἀοιδάων . . . Ἑλλαδικῶν (*sic*; Bergk writes ἀοιδοπόλων). In the MSS. we often find *v. l.* -άων, *e. g.* Solon 13<sub>51</sub>, Theog. 219. These forms, like those in -ᾶο, usually claim a fixed position in the verse (caesura, fifth foot, and verse close).

4. -ᾶν (Doric):

Tyrtaios: 15<sub>2</sub> πολιατᾶν *embat.*

#### 447.] Genitive Plural (Prose).

##### 1. Nouns.

A. The termination is -έων in all cases when the -η (or -ᾱ) of the nom. is preceded by a consonant or by *iota* (except in Hippokrates after ι)<sup>1</sup>. Examples from Hdt. are τιμέων, ἡμερέων, ἰστιάων, οἰκιάων, θυσιέων, νεηνιέων, ῥοιέων, ἐλαιέων, ποιέων: Hekat. 140 Περσέων: Demokritos συμφορέων, ἀσυμφορέων *Mor.* 8, ψυχέων 20: Protagoras νεηνιέων: Charon Βισαλτέων: Hippokrates<sup>2</sup> ἀρχέων, κριθέων, ὥρέων<sup>3</sup>, δημοτέων, δεσποτέων: Philip of Pergamum νησιωτέων (*B. C. H.* II 273): *Vita Homeri* βουλευτέων 12, 13, ναυτέων 17, 18, πολιητέων 36, and so in other pseudo-Ionic treatises.

After ι, Hippokrates has -ῶν: ῥοιῶν, ἐλαιῶν, ἡλικιῶν, ὠφελειῶν, θεραπειῶν.

In some cases the Attic form has crept into the MSS. In Hdt. I 160 κριθῶν occurs in all MSS., in II 36 κριθῶν (σικῶν I 193) in R d, and in Hekat. 123. In I 147 Ἀθηνῶν is the only form in all MSS. and as *v. l.* in many other passages (Bredow, p. 217). Hekat. has ἐκβολῶν 203, ἡμερῶν 303.

B. When the η of the nom. is preceded by ε, -έων is contracted to -ῶν.

ἀδελφεῶν is correctly read by Stein in Hdt. III 31, V 80, though in the summary of the Herodoteian dialect prefixed to his school edition (p. liv) the same scholar suggests ἀδελφεέων,

<sup>1</sup> Kirchhoff thinks that -εων after ι was contracted. Western Ionic (Oropian) ἀδικιῶν does not necessarily exclude -ιέων from the Ionic of Asia Minor.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. J. F. Lobbeck in *Philologus*, 1853, p. 21 ff. Hippokrates has a few cases of -εων in certain MSS.; cf. -εοις in the Herodoteian tradition.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Greg. Kor. § 4.



doubtless on the analogy of γενεῶν II 142, VI 98 (in all MSS.). This uncouth form Stein defends on the ground that it is necessary to distinguish it from the neuter γενέων. The MSS. have Μαλεῶν I 82 (Stein Μαλεέων, Holder Μαλέων). Hippokrates has ἰδεῶν.

## 2. Adjectives and Participles.

A. Oxytone adj. in -η, and those adj. and participles whose nom. ends in -ᾶ, end in -έων, except when ᾶ is preceded by ε, or by ι in Hippokrates.

In Hdt. ὑψηλέων, Μηδικέων, λοιπέων, πολλέων, ὀπτέων, μελαιnéων, πασέων: ἰουσέων, ἔχουσέων, φρονεουσέων, συμπλευσασέων, διαφθαρεισέων, λεχθεισέων, προδουσέων. Attic forms appear occasionally in the MSS. of Hdt., e.g. λοιπῶν VIII 7, πολλῶν VI 68, θερινῶν II 19.

In Hippokrates μικρέων, χειμερινέων: μελαιnéων, πασέων: ἔχουσέων, ἰουσέων, θερμαρθεισέων, παρελθουσέων<sup>1</sup>. But after ι, Hippokr. has δεξιῶν, πλατειῶν, ὀξειῶν.

Hdt. II 66 has θηλεῶν in A B P, while Stein and Holder read θηλέων.

B. Feminine of barytone adjectives, participles in -ος, -η, -ον, and pronouns.

In the MSS. of Herodotos, the fem. genitive agrees with that of the masc. in having -ων, borrowed from the second declension, in the following cases:—

(1) ἄλλων I 133, VII 191, IX 115; ἀμφοτέρων II 17; ἐτέρων II 137, and so Hippokr.; ὀλίγων VIII 16, IX 45; ὑμετέρων IV 114; σφετέρων VI 15, VII 118, IX 106.

In other passages we find -έων, e.g. ἐσχατέων VIII 47, ἀλληλέων IV 113, VI 12, 111, ἀλλέων IV 182, 183, 184, ὀκοσέων V 50 in all or almost all MSS. (i.e. except R q), cf. ἀλλέων and ἄλλων I 94, IV 184. Hdt. VI 46 has μεγαλέων (P R) where Hippokr. has -ων, as ἀλλήλων (cf. ε 71), ἄκρων, ἐτέρων, and in other adjectives (numeral and pronominal).

Even after ι -έων appears: Αἰγυπτιέων II 55, IV 181, ἐσχατιέων III 115, κουριδιέων VI 138 (-ίων P R), ἐτησιέων VI 140, VII 168 (-ίων d), ἀντιέων VII 10 a), δημοσιέων VI 57, ἐπιχωριέων V 88, τετρακοσιέων VII 190, διηκοσιέων καὶ χιλιέων VII 184, διηκοσίων καὶ ἑξακισχιλιέων καὶ δισμυριέων I 32. In VI 92 the MSS. have Σικυνωίων, which Stein changes to -ιέων. Diogen. of Apoll. has εὐδιέων. Hippokrates has -ων, e.g. γυναικείων, ἀναγκαίων.

When the η of the nom. was preceded by ε, -εέων in the

<sup>1</sup> Lobeck states that the MSS. of Hippokrates are not so consistent as those of Hdt. in the gen. of participles in -σᾶ. The adjectival forms often have -ῶν as r. l.

genitive becomes -έων, e.g. χρυσέων III 130, Ἡρακλέων II 33 (R d, -είων A B).

(2) φυλασσομένων I 123; εἰλευμένων II 76; συγκατημένων III 69; οἰκεομένων III 107; οἰκημένων I 151; τετμημένων IV 136; γενομένων VII 235, II 137 (or τασσομένων); εἰρημένων VIII 49. Hippokrates has -ων throughout.

The form in -μενέων is not found without the variant -ων:—ἀρπαζομενέων I 4 (-ων R b d); μαχομενέων in P II 76, the same chapter that has εἰλευμένων in all MSS.; ἀνατριβομενέων III 113 (-ων A B); πειθομενέων V 18 in A B P (-ων v s); ἀλίσκομενέων V 124 (-ων P r); προκειμενέων (VII 16 a) in A B d, and a few lines below where A B have -έων, but d -ων. ἐπικειμενέων VII 185 in P d.

It is a moot point whether in the case of the Herodoteian forms enumerated under 447, 2 B, the Attic rule, which holds in Hippokrates, is to be adopted, or whether -έων is to be read throughout. Kühner and Kirchhoff are in favour of -ων, while Bredow, Stein, Holder, G. Meyer hold that these forms possessed the special feminine ending. The MSS., except (strangely enough) in those adjectives in which an ι precedes the termination, tend rather to the view that -ων, not -έων, is the correct ending. The epigram from Naxos, No. 23 Φούρη Δεινοδίκη τοῦ Ναξίου, ἔξοχος ἀλλήων (where Ε denotes the open quality of the ε sound) does not settle the dispute; since ἀλλων, as Blass remarks, would not have been sufficiently precise. The recent discovery of an authoritative inscriptional form would seem to definitively settle the question, at least so far as the participial forms are concerned. In an inscription from Teos (Mitth. XVI 292, l. 18), dating perhaps before the middle of the fourth century, we read .... λισμενέων. Perhaps the -εων form was only employed in adjectives and pronouns when it was necessary to distinguish the genders.

### (3) Pronouns.

αὕτη forms its genitive in -έων in Hdt. and Hippokr. The MSS. of Hdt. not infrequently have αὐτῶν (Bredow, p. 222). Stein brackets αὐτῶν in III 111.

αὕτη has τουτέων, which occurs in a large number of passages in Hdt. without any variant τούτων. The -εων form also occurs in the MSS. of Hippokrates; ἐκείνη has ἐκεινέων Hdt. IV 111 Stein (-ων R); τοιαύτη has τοιουτέων VII 16 a), and so in Hippokrates; τοσαύτη has τοσουτέων VII 187.

The forms in -εων from αὕτη, τοιαύτη, and τοσαύτη are suspicious, as Ionic, unlike Doric, did not carry into the feminine genitive the diphthong αυ of the other cases. Other pronominal forms, such as τουτέων, contain a parasitic ε inserted under the influence of hyper-Ionic theories, § 562.

## 448.]

On the genitive plural of nouns in *-αρχης* varying with *-αρχος*, see Bredow, p. 232. In Hdt. VII 99 Stein reads *ταξιαρχέων*, but in IX 53 *ταξιαρχων*, cf. *ταξιαρχοι* VIII 67. In Attic inscriptions the ending is always *-αρχος*, except in *μερόρχαι* C. I. A. II 580, 3, 7 (324 B. C.).

*εἰλώτων* Hdt. IX 10 is from *εἰλως* [cf. VI 81, VIII 25], but *εἰλωτέων* VI 58, 75, 80, &c. is from *εἰλώτης*.

## 449.] Dative Plural.

The terminations occurring in the texts of Ionic writers are *-ησι*, *-ης*, *-αισι* and *-αις*, of which the first and last forms are more frequent than *-ης* or *-αισι*, which do not occur in the inscriptions; *-ησι* is found upon one inscription.

*-ησι* is called Ionic by the grammarians: Joh. Gr. 240, 241, 241 B, Greg. Kor. § 5, Moerm. 649, 654, Vat. 656, Birnb. 677<sup>m</sup>, Et. M. 25<sup>20</sup>, 166<sup>12</sup>, Et. Gud. 249<sup>42</sup>, 332<sup>20</sup>, An. Par. III 312<sup>23</sup>, cf. An. Ox. I 219<sup>1</sup>; cf. also Hdn. I 298<sup>17</sup>, II 143<sup>14</sup>. *-ης* Et. Gud. 249<sup>42</sup>, Et. M. 166<sup>12</sup>. Tzet. Ex. II. 84, has *κοίλῃσι* (cf. 121<sup>5</sup>), and so An. Ox. I 219<sup>1</sup>. The ancients did not recognize the fact that in Homer the longer form occurs far more frequently than does *-ης*, or that *-ης* before a vowel is the same as *-ησι*.

450.] Dative Plural (Inscriptions)<sup>1</sup>.

The endings of the dative plural upon inscriptions are (1) *-ησι*, (2) *-αις*, (3) *-ησι*.

1. *-ησι*.

*σο[φ]ήσιων* Delos 53 (sixth century), Bechtel reading *-ησιων*; *βουλῆσιων* according to Roehl. See Roberts I, p. 63. *Νύμφησιων* Thasos 68 (fifth cent.); *ῥήσιων* Teos 156 B 36 (Ol. 76-77); *ἡμέρη[ι]σιων* Chios 174 B 5 (fifth cent.); *Εἰάδησιων* Chios 174 C 20; *Ἐρυ[θρ]ῆσιων* Eryth. 199<sub>6</sub> (after 394 B. C.) the last example upon Ionic territory.

*-ησιων* occurs therefore on the mainland of Asia Minor, in the adjacent islands and in Thasos. There is no example in Bechtel's collection of a dative plural in *-ησιων* in Euboian Ionic, where *-οισι* however occurs, see below, § 473. Whether *τῇσι* or *ταῖς* was the form in use in the language of the people is uncertain, as we have no instance free from suspicion. No. 263 with *ταῖς* before consonants and vowels is from Lykia, and contains a trace of the *Κουή*. It is possible that *ταῖς* may have been in normal use while *-ησι* was the sole form in nouns (cf. Aiolic *ταῖς δέραισιων*, Boiot. *τῶν Μωσάων*). *-ησι* held its ground with greater persistence than *-οισι*, as is clear from *ἐκγόροις* upon the same inscription which contains the last example of *-ησι*.

2. *-αις*.

All instances of *-αις* are due to Attic influence<sup>2</sup>. *ταύτ[α]ις*

<sup>1</sup> See Fritsch, *V. H. D.* p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> On the form *δπον* I. 23 adduced by Bechtel as a further testimony to the influence of Attic upon the dialect of Keos, see § 342.

Keos 43<sub>27</sub>, last quarter of the fifth century; *εὐεργέταις* Eph. 147<sub>11</sub> (300 B. C.); *δωρε]αῖς* 147<sub>19</sub>; *δημοσίαις* and *ιδίαις δίκαις* Teos 158<sub>19</sub> with almost no Ionic whatsoever; *ἡμέραις* Eryth. 204<sub>8</sub> (345-44 B. C.); *Κολωναῖς* Eryth. 206 A 47, *Σαβηρίδαις* 206 B 54 (after 278 B. C.); *γέαις* C. I. G. 2693 F 9 as read by Le Bas 414.

-*ais* occurs on the Asiatic mainland and adjacent islands. There is no example in Bechtel's collection of a dative plural in -*ais* in Euboian Ionic.

In No. 5, which contains *φοικέων*, we find also *θεαῖς πάσαις*, which is probably of Doric colouring. On the mixed dialect of Himera, see Thuk. VI 5. The speech of Rhegion was doubtless likewise half Ionic, half Doric. Cf. Fick, *Odyssee*, p. 10. It may be noticed that Homer uses the dative in -*ais* in but three words: *ἀκτῇ* M 284, *θεῷ* ε 119, and *πάσαι* χ 471. Theog. 240 also uses *πάσαις*.

3. Upon the fragment of a marble patera from Kyzikos, now at Oxford, is inscribed ΔΕΞΓΟΝΗΣΙΝ (Rob. I 148, not in Bechtel's collection). We have here an -*ησι* which occurs upon Attic inscriptions (*ἄλλησι*, *δραχμῇσι*), but thus far nowhere, except in the present instance, upon inscriptions outside of Attika. Without further examples of the occurrence of -*ησι*, it is best to arrest judgment in pronouncing upon its Ionic character. There is, however, no reason why the form should not be Ionic, though but little weight should be attached to the statement of the grammarians in reference to its appearance in Ionic (§ 449), or to the numerous MS. forms without the *iota*.

#### 451.] Dative Plural (Lyric Poets).

The MSS. of the lyric poets have preserved two sets of terminations, -*ησι* and -*ης*, -*αισι* and -*αις*.

##### 1. -*ησι*.

-*ησι* and -*ησιν* before consonants, -*ησιν* before vowels, are the usual forms from Archilochos to Theognis inclusive.

Archilochos: *χαλεπήσι* 84<sub>2</sub> epod., *ὀδύνησιν* ἔκῃτι 84<sub>2</sub>, *βακχίησιν* 83 (conj.).

Mimnermos: *αὐγῇσιν* 14<sub>11</sub> (cf. 2<sub>2</sub>) *νυκτὶ αὐγαῖσιν*.

Theognis: *πλευρήσι* 55, A O -*αῖσι*, *ἀμηχανήσι* 619, *σφήσι* 712, *βήσσησι* 881, *ἰαχῇσι* 779 conj.; *θαλήσι* 983, O -*αισι*, *εἰλαπίνησι* 239, *ἁμαρτωλήσι* 325, *σῇσιν* 1234, *παιδοφίλησιν* 1357, *κακοκερδείησιν* 225, *φυλακῇσιν* 439, *πολυϊδρεῖησιν* 703, *ξανθῇσιν* 828 with *κόμαις* in the same line.

Xenophanes: *χαίτησιν* 3.

Solon: *προχοῇσι* 28 (*Ἰα L προχοαῖσι*), *ἀργαλέησι* 13<sub>27</sub><sup>1</sup> (-*αισι* Fick), *ἀφραδίησιν* 4<sub>8</sub> (-*αισιν* Fick).

Tyrtaios: *κονίησιν* 11<sub>19</sub>.

<sup>1</sup> *ει* in forms from -*λέες* remains uncontracted in the lyric poets; cf. § 263.



Simonides Amorg. : κοπρήσιw 7<sub>6</sub>, ναύτησιw 7<sub>38</sub>, ἐνιπῆσιw 7<sub>44</sub>, πάσησι 7<sub>89</sub>.

Hipponax : κράδησι 4<sub>1</sub>, 5<sub>2</sub>, σκῶλῃσιw 5<sub>2</sub>, ἀσκέρησι-δασείησιw 19.

Herodas : τῇσι 5<sub>83</sub>, 3<sub>20</sub> (in conjunction with φύσης), καλῆσιw 7<sub>115</sub> (in conjunction with τῆς), αὐτῇσιw 7<sub>2</sub>.

Anakreon : δύνῃσι 1<sub>5</sub>, χορδῆσιw 18<sub>2</sub> (conj.), πλευρῆσι 21<sub>5</sub>, θύρῃσι διξῆσιw 88.

## 2. -ης.

-ης before vowels is the usual form from Archilochos to Theognis.

Archilochos : θαλῆς τέρψεται 9<sub>2</sub> (θαλῆς or θαλῆ conj.) : ὀδύνῃς ἔχομεν Gaisford 9<sub>4</sub>, ῆς τὸ πρὶν 9<sub>43</sub> (Fick omits τὸ: the MSS. have ῆς).

Mimnermos : αὐγῆς αὐξεται 2<sub>2</sub>, where αὐγῆς is Schneidewin's conj.; cf. 14<sub>11</sub>.

Theognis : κορυφῆς ὑπο 879 (*libri* κορυφῆς), μαργουσύνῃς ἀπὸ 1271 Bekker, θολῆς δέ 239 in *A*, -ης *O*, *reliqui* θολῆς (*Sitzler* -αις), ῥαδιωνῆς χερσίν 6, see § 4.

Xenophanes : ῥοῆς ἐν 2<sub>3</sub> by conj. of Stephanus.

Anakreon : ὕλης κεροέσσης Bergk 51<sub>2</sub> (ὕλη?).

Solon : πλευρῆς καί 24<sub>4</sub>, though Plutarch has πλευρῆ and Theog. 722 πλευραῖς (Fick πλευρᾶ), τῆς ἀδικ' 4<sub>22</sub>.

Herodas : τῆς 7<sub>115</sub> (in conjunction with καλῆσιw), τῆς νεωτέρῃς ὑμῶν 1<sub>13</sub>, φύσης 3<sub>20</sub> (in conjunction with τῇσι).

## 3. -αيسي(ν).

Theognis : κριθαῖσι 1269, ἀμαρτωλαῖσιw ἐπὶ σμικραῖσι 1281. *AO* have πλευραῖσι 55.

Mimnermos : 14<sub>11</sub> αὐγαῖσιw accord. to Stobaios. Bergk reads αὐγῆσιw.

Solon : πολλαῖσιw 37<sub>6</sub> (Fick -ῆσιw). In 28 *Fa L* have προχοαῖσι.

Anakreon : χορδαῖσιw 18<sub>2</sub>.

Herodas : ταῖσι 3<sub>63</sub>, 6<sub>31</sub> though in a number of instances ταῖς is the form adopted by this writer.

## 4. -αις.

Whenever -αις occurs before a vowel in the middle of a pentameter the case is almost similar to that before a consonant, since elision is rarely permitted in this part of dactylic verse. -αις occurs also at the close of a pentameter, more rarely at the end of the hexameter. In Homer we have ἀκταῖς *M* 284, πάσαις *χ* 471, at the close of the hexameter. When the word in question is found at the end of the verse this is denoted by a |.

Archilochos : ἀγκάλαις | 23 trim., and so in the parody *Frogs* 704. Renner reads ἀγκάλῃς, Fick ἀγκάσιw.

Tyrtaios : αὐγαῖς ἠελίοιο 11<sub>6</sub> with v. l. αὐγαῖσιw, φίλαις ἐν 10<sub>25</sub>;



Ἡρακλείδαις τήνδε 2<sub>2</sub>, εὐθείαις ῥήτραις ἀνταμειβομένους 4<sub>8</sub>, where Diodoros has εὐθείην ῥήτρας.

Theognis: θοίναις? 239, πλευραῖς καί 722, πάσαις πολλῶν 240, πολυφροσύναις | 712, κόμαις πορφυρέους 828 with ξανθῆσιν in the same line; θοαῖς | 12 (θοῆς in A), ῥαδιναῖς χερσὶ 1002, Athen. ῥαδινηῆς, δειλαῖς φρεσὶ 161, Ἀσκληπιάδαις τοῦτο 432, μεγάλαις κεῖται ἀμηχαναῖς | 632, ἄταις | 631, βουλαῖς δ' 640, εἰλαπίναις φορέοντας 827, σῆσιν ἀτασθαλίαις | 1234. -αις occurs in Theognis only in the middle and close of the pentameter (except in 161, 631). In the later portions of Theognis, Sitzler adopts -αις before vowels. For ῥαδινηῆς 6 as Bergk reads, some MSS. have -ησι (Sitzler -αις); -ης is correct.

Simon. Amorg.: Νύμφαις τῷ τε 20, read by Ahrens and Fick Νύμφησ' ἡδέ (Hippokr. used ἡδέ).

Herodas: ταῖς λαύραις | 1<sub>13</sub>, μετρηταῖς (?) | 1<sub>74</sub>, ταῖς νέαις 1<sub>75</sub>, ταῖς ἀωνύμοις ταύταις | 6<sub>14</sub>, ταῖς γυναιξίν 7<sub>4</sub>, ἀγκάλαις ἄραις (?) 5<sub>11</sub>, ταῖςδε 4<sub>83</sub>.

Solon: κούφαις ἐλπίσι 13<sub>36</sub> (Fick -ῆσ'), κακαῖς νόουσι 13<sub>61</sub> (Fick κακῶς). This case of -αις is in the hexameter, cf. Theog. 161, 631; ἀργαλείαις τε 13<sub>61</sub>, φίλαις 4<sub>22</sub> a former conj. of Bergk.

Anakreon: κούφαις | 24, ἀήταις | 25, μίτραις | 65, μελαίναις ἀναμεμίζονται 77.

-αις becomes much more frequent in the later elegy, e.g. Plato 7<sub>1</sub>, Krates 1<sub>11</sub>. -ησιν is found in Plato 12<sub>3</sub>, -αισι in Ion 2<sub>1</sub>, Melanthios 1<sub>1</sub>, Euenos 2<sub>1</sub>, Plato 31<sub>1</sub>.

From the evidence presented above, it is clear that Ionic poetry possessed a form devoid of the final *iota*. Nevertheless this fact has been assailed by most scholars, of whom some have objected to -αις, others to -ης. The former form was attacked by Ahrens<sup>1</sup>, who maintained that whenever anteconsonantal -αις and -οις occurred in the fragments of the iambic and choliambic poets, and in the trochaics of Archilochos, the reading is always suspicious, and that the same forms in Anakreon are due to the influence of his Aiolic models, who admitted the shorter forms, especially at the end of the verse. Equally positive in his objection to the original Ionic character of -αις and -οις is Fick<sup>2</sup>, who holds that in the poets of Ionic birth who flourished before the downfall of Ionia (which ensued about 540 B. C.), -ηισι and -οισι are the only legitimate Ionic forms. Fick furthermore maintains that after the period thus delimited, -αις and -οις became a part of the linguistic material of the later elegists (Xenophanes, Theognis), and of Ananios, following herein the example of Tyrtaios who had admitted them by a concession to

<sup>1</sup> *Mischung der Dialekte*, p. 60 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *B. B.* IX 207, XI 255.

the dialect of his adopted fatherland. This argument is especially weak as regards the iambographer Ananios, whose character is quite distinct from that of Tyrtaios. Renner<sup>1</sup> on the other hand claims that for *-ais* we should substitute *-ης*, a procedure whose correctness as regards Anakreon was defended by Schneidewin. Fritsch<sup>2</sup>, who protests against the Ionic character of *-ης* before consonants<sup>3</sup>, follows Fick in rejecting as non-Ionic all cases of *-ais* and *-ois* in the early lyrists of Ionic birth. Wilamowitz<sup>4</sup> also rejects the latter forms in Archilochos. Sitzler<sup>5</sup> proposes to adopt *-ais* wherever the dative ending occurs in the caesura, and at the verse close, also before consonants, whereas *-ης* should be read before a vowel. With Diels<sup>6</sup> *-ois* is to be accepted (1) when a vowel follows, (2) at the verse end, or in the middle of the pentameter, (3) in the case of the article and relative, (4) in combination with several other datives.

While it is obvious that all the cases of antevocalic *-ης*, *-ais* (and *-ois*, § 474), with the possible exception of those forms that occur in the middle of a pentameter, may and should be read with elision, the existence of the shorter forms has been unjustly assailed. We may admit that the longer form has been displaced in the works of the older Ionic school in many passages which yield to a mild treatment. But the total expulsion of the shorter forms is attained only by recourse to the most drastic remedies, notably when the peccant form closes the verse. And in many cases no remedy whatever can be discovered, not even that of transposition.

If the shorter forms are a fixture in Homer<sup>7</sup>, despite the efforts of Nauck and Fick to dislodge them, their occurrence in the lyric poets, howsoever rare they be, need not cause us surprise. More delicate is the question whether we shall read *-ais* or *-ης*, or whether both forms are possible. The former form is an analogue of *-ois*; for the latter, which is not found in prose either inscriptional or literary (but cf. § 452), a satisfactory explanation, it must be confessed, is at present wanting. G. Meyer's attempt (*Gramm.* § 380) may be dismissed as too artificial. Brugmann (*Grundr.* II § 358) sees in *-ης* a locative formed from a more original *\*-ās*, *-ης*. Brugmann conjectures that in the Homeric period *-ης* may have been pronounced without the later *ι*<sup>8</sup>. So long however as

<sup>1</sup> Curtius' *Stud.* I 1, 208 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *V. H. D.* 35.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Cauer's *Ilias* praef. xxxvi.

<sup>4</sup> *Hom. Unters.* 317.

<sup>5</sup> *Jahrb.* vol. 125, p. 509.

<sup>6</sup> *Ἀθην. παλ.* p. 38.

<sup>7</sup> The *Iliad* has 1564 datives with the longer forms, 251 with the shorter (212 before vowels, 39 before consonants, or at the end of the verse). In the *Odyssey* 1297 long, 225 short (150 + 75), according to Nauck's count.

<sup>8</sup> This form occurs in the MSS. of Archil. 943, where it is doubtless an error of the scribe. Osthoff *M. U.* II 76 thinks that *-ης* was formed from *-ηαι* under the influence of *-ois*.

it occurs before consonants in Homer and in later poetry it is idle to dispute its existence merely because it has not been acceptably explained. It is therefore proper to retain it and *-αις* in the few passages where they are called for by the metre. *-αις* and *-οις* are instrumentals which were but sparingly employed, outside of Doric, in the earlier period of the language. It was not until the fifth century in Attika and later in other quarters of Greece that they became powerful enough to dislodge the old locatives *-ησι*, *-ᾱσι* (*-ηισι*, *-ᾱισι*) which had officiated as datives. *-ᾱισι* is non-Ionic. The forms in Theognis, as those in early Attic poetry, might be regarded as *-ᾱισι*. It is however more probable that *-ᾱισι* is intended. *δίκᾱισι* is an analogue of *λόγοισι*.

#### 452.] Dative Plural (Prose).

Of the forms found in the MSS. of Ionic prose writers, *-ησι* is by far the most frequent. *-αισι* is very rare. *-αις* has often crept in from Attic. In Hdt. we have *-ησι*. In VIII 15 the Romanus has *τὰς αὐτὰς ἡμέρας* where all the other MSS. have *ταῖς αὐταῖς ἡμέραις*. Bredow's *τῇσι αὐτῇσι ἡμέρησι* is therefore unnecessary. In III 40 *-ησι* must be substituted for the *-αισι* of most MSS. *ταῖς* is found in the Romanus III 110. Hippokrates has *-ησι*, e.g. II 44 *φλεγματίησιν*, *αὐτέησιν* (with hyper-Ionic *ε*), *τῇσιν* II 306, III 196. In Demokritos as handed down by Stobaios we find *-ησι* in fragments 41, 46, 211 (167 Demokrates). In other cases, except *ἀνάγκαισιν* 126, the MSS. have *-αις* which Mullach changed to *-ησι*. *-ησι* occurs in Herakleitos, in Hekat. 172, Pherekydes of Leros (frag. 44 is the only case); Protagoras has *τῇσι πάσησιν ἡμέρησιν*. The form of the article in the MSS. of the Ionic prosaists is often *ταῖς*. Thus in Demokritos there is scarcely an exception to the shorter form. We find *ταῖσι* in frag. 44 (containing *ἀνάγκαις*); Mullach *τῇσι*. In Aiolic, which usually has *-αισι*, *ταῖς* is the regular form. In all the passages where *-αισι*, *-αις* occur, and the dative is required, the Ionic forms should be edited.

Pseudo-Ionists: *-ησι* is used throughout by Lukian in the *des Syria* and the *Astr.*; and this form is found more frequently in Arrian than *-αις* or *-αισι*. Abydenos has *-ησι* six times, Eusebios Myndios *-αις* 14 times, *-αισι* once. The supposititious Ionic letters of Hippokrates, and Aretaios follow Herodoteian usage. Aretaios 68 has *πολλῆς*, ep. Hippokr. 17<sub>25</sub> *ἐπιθυμίης* (?), the only instances of this form. The *Vita Homeri* has *-αις* throughout.

#### 453.] On the retention of the long forms.

Both in inscriptions and prose literature, to so late a period as the fifth century, the Ionic dialect retained a termination whose

use in all other dialects, except Aiolic, was either curtailed or completely abandoned. In the Doric dialect *-ais* is in entire possession; and in the case of Aiolic a special cause was at work, which drew in its train the retention of the fuller form in the declension of nouns. In the Attic stone records, *-ησι* (after consonants) held its ground sporadically till the middle of the fifth century and perhaps till 424 B. C.; *-αισι* (after vowels) is attested in documents of 439 B. C. and 424 B. C., upon which however the locative *-ησι* already appears. This *-ησι* (*-ᾱσι*) was retained till 420 B. C., when *-ais* was universally adopted<sup>1</sup>; a change whose suddenness has elicited much speculation in connection with the history of early Attic prose. That the Athenians recognized the antique flavour of the fuller forms is clear from their treatment at the hands of comedy. But even Aischylos does not reject the *-s* forms.

#### 454.] Accusative Plural.

The form is invariably *-ās*, which was substituted for *-āns* subsequently to the change of *ā* to *η* in Ionic-Attic, cf. § 161. Tyrtaios has the Doric *-ās* occasionally (45, 71), as Hesiod in *W. D.* 564, *Theog.* 184. In Chios 174 C 12 we find τὰς γέας καὶ τὰς οἰκί(ε)α[s], the form γέας having, as Bechtel assumes, caused the stone cutter to perpetrate a blunder in the following accusative; cf. οἰκίας Paros 58<sup>2</sup>. The accusative plural of γῆ in Ionic is always γέας. See § 421.

In Herodotos *-eās* is the accusative of nouns and adjectives, whose nominative is ordinarily stated to be *-ει*, e. g. (§ 282) χρυσέας, ἀργυρέας, κυνέας, αἰγέας, παρδαλέας, ἀμφιδέας<sup>3</sup>, μιέας (cf. § 421), ἀλωπεκέας, λεοντέας, πορφυρέας Ion 1. In Hdt. II 67, where *C* has μυγάλας and *Δ* μυγαλὰς, Stein reads μυγαλᾶς, doubtless with reference to the statement of Anaxandrides (*apud* Athen. VII 300 A): δύναται παρ' ἡμῖν μυγαλῇ, παρ' ἐμοὶ δέ γ' οὐ. Bredow adopted μυγαλέας; cf. Nikand. *Ther.* 816 μυγαλέην. In III 28 we find διπλάς, cf. διπλῇ § 424.

The accus. pl. of ἀκινάκης, whose accus. sing. is ἀκινάκεα and ἀκινάκην (both forms are amply attested), occurs IX 80; III 128, VII 67, where the MSS. vary between ἀκινάκας and ἀκινάκεας. The former form is to be adopted. The accus. of δεσπότης is *-τας*, not *-τεας*, despite *z* in I 111, 112. Nor are the forms διφθερέας I 194, ἐξηγητέας I 78, ὀργυιέας IV 86 to be adopted.

<sup>1</sup> *-ησι* (*-ᾱσι*) was retained in adverbs of place.

<sup>2</sup> Haussoullier thinks *-eas* in οἰκί(ε)ας was caused by influence of the gen. *-ων*. But we have no other examples of such an influence of the gen. upon the accus. plural.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Greg. Kor § 123 ἀφιδέας, (cf. § 336). With this open ἀμφιδέαι, cf. ἀμφιδᾶι B. C. H. 1890, p. 403, 412, ἀμφιδῆ 404 (Delian register of 179 B. C.). Aristoph. 320, 11 (Kock) has ἀμφιδέας.

*οὐδαμέας* is supported in IV 114 by *A B C d*, but is nevertheless to be rejected. *Ἐνάρεας* I 105 is correct, cf. *Ἐνάρεες* IV 67.

### O Declension.

#### 455.] Terminations of Ionic prose :

<i>ος, ον</i>	<i>οι, ᾶ</i>
<i>ου</i> (never <i>εω</i> )	<i>ων</i>
<i>ωι</i>	<i>οισι(ν), οισ</i>
<i>ον</i>	<i>ους, ᾶ</i>
<i>ε, ος</i>	

Dual forms are wanting in New Ionic, cf. § 412. In the following sections attention is chiefly directed to those nominal and adjectival forms which have *ε* or *ο* before *-ος, -ον, &c.* Cf. the sections dealing with the contact of vowels. Renner's suggestion to admit the open forms (masc. and fem.) in the case of the poets of Ionic lineage, and to regard the open and the contracted forms as the property of the elegists not Ionic born, cannot be carried through.

On the forms of the so-called Attic declension, see § 477. As regards gender it may be noted that Hipponax has *ἡ ἄσβολος*, Herodotos *ἡ σαῦρος*.

#### 456.] Nominative Singular (Inscriptions).

The nominative singular of nouns which have *ε* or *ο* before the thematic *ο* contract this *ε* or *ο* in the following forms: *Καλλίνους* Thasos (L.) 71, *Ἀσύνους* Eryth. 206 C 9, *Πολύθρους* Thasos 75 B 11.

#### 457.] Nominative Singular (Lyric Poets).

*νόος* occurs frequently in Theognis, e.g. 88, Solon 27<sub>11</sub>, and Simonides of Keos (?) 85<sub>11</sub>. But *νοῦς* is attested in Theog. 1185, as in Homer κ 240, and Simon. Amorg. 1, has *νόος* (cf. *νόον* 71). *γηραλέος* is found in Xenoph. 1<sub>18</sub>.

#### 458.] Nominative Singular (Prose).

1. *-εος, -εον* are uncontracted, e.g. *ἀδελφιδέος* VIII 130; *θυγατριδέος* V 67.

2. *-οος* is uncontracted, e.g. *νόος* Herakl. 111, Anax. 5, 6, 7, 12 (Simplicius has however *νοῦς*), Hdt. IX 120, *ἐννοος* VII 173, &c., *οἰνοχόος* III 34, cf. Plato, *Phil.* 61 C.



## Hippokrates and the pseudo-Ionists:

πλόος Arrian 22, 38, &amp;c.

πλοῦς Aret. 301, &c., *Vita Hom.*  
19.ἀκρόπλοος Hippokr. ep. 18<sub>3</sub>,  
Aret. 63.εἰσπλοος Arrian.  
περίπλοος Arrian.

νόος Euseb. Mynd. 14, 19,

σύννοος Hippokr. ep. 15.

Hipp. ep. 12, 18<sub>2</sub>, 3.

ῥόος Aret. 163, 164, &amp;c.

εἴσροος Aret. 274.

εὔροος Aret. 210, Hippokr. II  
38.κατάρροος Hippokr. V 700 (Erm.  
-ous Littré).κατάρροος Hippokr. V 700 (Erm.)  
II 46 (Erm. and Lit.).

ἄπνοος Aret. 274.

δύσπνοος Aret. 32, Hippokr. II  
160, Lit. -oos.βραχύπνοος Hippokr. III 114,  
144.εὔπνοος Aret. 264, &c., Hippokr.  
III 126.

χροός Aret. 99.

λευκόχροος Aret. 163.

ἀπλόος Luk. Syr. 31.

ἀπλοῦς Aret. 162.

διπλόος Aret. 163.

χνοῦς Aret. 177.

## 459.] Genitive Singular (Inscriptions).

The genitive singular termination is -ον, never in a prose document -οιο, or -ω.

ΟΥ is usually expressed by Ο upon the early monuments. In the Naxian inscriptions: ΝαξιΟ ΦράξΟ Bechtel 23 = Rob. I 25, λίθΟ 25 = Rob. I 27, ΛοφιΟ Rob. I 29. In Paros 60 = Rob. I 15 ΤΩ ΠαριΩ is τοῦ Παρίου, ἈσφαλιΩ is Ἀσφαλίου. This is not Doric Παρίω as is clear from the word μήτηρ. Miletos 93 = Rob. I 133 has το ἀρχηγΟ, and cf. also 94 = Rob. I 134, 98 = Rob. I 138, Προκοννηςος 103 = Rob. I 42, Teos 156 = Rob. I 142 A, lines 5, 12, B 8, 25, 28, 32, Chios 174 = Rob. I 149 τΟΥ Α 1, cf. also A 2, 3, 5, D 15, 175 = Rob. I 150, Samos 210 = Rob. I 151, 214 = Rob. I 155, 215 = Rob. I 156, Halik. 238 = Rob. I 145<sub>6, 7, 11, 12, 14, 23, 35</sub>.

The later form is ΟΥ ('Ερριδα[Ο]υ] Olynthos 8 A<sub>1</sub>, between 389-383 B.C., cf. l. 2).

θεοῦ 220<sub>1</sub>, Samos. θεός is the Ionic form, θεά does not occur except in Herodas (410<sub>1</sub>, 11).

The nominatives with -ους (-oos) have -ου in the genitive, e.g. Πολύθρου Teos 158<sub>7</sub> (an almost entirely Attic inscription) Καλλίνου Th. (L.) 8<sub>4</sub>, Ἀριστόνου *ibid.* 17<sub>10</sub>.

The Homeric genitive in *-οιο* occurs on poetical monuments (Paros 59 *αἰγιόχοιο*, and *ἀραμένοιο* Latyshev II 37). Other metrical inscriptions have *-ου* (23, 25, 34, 60, 162, 261, 265).

#### 460.] Genitive Singular (Lyric Poets).

The usual termination is *-ου*. By imitation of Homeric usage or from the fact that the older Ionic actually possessed the form, *-οιο*<sup>1</sup> has been adopted by the *elegiac* poets as an archaism and is by them used to a great extent in the same place in the verse as it is employed in Homer. Cf. Renner in Curtius' *Studien* I A 206 ff. I have indicated by a small figure the position in the verse of the syllables *-οιο*. *-οιο* is rare in pentameter; Tyrt. 11, is the only example from the older elegy, Aischyl. 4, from the later, non-Ionic elegy.

Tyrtaios: *ἡελίοιο*<sup>6</sup> 11<sub>6</sub>, *Τιθωνοῖο*<sup>3</sup> 12<sub>8</sub>, *στέρνοιο*<sup>3</sup> 12<sub>28</sub>; *θανάτοιο*<sup>6</sup> 12<sub>35</sub>; *Κινυρέοιο* 12<sub>6</sub> has been corrected to *Κινύρεω*.

Archilochos: *Ἐνναλλοιο*<sup>6</sup> 1<sub>1</sub>, *πολυφλοίσβοιο*<sup>6</sup> 9<sub>8</sub>.

Mimnermos: *θανάτοιο*<sup>3</sup> 2<sub>7</sub>; *ποταμοῖο*<sup>6</sup> 9<sub>8</sub>, *πολέμοιο*<sup>6</sup> 14<sub>7</sub>, *ἡελίοιο* 11<sub>5</sub><sup>6</sup>, 14<sub>11</sub><sup>6</sup>.

Theognis: *θανάτοιο*<sup>3</sup> 707, *χαλεποῖο*<sup>3</sup> 103, *κιβδήλοιο*<sup>3</sup> 119 (the two latter passages contain also a gen. in *-ου*), *ἐλάφοιο*<sup>3</sup> 949; *ἡελίοιο* 569<sup>6</sup>, 1143<sup>6</sup>, 1183<sup>6</sup>, *οὔλομένοιο*<sup>6</sup> 527, *νόοιο*<sup>6</sup> 705, *Τηϋγέτοιο*<sup>6</sup> 879.

Solon: *ἡελίοιο*<sup>3</sup> 13<sub>23</sub>, *ἀτρυγέτοιο*<sup>6</sup> 13<sub>19</sub>.

Anakreon: *ὀχάνοιο* 91; cf. § 63.

Hipponax: hex. 85<sub>4</sub> *ἀτρυγέτοιο*<sup>6</sup>.

Of the elegists, Archilochos offers the sole exception to the rule that *-οιο* in the elegy is used in the third and the sixth foot.

In the iambographic poets we find but one example of *-οιο*: Archilochos, tetr. 77<sub>1</sub> (*ὦς Διωνύσοι ἀνακτος καλὸν ἐξάρξαι μέλος*), sic Bergk, *vulgo* *Διωνύσοιο*, *P V L Διονύσοιο*, cf. Iliad XI 35 and Dr. Leaf on the passage. The unique position of this *-οιο* and the doubt whether the final *ο* can be elided<sup>2</sup> caused Hermann to read *-ου*.

From stems in which *ο* precedes the final *ο* of the stem: *νόου*

<sup>1</sup> Epic *-οιο* has been placed under Aiolio. It is both Aiolic and Ionic. The grammarians often regard this ending as Ionic and Thessalian, e.g. Vat. 700, Et. M. 618<sub>37</sub>, Et. Gud. 420<sub>23</sub>, An. Ox. I 313<sub>28</sub>, II 404<sub>16</sub>; more frequently as Thessalian alone, cf. THESSALIAN, § 35. Sometimes *-οιο* is referred to Ionic alone, e.g. Tzetz. Ex. II. 96<sub>11</sub>. Greg. Kor. § 22 cites *Μερελάοιο* in the same breath with *θελοιο*.

<sup>2</sup> Lugebil in Fleckelsen's *Jahrb. Suppl.* XII 216, Fick in his *Odyssee*, p. 29, Platt in *Class. Rev.* II 99, rightly hold that elision may take place. That the Thessalian gen. in *-οι* is a locative (Ebel in *K. Z.* XIII 446, G. Meyer, *Gramm.* § 344; cf. Mahlow, *Die Vocale A E O*, p. 37, Stolz, *Lat. Gramm.* § 83) has not yet been proved. Cf. Wilamowitz *Hom. Unters.* p. 321.

Theog. 223, Archil. 56<sub>8</sub>, καλλιρόου Anakr. 28. From stems in εο-: ἀργαλέου Mimn. 2<sub>8</sub>, 4<sub>2</sub>, Tyr. 11<sub>8</sub>.

#### 461.] Genitive Singular (Prose).

Besides the regular forms in -ου we meet in the MSS. of Hdt. with -οιο and -εω, forms which are due to an erroneous conception of the nature of the Herodoteian dialect.

1. Epic -οιο in *R* in III 97 Καυκάσοιο. ἔρωτος ἀπρήκτοιο in Lukian, *d. S.* 22, is from some poetical source.

2. -εω, by transference from the *Ā* declension, in all MSS. Hdt. IV 147, 148 Μεμβλιάρεω, but -ον IV 147; as *v. l.* in VI 102 Πεισιστράτεω, VIII 122 Κροίσεω, V 32 Κλεομβρότεω, Βάττεω II 181, IV 159, 160, 162, 205. Τευτάμεω Herakl. 112 is from -ης (see Bywater, p. xii).

Stobaios has νοῦ in quoting Demokr. 13, and likewise Simplicius in Anaxag. 5. In Hdt. νόου VIII 97 occurs in all MSS. In VI 105, however, all the MSS. have εὔνου; and ἔσπλου is equally well attested in VI 33. περιρρόου I 174 without variant. Hdt. has ὀστέου IX 83. Upon Attic inscriptions we find θυηχόου C. I. A. III 244 (very late), but -χοῦ C. I. A. I 322 A 79, 95 (409 B. C.); χρυσοχόου is found in Demosthenes.

In Hippokrates and the later Ionists:—

πλόου Arrian 37, 38, 40.

πλοῦ Vita Hom. 18.

παραπλοῦ Arrian 19, 25.

διέκπλου Arrian 22.

νοῦ Aret. 79.

νόου Euseb. Mynd. 19, 34.

προνόου Euseb. Mynd. 16.

ρόου Aret. 164, 302, &c.

ρόῦ Aret. 210.

περιρρόου Hippokr. II 692.

καταρροῦ Hippokr. V 680.

χειμαρρόου Arr. 38.

λευκοχρόου Aret. 114.

#### 462.] Dative Singular<sup>1</sup> (Inscriptions).

1. -ωι is the regular form on all inscriptions, and is found everywhere, except in the few cases when -ω and -οι occur. ἰσώπω[ι] is to be read in Keos 43<sub>10</sub> and not -ω. χρυσῶι in Samos 220<sub>17</sub> (346-45) is a form contrary to the rule that adjectives of material are uncontracted in Ionic when ε is followed by an ο sound.

2. -ω. In Attic ι falls off from -ωι in the first century B. C. On Ionic soil -ω is very rare and late. Ἀσκληπιῶ 67 Paros (period of the empire), Ἀδριανῶ Σεβαστῶ Ὀλυμπίῳ 101 Miletos, ἀργυρέῳ 129 Olbia (period of the empire), χρυσῶ Latyschev I No. 22, I, No. 57 (κοινή contraction), but χρυσέῳ *l. l.* I, No. 67.

<sup>1</sup> Joh. Gr. 242 cites the Homeric ἀργυρέῳ, χρυσέῳ as Ionic.

3. -οι. The ending -ωι became -οι in (a) Chalkidian and (b) Eretrian Ionic about 400 B. C. No other section of the Ionic dialect has -οι (not a locative). Cf. the change of -ηι to -ει, § 239.

A. In Chalkidian colonies:

-οι	-ωι
π]ολέμοι Olynthos 8 A <sub>6</sub> (389–383 B. C.).	τῶι Olynthos 8 A 2. τῶι κοινῶι Olynthos 8 B 4. τῶι δήμωι Amphip. 10 <sub>1</sub> . τῶι unc. 13 <sub>3</sub> .

B. Eretria and colonies:

Ἄμαρυν(θ)οῖ Eretria 15 <sub>18</sub> <sup>1</sup> (410–390 B. C.).	τῶι Eretria 14.
τοῖ ἱεροῖ Eretria 15 <sub>19</sub> .	Κηναίωι Eretria 15 <sub>19</sub> .
ἐν τοῖ ἱεροῖ Oropos 18 <sub>8, 9, 18, 19, 30, 42</sub> .	-ωι in No. 16 throughout.
ἐαυτοῖ Oropos 18 <sub>28</sub> .	
πετεύροι Oropos 18 <sub>42</sub> .	
τοῖ βουλομένοι Oropos 18 <sub>43</sub> .	
τοῖ κοιμητηρίοι Oropos 18 <sub>43</sub> .	
τοῖ also 18 <sub>32, 45, 46</sub> .	

Cf. the locative -οι in Eleian, North-West Greek, Boiotian and Arkadian.

#### 463.] Dative Singular (Lyric Poets).

Tyrtaios 12<sub>28</sub> has ἀργαλέφ, but in Mimn. 11, we find the Homeric χρυσέφ (A 15) with synizesis; Theog. 1052 has νόφ, 1088 καλλιρόφ.

#### 464.] Dative Singular (Prose).

Nouns or adjectives with ε or ο before the stem vowel ο do not contract ε or ο with that vowel in the MSS., e.g. κανέφ Hdt. I 119, πορφυρέφ Ion I, νόφ Hdt. III 41, 51, VIII 19, as Herakl. 91, Demokr. 57. But in IV 125, I 27, II 181, VII 159 all or nearly all the MSS. have νῶι or νῶ, for which Stein reads νόφ.

χρυσοχόφ occurs on an Attic inscription II 652 B, 16 (398 B. C.), but in other words -οφ has become -φ.

In Hippokrates and the pseudo-Ionists:

<sup>1</sup> But this form may be a locative (cf. *Hermes* XXI 99), as ἱερῶι Thasos Rob. I 24. Cf. similar forms in treaties in Thukydides.

<sup>2</sup> No. 18 dates either from 411–403 B. C., or from the period between the Peace of Antalkidas and 377 B. C. ἐν τοῖ ἱεροῖ is scarcely a locative, as G. Meyer, *Gramm.* § 350 suggests.

πλόω Arrian 23, Hippokr. ep.

<sup>1734</sup>  
νόω Euseb. Mynd.

ρόω Luk. Syr. 8, περιρόω Hippokr., Aret.

νῶ Luk. Astr. 15.

περιρρῶ Hippokr. V 730.

χειμάρρω Arr. 24, 39.

διπλῶ Aret., τριπλῶ Abyd.

The hyper-Ionic αὔτέω appears in some MSS., Hdt. I 133, where Athenaios has αὐτῶ, cf. § 563.

#### 465.] Accusative Singular<sup>1</sup> (Inscriptions).

In the stems in -oo we have π[ρ]όχουν Naukr., Bechtel = 139 A, cf. Ω 304; ἐκπλουν and ἔσπλουν Eryth. 202<sub>7</sub>, Iasos, J. H. S. IX 341, 342.

In the adj. inflection ἀλοργοῦν Samos 220<sub>27, 30</sub>, εὔνουν Olbia C. I. G. 2059<sub>14</sub>, λινοῦν 220<sub>25, 27</sub>, but according to the rule Ionic χρύσειον 220<sub>18</sub>, as Zeleia 114 E, Olbia 129<sub>12</sub>, Aphrodisias 254 (Roman), also Latyshev I 50, 54, 57, 64 (*post Christum*).

#### 466.] Accusative Singular (Lyric Poets).

Theog. 1267 has νόον, but εὔνουν or ἐννουν 641 in all MSS. Wordsworth read εὔνοον since Theognis prefers a dactyl to a spondee in the fourth foot. The same poet has νοῦν 350, 898 (cf. Hesiod, frag. 222). Archil. has νόον 78<sub>4</sub> tetr., 89<sub>6</sub> epod. and so Sim. Amorg. 71 despite νόος 13; Solon 27<sub>13</sub> νοῦν. Herodas 2<sub>64</sub> has διπλόον, but in 2<sub>48</sub> διπλοῦν; νοῦν 1<sub>68</sub>, ἄνουν 3<sub>27</sub>. Mimn. has ῥόον 11<sub>4</sub>.

We find μυδάλεον in Archil. 182, ἀργαλέον in Mimn. 1<sub>10</sub>, 5<sub>6</sub>, Tyrtaios ῥιγαλέον 11<sub>17</sub>, Theog. ἀφνεόν 188, 559.

#### 467.] Accusative Singular (Prose).

Nouns and adjectives with ε or ο before the stem vowel ο do not usually suffer contraction with that vowel in the MSS. of Herodotos, e.g. πλόον II 175, νόον III 21, I 27, Demokr. 59, Herakl. 16, Pherek. 60, πρόνοον Hdt. III 36, διπλόον VI 104, ἀντίξοον VI 7, VII 49. χοῖν is contracted in all MSS. Hdt. I 185, II 150, VII 23 and φλοῦν III 98 (Attic φλέως)<sup>2</sup>. In III 22 where most MSS. have χρυσοῦν, R has χρυσόν, which is adopted by Stein. Holder adopts Schaefer's χρύσειον. φοινίκεον appears in IX 22. Attic has both φοινικοῦν and φοινικιοῦν.

In Hippokrates and the later Ionists the open forms prevail:—

<sup>1</sup> Greg. Kor. § 71 νόον, ῥόον.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Fritsch, V. H. D. 46.



πλόον Luk. *Syr.* 7, Arrian 23 and often, Hippokr. ep. 17<sub>40</sub>.

νόον Luk. *Syr.* 26, Abyd. 9, Hippokr. II 230, III 228, ep. 17<sub>34</sub>.  
εὔροον Aret. 248, &c.

δύσπνοον Hippokr. V 590.  
ἀπνοον Hippokr. III 68.  
εὔπνοον Hippokr. V 668, II 148, 348, 368, Aret. 202, &c.  
ἄχροον Hippokr. III 252.  
εὔχροον Aret. 266.  
δμόχροον Hippokr. V 674, II 156.

διπλόον Aret. 205, Hippokr. II 44, III 184.  
ἄθροον Hippokr. and Aret. often.  
πολύθροον Abyd. 5.  
ἀντίξοον Luk. *Astr.* 12.

πλοῦν Arr. 21, 33, *Vita Hom.* 17, 29.  
παράπλουν Arr. 32, 39.  
σύμπλουν *Vita Hom.* 17.

σύρρουν Arr. 43.  
χειμάρρουν Arr. 39.

ἄχρουν Aret. 144.

διπλοῦν Arr. 33.

ἀντίξουν Aret. 38.  
χοῦν Arr. 13.  
δικροῦν Hippokr. V 634.

#### 468.] Vocative Singular.

The vocative form proper occurs very frequently in Herodotos. Whereas the Athenians, according to Gregor. Korinth. p. 117, said ὦ φίλος, Hdt. has ὦ ξεῖνε, &c., in many passages.

#### 469.] Nominative Plural.

The nom. pl. has -οι or -ᾶ. Xenoph. 3, αἰχαλέοι, but γηράλαιοι occurs in Anakr. 43, (cf. ἀρπαλέα Mimn. 14). Hdt. has ἀθρόοι, σόοι (σόαι, σόων, σόα), κατάρροοι Hippokr. II 18, ἀπνοοι Aret. 105, βραδύπνοοι Aret. 122, δύσπνοοι Hippokr., εὔπνοοι Aret., χροοι Hippokr., Aret., ἀπλοῖ Aret., but εὔήκοι, ὀξυήκοι, λιθόξοι, σιελοχόοι Aret., ἐλαφρόοοι Phokyl. 9.

Hdt. contracts in διπλᾶ II 148, VIII 87, while Aretaios has εὔπνοα, εὔροα and δίκροα; Hippokrates varies between εὔχρω and εὔχροα. ἀπλᾶ is found in Aretaios, διπλᾶ, τριπλᾶ and ἀθρόα in Hippokr., ἀντίξοα in Luk. *Astr.* 2. Hdt. has I 94 ἐπίπλοα, but τὰ ἐπιπλά *furniture* from ἐπιπλος, cf. δίπλος Empedokl. 62, δίκρος Aischylos, fr. 47. ὀστέα Hdt. I 67, II 41, &c., Hippokr. III 534.

Hdt. has δεσμά VI 91 from δεσμός.

#### 470.] Genitive Plural (Inscriptions).

The only noteworthy case is χῶν < χῶν < χῶν Keos 43, (towards

the end of the fifth century), a genuine Ionic form, though the inscription contains one instance of Atticism.  $\chi\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$  originally belonged to this declension. The Argolic accus. was  $\chi\omega\upsilon$  Athen. 365 D. Hippokr. has  $\chi\omicron\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ ,  $\chi\omicron\epsilon\acute{\alpha}$  from  $\chi\omicron\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$ , but forms of the build of  $\chi\omicron\omicron\varsigma$   $\chi\omicron\tau$  do not occur in Ionic.

#### 471.] Genitive Plural (Lyric Poets).

$\delta\omicron\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$  Archil. 84<sub>3</sub> as *Trach.* 769, *Orest.* 404, *Acharnians* 1226 (lyr.) and Plato *Phaido* 98 C, D.

#### 472.] Genitive Plural (Prose).

The genitive plural in  $-\epsilon\omega\nu$ , which belongs exclusively to the  $\hat{A}$  declension, has been forced upon the masculine and neuter genitive of  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$  and  $\omicron\iota\tau\omicron\varsigma$ . These forms were created by the scribes inserting an  $\epsilon$  which they thought gave the proper dialectal colour<sup>1</sup>. These forms are not to be defended on any ground whatsoever; and have been rejected by Gaisford, Bredow, Stein, and others. Good MSS. give very frequently the proper forms, but even when the masculine and neuter  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$  and  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$  rest upon the authority of all the MSS. of Hdt., they are to be rejected<sup>2</sup>. In Hippokrates we find the same delusion attested by the MSS., but  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\nu$  and  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omega\nu$  have been restored by Ermerins. Oftentimes the cause of the false form seems to have been the presence of a correct  $-\epsilon\omega\nu$  in a neighbouring word, e. g.  $\sigma\phi\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$   $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$  Hdt. IX 96,  $\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$   $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$  IV 114<sup>3</sup>.

Apollonios (*de Pronomine* 123 A) says:  $\delta\upsilon$   $\tau\acute{\rho}\omicron\pi\omicron\nu$   $\tau\acute{o}$   $\nu\upsilon\mu\phi\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$   $\delta\iota\alpha\iota\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\tau\alpha\iota$ ,  $\tau\acute{o}\nu$   $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\nu$   $\tau\acute{\rho}\omicron\pi\omicron\nu$   $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\tau\acute{o}$   $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$ ,  $\delta\acute{\omicron}\pi\omicron\tau\epsilon$   $\theta\eta\lambda\upsilon\kappa\acute{o}\nu$   $\sigma\eta\mu\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\iota$ .  $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\xi\tau\iota$   $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\omega\nu$ . This cannot be strained to mean that Apollonios accepted a masculine and a neuter  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$  and  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$ .

Other instances of the adventitious  $\epsilon$  in Hdt. are:  $\Sigma\omicron\upsilon\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$  in all MSS. V 35,  $\Theta\epsilon\sigma\sigma\alpha\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$  found in the Aldine edition V 64,  $\gamma\lambda\omicron\upsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$  IV 9 in *Rv s*,  $\pi\upsilon\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$  II 36 in the Aldine edition, &c. Kallimachos went a step further in affixing the termination  $-\alpha\omega\nu$  to fem. names of the O declension ( $\iota\eta\sigma\acute{\alpha}\omega\nu$ ,  $\psi\eta\phi\acute{\alpha}\omega\nu$ ). Kirchhoff conjectures that the source of this error is to be found in pseudo-Hesiodic *Aspis* v. 7:  $\beta\lambda\epsilon\phi\acute{\alpha}\rho\omega\nu$   $\tau'$   $\alpha\pi\acute{o}$   $\kappa\upsilon\alpha\nu\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\omega\nu$ .

In the genitive plural of nouns and adjectives with  $\epsilon$  or  $\omicron$  before  $-\omega\nu$ ,  $\epsilon$  or  $\omicron$  is not contracted with  $-\omega\nu$ , e. g. :— $\sigma\upsilon\mu\pi\lambda\acute{o}\omega\nu$  III 41,  $\sigma\acute{o}\omega\nu$  in Hdt.,  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\lambda\omega\nu$ ,  $\delta\iota\pi\lambda\omega\nu$  Aretaios. The *Vita Hom.* 36 has  $\sigma\upsilon\mu\pi\lambda\acute{o}\omega\nu$ .  $\pi\lambda\acute{o}\omega\nu$  in Xenophon *R. A.* I 20,  $\epsilon\upsilon\nu\acute{o}\omega\nu$  in Thuk. VI 64 will hardly stand.

<sup>1</sup> Lukian makes Hdt. use  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$  (*de domo* 20).

<sup>2</sup> In VII 124 Stein has retained  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$ .

<sup>3</sup> Bredow's defence of  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$  IV 114 (page 245) cannot be accepted.

478.] Dative Plural<sup>1</sup> (Inscriptions).

On inscriptions we meet with two forms of the dative plural, -οῖσι and -οῖς.

## 1. -οῖσι.

Olynthos 8 A 4 ἀλλήλοισι, Kyzikos 108 B 2 τοῖσιν, τοῖσιν ἐκγόνοισιν 108 B 3, τούτοισιν 108 B 8, Teos Τηλοῖσιν 156 A 2, Ἀνθεστηρίοισιν 156 B 31-32, Ἡρακλείοισιν 156 B 33, Δόλοισιν 156 B 34 (this inscription has no case of -οῖς), [Δ]ιοσκούρο[ι]σι 257, found at Naukratis, μύθοισι epigr. in Latyschev II 171. Of these examples those from Kyzikos must be set down as archaistic, since the inscription is scarcely earlier than the first century B.C. and full of inaccuracies. The inscription from Olynthos contains the latest (389-383 B.C.) genuine example of -οῖσι on Ionic soil<sup>2</sup>. The assertion of Karsten, p. 32, that -οῖς is a peculiarity of Euboian Ionic, and -οῖσι a peculiarity of the 'severior Ias' falls to the ground.

## 2. -οῖς.

All other Ionic inscriptions have -οῖς. Even in Olynthos No. 8, where (line 4 A) we found ἀλλήλοισι, the form ἀμφοτέροῖς occurs. But this is the only example of the coexistence of the two forms, such as meets us on the Attic prose inscriptions of the fifth century. All the other inscriptions of Euboian Ionic have -οῖς, e.g. Oropos 18, Kyme Rob. I 174. In Teos 158 and *Mittl.* XVI 292, Keos 43, we find only -οῖς; so too in Miletos 100 (which dates from the first half of the fourth century). Chios 174 unfortunately contains no examples of the dative plural. Halik. 240 has τοῖς and other datives in -οῖς, but is not free from younger forms. While Halik. 238<sub>10</sub> proves that the Ionic of the fifth century possessed a form τοῖς, it does not disprove the correctness of τοῖσι in literature, as Fritsch opines. No genuine case of τοῖσι appears. On the analogy of τῶν for τέων, τοῖσι might have become τοῖς before -οῖσι in the noun became -οῖς. But as in Attika we have both τοῖσι and τοῖς in the fifth century, so there is no reason why the forms should not coexist in Ionic. τοῖς is found early in the fifth century in Attika (C. I. A. I B 8)<sup>3</sup>.

Adjectives in -εος do not contract -εοῖς, e.g. χρυσέοις Olbia, Latyschev I No. 22, (*post Christum*).

<sup>1</sup> -οῖσι Greg. K. 2, Meerm. 663 (τοῖς ἀνθρώποις), Joh. Gr. 239 B, 241 B, An. Ox. I 331, An. Par. III 319, Par. 681 = An. Bachm. II 370, (τοῖσι, τούτοισι).

<sup>2</sup> The latest examples in Attic are Ἀθηναίοισιν C. I. A. 301 A 7 (434 B.C.), and δεοῖσιν C. I. A. II 570<sub>24</sub> (403 B.C.).

<sup>3</sup> In Attic inscriptions -οῖσι and -οῖς are found up to 444 B.C., after which the former disappears (see note 2). In C. I. A. I 2 (before 456) both forms are found upon the same inscription.

## 474.] Dative Plural (Lyric Poets).

As in the inscriptions, so in the lyric poets we find both *-οῖσι* and *-οῖς*. Cf. Renner, *Curtius' Studien* I 1, 208 ff., Fick, *B. B.* IX 207, XI 255 ff.

1. *-οῖσι*.

Archilochos: χαρτοῖσιν τε, κακοῖσιν ἀσχάλα 66<sub>6</sub> tetr., ἀστοῖσι 94<sub>4</sub> epod., ἀνηκέστοισι κακοῖσιν 9<sub>8</sub>, μύροισι 31, θεοῖσι 55, βοστρύχοισι 58, ἀμηχάνοισι 66<sub>1</sub>, δοκοῖσιν 66<sub>3</sub>, ἀνθρώποισι 70<sub>1</sub>, τοῖσι 74<sub>9</sub>, καθαροῖσιν 12<sub>2</sub>.

Simonides of Amorgos: ξείνοισιν 7<sub>19</sub>, θύννοισι, κωβιοῖσι 15, μύροισι 16<sub>1</sub>, ἀνθρώποισιν 1<sub>3</sub>, 7<sub>21</sub>, κάγαθοῖσιν 1<sub>10</sub>, πολλοῖσι 1<sub>16</sub>, βροτοῖσι 1<sub>21</sub>, τέκνοισιν 7<sub>34</sub>, ἐχθροῖσιν . . . φίλοισι 7<sub>36</sub>, βαρυκτύποισι 17<sub>40</sub>, ἀνθέμοισιν 7<sub>66</sub>, ἄλλοισι 7<sub>68</sub>, πορδακοῖσιν 21.

Hipponax: σησάμοισι 36<sub>2</sub>, τούτοισι 14<sub>1</sub>, κηρίοισιν 36<sub>3</sub>, κακοῖσι 43<sub>1</sub>, Λυδίοισιν ἐν χοροῖσι 91, τριοῖσι 51, Ταργηλίοισιν 37<sub>3</sub>, σπλάγχνοισιν 40, ἀλλήλοισιν 53, γνάθοισι 62 with the MSS. and Hiller (Bergk γνάθοις).

Mimnermos: ἵπποισιν τε 12<sub>3</sub>.

Herodas: ἱροῖσιν 49<sub>4</sub>, Ἀβδήροισιν 2<sub>68</sub>, τοῖσι προ[ύ]ν(κ)οισι 3<sub>65</sub>, τοῖς σφύροισι 5<sub>62</sub>, κακοῖσι 7<sub>104</sub>.

Anakreon: ἀστοῖσι 15<sub>2</sub>, ξένοισι 84, μηροῖσι 164 (Bergk μηροῖς).

Solon: ἀνθρώποισι 2<sub>3</sub>, 17, 38<sub>4</sub>, δεσμοῖσί τ' αἰκελίοισι δεθέντες 4<sub>26</sub>, ἀμφοτέροισιν 5<sub>5</sub>, ἐχθροῖσι 13<sub>5</sub>, νούσοισιν 13<sub>61</sub>, ἀνέμοισι, ἀργαλέοισιν 13<sub>45</sub>, τοῖσι 13<sub>8</sub>, 4<sub>8</sub>, 37<sub>3</sub>, θνητοῖσι 13<sub>63</sub>, 24<sub>7</sub>, Σολίοισι 19<sub>1</sub>, φίλοισιν 21<sub>1</sub>, ἐρατοῖσιν 25<sub>1</sub>, θεοῖσιν 35, ἐναντίοισιν 37<sub>2</sub>, φακοῖσι 38<sub>3</sub>.

Theognis: very often.

2. *-οῖς*.

To forms followed by a consonant I have appended the next word. Forms at end of verse are indicated by a |. The usual place of occurrence is in the middle and end of the pentameter, rarely the end of the hexameter.

Archilochos: ἀνθρώποις 62, δεινοῖς 65, θνητοῖς μελέτη 15 (some MSS. βροτοῖς). *-οῖς* is here in an hexameter, which is a cause for suspicion. Fick thinks that if πάντα βροτοῖσι πόρος is not correct the verse is not Archilocheian. θνητοῖς 70<sub>2</sub>, ὀκοῖοις 70<sub>3</sub> tetr., μηροῖς 72<sub>2</sub> tetr. (the verse is incomplete), τοῖς θεοῖς τίθει 56 tetr. (Ahrens τοῖσι θεοῖσι τίθετε, Renner's τοῖσι θεοῖς is objectionable), κακοῖς | 65 (κακῶς Fick).

Simonides of Amorgos: κακοῖς 1<sub>24</sub>, μύροις 7<sub>64</sub>, δασκίοις 14, ὀφθαλμοῖς ἰδεῖν 7<sub>32</sub>, δόμοις ἰδών 7<sub>29</sub> (no f), ἀπλύτοις τ' 7<sub>5</sub> (MSS. -τος, Meineke ἀπλύτοις' ἐν), ἀνθρώποις γέλως 7<sub>14</sub>, where Arsen. πᾶσιν ἀστοῖσι, τοιοῦτοῖς θυμόν 7<sub>70</sub> (Ahrens τοιούτον θυμόν with Ailian; Fick ejects the verse).

Hipponax: φαρμάκοις | tr. 8, in AB (φάρμακοι, conjectured by

Bergk, is adopted by Fick), ἐν γνάθοις κεκινέεται 62<sub>2</sub> (MSS. τοῖσι γνάθοισι, see Bergk *ad loc.*), σκιράφοις 86.

Ananios: ἐν δόμοις πολλόν 3<sub>1</sub> trim. (ten Brink and Ahrens ἐν δόμῳ συχνόν, cf. Hippokr. II 22, 36; Suidas has χρυσὸς συχνὸς ἥγουν πολὺς).

Herodas: τοῖς τε 3<sub>20</sub>, τοῖς καμουῖσιν 5<sub>24</sub>, τοῖς σφύροισι 5<sub>22</sub>, δικτύοις κείνται 3<sub>20</sub>, καλοῖς ἐπ' ἱροῖς ταῖσδε 4<sub>23</sub>, δέννοις εἰ (?) 7<sub>104</sub>, ἀωνύμοις ταύταις 6<sub>14</sub>, ἀνθρώποις | 1<sub>46</sub>, 5<sub>16</sub>, Βρικινδήροις | 2<sub>57</sub>, ξείνοις | 2<sub>94</sub>.

Anakreon: Θαλυσίοις | 1<sub>3</sub>, καλοῖς | 6<sub>310</sub>, ὕμνοις | 6<sub>311</sub>, κεχρημένοις | 8<sub>42</sub>, ξείνοις, ἔασον 57, πολυανθέμοις 6<sub>53</sub>, ξένοισι μελιχλοῖς ἐοικότες 84.

Mimnermos: τοῖς ἱκελοι 2<sub>3</sub> (ἱκελος has no *F* in the Ionic lyric), λυγροῖς | 7<sub>1</sub>, referred to Theognis (cf. 795) by Fick.

Xenophanes: εὐφήμοις μύθοις καὶ καθαροῖσι λόγοις | 1<sub>14</sub>, a noteworthy line because of the freer use of -οις in the second foot of the pentameter before a consonant (cf. Tyrt. 4<sub>6</sub>), πρὸς τοῖς | 7<sub>3</sub>.

Tyrtaios: μικροῖς κουριδίῃ 10<sub>6</sub>, ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ 10<sub>28</sub>, μεγάλοις βάλλετε χερμαδίοις | 11<sub>36</sub>.

Theognis: θεοῖς σπένδεις 490 (Evenos of Paros?). Fick suggests (*B. B.* XIII 173) θεῶ from an incorrect reading of ΘΕΟΙΣΠΕΝΔΕΙΣ, since ο denoted ω in the old Parian alphabet. -οις before a consonant in hexameters, a divergence from the usual earlier use, occurs in 145, 545, 653, 897, 1027.

The old epic poet Asios of Samos has μεγάροις τέκεν 2, καλοῖς | 13<sub>2</sub>, and δεσμοῖς | 13<sub>4</sub>. The Halikarnassian Panyassis has ἐσθλοῖς δέ 13<sub>14</sub>; θοοῖς διὰ 15.

Solon: before a vowel—τοῖς ἀδίκοις ἀμφιτίθησι 4<sub>34</sub>, ἀδίκοις ἔργμασι 4<sub>11</sub>, 13<sub>12</sub> (Solon has no *F* here), τοῖς 5<sub>4</sub>, 13<sub>24</sub>, θνητοῖς 13<sub>16</sub>, 7<sub>4</sub>, φίλοις, ἐχθροῖσι 13<sub>5</sub>, αὐτοῖς 15<sub>2</sub>, ὀφθαλμοῖς 34<sub>2</sub> tetr.

Before a consonant—ἐν συνόδοις, τῆς ἀδικ' ἐστὶ φίλα 4<sub>22</sub>, where the MSS. have for the second part of the pentameter τοῖς ἀδικοῦσι φίλοις (Fick ἦσ'), τοῖσι νυπτέροις, δρᾶσαι 37<sub>3</sub> trim. according to Bergk (the numerous conjectures all have -οις), μεγάλοις πᾶσιν 7 (referred by Fick to Theognis, cf. 799 ff.), μή τι θεοῖς τούτων 11<sub>2</sub> (τι om. Sitzler, Fick, who read θεοῖσι). At the verse end is found ἀστοῖς 10<sub>1</sub>.

We have seen above § 451 that the forms in -αις, though rare, are not to be rejected. The same holds good in the case of -οις.

In the later elegy -οις is very common. In Evenos, Kritias, Dionys. Chalkos, Plato, it usually occurs in the same place in the verse as in the earlier elegists. Plato 12, is, however, an exception: fifth part of the hexameter.

#### 475.] Dative Plural (Prose).

-οισι is found in Hekat. e.g. 135, 172, 173 (τοῖσι), Pherek.



Leros λίθοισιν (44); Herakleitos 114 has τοῖς and 11 Δελφοῖς before a vowel in each case.

Demokritos as handed down in Stobaios has -οῖσι in *e.g.* 10, 11, 13, 27, 168 (οἷσιν), 184 (τοῖς ἄλλοις ζώοισι in Stob.), 193, 197, 202, 205, 213 (τοῖς χρηστοῖσιν), 215<sub>1</sub> (but τοῖς 215<sub>1</sub>), 236 (τοῖς πόνοισιν); 102, 122, 138 (Demokrates). The article generally appears in the shorter form, but Stobaios has τοῖσι in 13, 47 (relative), 193 (τοῖσιν ἀνοήτοισιν), 197, 158 (Demokrates).

In Charon of Lampsakos frag. 9 there are two cases of -οῖς before a vowel, one of τοῖς before a consonant. Protagoras has τοῖσι πολλοῖσι.

In Herodotos but few cases of -οῖς occur, and these are due to copyists' errors, *e.g.* αὐτοῖς in C I 86; the same form in Hekat. 175 (before a vowel in each case). τοῖσδε occurs III 36 in all MSS. In the same chapter τοῖσδε τοῖσι ἔπεισι where all the MSS. except *PC* have τοῖσδε, and *R* has τοῖς for τοῖσι. In VI 119 ἀγγείοις τὸ was formerly read, but is now dropped, being found only in *sz*.

In Hippokrates and Aretaios and in the imitators of Herodotos -οῖσι prevails though the MSS. vary constantly. *θ* has τοῖσδ' in Hippokr. VIII 50 (*v.l.* τοῖσδε, τοῖσιν δέ)<sup>1</sup>. Arrian's *Ind.* has four times as many cases of -οῖσι as of -οῖς. The *Vita Homeri* has on the other hand forty-one cases of -οῖς to two of -οῖσι. Lukian's *Vit. auct.* has τοῖς ἐκεῖ σοφοῖσι 3, but τοῖσδεσι τοῖσιν εἰρημένοισι 5. Of the -οῖς forms τοῖς is the one most common. On the relation of the inscriptional τοῖς to the τοῖσι of literature, see § 473, 2, and cf. Gomperz' *Apologie d. Heilkunst*, p. 189.

#### 476.] Accusative Plural.

ΒαρβαρΟΥς Teos 156 B 26-27 is noticeable from the fact that it is the only early inscription which has ΟΥ to express the spurious diphthong.

In the lyric poets we find οἰδαλέους Arch. 9<sub>4</sub>.

In Hdt. we find ἀντιξόους VII 150 (-ους *A B' Cd*, cf. δορυξός in Attic) and so VII 192; Demokr. 215 has ὁμονόους, Aretaios 279 has εὐρόους. ὁστέα Hdt. I 67, II 41, &c.

#### The 'Attic Declension' in Ionic.

477.] Forms of the so-called Attic declension occur sporadically even in Doric, *e.g.* upon an inscription from Kos we find τελεως,

<sup>1</sup> πρὸς τοῖσδεσσιν in *θ* in VIII 358, 168, 372, 308.

τέλεων, τέλεω<sup>1</sup>. In Ionic there is ample testimony to their presence.

Nouns formed from λεώς :

*Nomin.*: 'Αρκεσίλεως Styra 19<sub>15</sub>, Hdt. IV 160<sup>2</sup>, 'Αναξίλεως Miletos 93, Hdt. VI 23, Μενέλεως II 119 (v. l. -λεος II 116), Περίλεως IX 103, Στησίλεως VI 114, Χαρίλεως III 145, Thas. (L.) 4 B 6, 'Ηγέλεως Keos 44 B 5, Κριτόλεως Smyrna 153<sub>24</sub>, 'Αρτυσίλεως Thas. 78 C 8, Φανόλεως Thas. (L.) 4 B 7, Κρατιστόλεως 6 B 2, Λυσίλεως 7 A 9, Πυθόλεως 10 B 3<sup>3</sup>.

*Genit.*: Φανόλεω Thasos 75 A 4, Thasos (L.) 8 B 12, cf. 15 C 6, Πρηξίλεω Thasos 75 A 7, Εὐρύλεω 78 C 4, 'Αναξίλεω Thasos 75 B 5, 'Αδίλεω Thasos (L.) 8<sub>10</sub>, 'Αριστόλεω Maroneia, Head, H. N. 216, Θερσέλεω Paros 60<sub>2</sub> (epigr.). In Hdt. 'Αρκεσίλεω IV 160, 161, 'Αρχέλεω VII 204, 'Αναξίλεω VIII 131, 'Ηγησίλεω VII 204, VIII 131, 'Ιππόλεω IV 53, Νικόλεω VII 134, Πρωτεσίλεω IX 116, Χαρίλεω VIII 131. Ion 1 has 'Ερμησίλεω.

*Dat.*: Μενέλεω Hdt. II 118, in a passage cited by Greg. Kor. (p. 469) as having -λάω; V 94 (Aldus -λάω), VII 169 where Wesseling's reading has been adopted by Holder (-λεω R v s, -λάου A B); λεώ II 124 (λαω R v s, άλλωι A B).

*Accus.*: λεών Hekat. in An. Ox. I 265<sub>10</sub><sup>4</sup>, Zeleia 114 E 6, Hdt. I 22, VIII 136, II 129 (λεώ A B R); in IV 148 all MSS. have λαόν, in V 42 λαόν rz, ληόν reliqui; Μενέλεων II 113, 118, Πρωτεσίλεων IX 116, 'Αρκεσίλεων IV 160. Νικόλαν VII 137 is not an Ionian. In the nom. pl. Hdt. V 68 has 'Αρχέλαοι.

The lyric poets are unacquainted with λεώς. Archil. 79 has Χαρίλαε, 'Ιόλαος 119<sub>3</sub>, and the Homeric, but non-Ionic, λαός<sup>5</sup> occurs in the elegy Kallinos 1<sub>18</sub>, Xenoph. 2<sub>15</sub>, Tyrt. 11<sub>13</sub>, Theog. 53, 776, 781. See § 140, 4 and 160, where other instances of λαός, especially in proper names upon inscriptions, are cited. The progenitor of λεώς is ληός Hipponax 88 which however came into existence long before the sixth century.

Other forms in Hdt. of the 'Attic' declension are: 'Αθως VII 22, Μίνως I 171, πάτρως II 133, Νεκῶς II 158, Μανερῶς II 79, 'Ινάρως VII 7, Τέως I 142, II 178; (Gen.) 'Αθω VII 22 (cf. Chandler, *Accent.* § 547), Μίνω I 171, Νεκῶ II 158, Ναθῶ II 165, ἄλω Hippokr. I 598; (Dat.) πάτρω VI 103, Τέω I 170; (Accus.) 'Αθων VI 44, Μίνων VII 171 (Lukian *Asctr.* 20 Μίνω), πάτρων

<sup>1</sup> Bechtel, *Gött. Nachr.* 1890, 33.

<sup>2</sup> Homeric 'Αρκέσσιος (sic) is the clip-name of this word.

<sup>3</sup> For Χίλεος Hdt. IX 9, Plutarch has Χείλεως. In many cases the MSS. of Hdt. have variants in -λεος; cf. Brudow, p. 169.

<sup>4</sup> Σημειωτέον δὲ ὅτι οὐχ ἀπλῶς τὸν ὄχλον σημαίνει, ἀλλὰ τὸν ὑποτεταγμένον· Ἐκαταῖος γὰρ τὸν 'Ηρακλέα τοῦ Εὐρυσθέως λεῶν λέγει, καίτοι ἓνα ὄντα.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Eust. (Obl. B 142 ἐκ τοῦ ληός ὁ λαός, ! ) οὐ μέμνηται 'Ηρακλείδης . . . οὕτω δὲ ἦν ἐπὶ 'Ομήρου ἐν χρήσει τὸ ληός ὁ λαός. An. Ox. I 263 τὸ λαός ἀντροπος θμειν παρ' 'Ομήρῳ, καίτοι τῇ μεταγενεστέρῃ 'Ιάδῃ τραπέν, ληόν Hipponax.

IV 76, IX 78, Νεκῶν II 152, Σαβακῶν II 137, 152, Τέων I 170, Τυφῶ III 5, but Τυφῶν II 156, Τυφῶνα II 144, Βούκερων II 41: (Accus. pl.) δέμνεως V 77 (accented -έως in the MSS.).

Hdt. has Κέον VIII 76 (τῆς Σαλαμίνης), but Κῶς I 144, Κῶ IX 76. On Μίρνεω, see § 524. ἤρων is found Hdt. I 167<sup>1</sup> (also in Sophron), but ἤρωα II 143, VI 69, μήτρωα IV 80.

ἱέρεω. With ἱέρεω Miletos 100<sub>4</sub> (of the fourth century), cf. Hdt. II 37 ἀρχιέρεω ABC corr., -ιέρεω Cpr, ἀρχιερεύς in Rds and -ιρεύς in P, Stein reading ἀρχιερεύς. Inasmuch as we have a genitive ἱέρεω in inscriptions from Milesian colonies (ἱέρεω Olbia 128<sub>23</sub>, 33, 59, and Tomoi 136<sub>1</sub>) this ἱέρεω upon an inscription of the metropolis is to be regarded as a nominative in -εως (Bechtel, *Nachrichten Gott. Gesell. Wiss.* 1886, No. 11, p. 378), and not as a mistake for ἱερεύς as has been held. Herodian I 245<sub>13</sub>, Bekker An. 449<sub>31</sub>, 1197 recognize an Attic nom. ἱέρεω. Cf. ἀρχιέρεων Plato *Laws* XII 947 A. On ἱέρεω for ἱερεύς as a special mark of the Milesian dialect, see § 11.

Dittenberger (*Syll.*, No. 376, note 4.<sup>1</sup>) suggests that ἱέρεω was abstracted from ἀρχιέρεω which contains the stem -ιερην- enlarged by ο, -ιερην becoming -ιέρεω, as in the case of ἡμιέκτεων < ἡφον, from ἐκτεύς, ὀρεωκόμος < ὀρηφο-. Ἰρωσύνη occurs in Hdt. III 142. Bechtel *l. l.* holds that ἱέρεω is from \*ἱερῆο (cf. *Apex* Archil. 48) the genitive of the nom. ἱερῆς found in Arkado-Kyprian. To this genitive a new nominative ἱέρεω thus accented was eventually formed. The latter theory is correct only if the existence of an η declension, allied to that of ηυ, ευ and ες stems, can be proved<sup>2</sup>. The preferable explanation therefore is that of Dittenberger.

πλέω is found in the MSS. of Archil. 58 (Bergk πλέος, see § 478), Ἰλέω Hrd. 425, Ἰλέω 411.

478.] Some words in Ionic not inflected according to the 'Attic' declension.

λαγός and κάλος appear to be the Herodoteian forms for λαγώς, κάλως. The MSS. vary constantly as regards the former word Hipponax 36 has λαγώς (acc. pl.), Meineke -ούς, Anan. 55 λαγῶν (gen. pl.); Homeric is λαγῶς<sup>3</sup>.

πλέος, πλέη, πλέον are the Herodoteian forms, found also in Ktesias. Archil. 58 has πλέω changed by Bergk. In Anakr. 94

<sup>1</sup> Schol. V on Il. XIII 428 ἤρων τινὲς Ἀττικῶν - - -.

<sup>2</sup> Also *Philol. Anzeiger* XVI 73, *Index lect. Ital.* 1889/90, p. iv.

<sup>3</sup> Doric Τιμοκρήν Telos in Cauer 169 C 3, Έρμοκρήν 169 C 5, 6 - Τιμοκρέων. &c. were formerly assumed to exemplify the reverse of a process by which \*ἱερῆς became not only ἱερέω, but also ἱερῆς and ἱερεύς.

Cf. schol. on Nikand. *Alex.* 465 λαγωὶ - - - - καὶ Ἰππωνάξ μνημονεύει (frag. 123; also Anecd. Par. IV 245<sub>m</sub>: τὸ δὲ λαγῶς Homeric Ἰωνικόν ἐστι. Cf. Trypho frag. 13 (Velsen), Eust. 1821<sub>25</sub>, Renner in *Curtius' Stud.* I 1, 219. Fick, *B. B.* XI 268, Solmsen *K. Z.* XXIX 109.

(eleg.) we find πλέψ. Once, in the *Odyssey* v 355, we meet with epic πλέον, in the same line with πλέη.

It has generally been assumed that the name of *Amphiaraus* was declined according to the Attic declension. In Hdt. there are however indications to the contrary. 'Αμφιάρεω Hekat. 340, Hdt. I 49, 92, III 91, but in VIII 134 R has -ρεος, Aldus -ραος: 'Αμφιάρεω I 52, 'Αμφιάρεων I 46 (but -ρεον Aldus, -ρηον Ac). In Oropos 18<sub>2</sub> we meet with 'Αμφιαράου<sup>1</sup> which is due to the influence of ἀράομαι. Wackernagel has shown (*K. Z.* XXVII 265) that the original form is \*'Αμφιάρηφος, from which arose Attic 'Αμφιάρεως and Ionic 'Αμφιάρεος. Cf. Τυνδαρέου λ 298, ω 199, Πανδαρέου τ 518, υ 66<sup>2</sup> from \*Τυνδάρηφος. Hdt. II 112 has Τυνδάρεω which is Attic like the forms of 'Αμφιάρεως above. 'Αρχηνάρεως quoted by Wackernagel from a Thasiote inscription (Thas. (L.) 4 B 2) is now read 'Αρχήναξ Τιμοπέ[θεος].

Stein adopts the forms ἀξιόχρεος IV 126, ἀξιοχρέου V 111, ἀξιόχρεον I 156, where several MSS. have -χρεως, -χρεω, -χρεων: ἀξιόχρεα V 65 makes it probable that he is correct though the evidence for -χρεως is strong. Hippokrates has ἀξιόχρεοι. Cf. Bredow, p. 137, Renner, p. 219. If ἀξιόχρεος is Herodoteian, ἰλεος may be so too, cf. § 139.

Adjectives derived from γῆ have -γαιος, not -γεως, e.g. ὑπόγαιος, κατάγαιος, μεσόγαιος, βαθύγαιος in Hdt., μεσόγαιος Arrian 22. ξανθόγεως in Lukian *Syr. dea* 8 is not an Ionic formation. See Merzdorf, Curtius' *Stud.* IX 236. Compounds of ναός: αἰώνας Hdt. I 145, not αἰένως, αἰέναον I 93. Hdt. has νηός<sup>3</sup> I 183, VI 19. ναόν in Ionic inscriptions, Priene 142 (334 B.C.), and Phanagoreia 165 (latter half of fourth century). After 250 B.C. we find in Attic inscriptions ναός: before that date in prose monuments νεώς. In νεωπολάς Eph. 147<sub>18</sub>, Halik. 240<sub>6</sub>, νεωποιήσαντες Samos 222, νεωκόρον Orop. 18<sub>41</sub> we have the latter form. ναῶι occurs in the Delian register, *B. C. II.* VI 29 (1), dating from the second century: ναοῦ VI 53 (236), but νεωκορίω VI 53 (235-6).

#### 479.] Other forms, chiefly of the O Declension.

δένδρον in Hdt. I 193, III 107, δένδρεον<sup>4</sup> IV 22, 23, but δένδρος accus. VI 79, δένδρεσι II 138, δένδρεα I 17, 193, Hekat. 173, δεινδρέων I 202, II 32. In Hippokr. VII 516, 518, 526, 528 we meet with forms of the O declension, but δένδρει 526, δένδρεσι 528. In the pseudo-Hippokratic ep. 13<sub>8</sub> δένδρα (δένδρεα sec. man.). Lukian *Syr. dea* 49 δεινδρέων, Arrian 7, 11 (-εῖ), 22,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 'Αμφιάρεος upon Attic vases *K. Z.* XXIX 416; cf. *C. I. A.* II 162 C 21; 471, 27. 70.

<sup>2</sup> Βριάρεων A 403 is changed by Wackernagel to -εων. Especially noteworthy is Βριάρη in Ibykos 45.

<sup>3</sup> νηόν Tzetzes *Ex. II.* 97<sub>18</sub>.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Greg. Kor. p. 61, Eust. on Γ 152.



27, 32 δένδρεα and δενδρέων. In an inscription from Keos we have δένδρα ἡμερα, whereas Hdt. IV 21 has ἡμέρων δενδρέων, cf. VIII 115. The stem δενδρ- (Attic δένδρει, δένδρεσι) has in New Ionic succumbed to the influence of the sigmatic stem, which in Attic generated δένδρη (δένδρα).

δάκρυον Hdt. II 96; δάκρυ sometimes in Homer.

φυλακός<sup>1</sup> Ω 566 and so almost always in Hdt. φυλακόν in a metrical inscription 141<sub>6</sub>, which however for other reasons is not evidence for the dialect. On the forms from φύλαξ, see § 549.

νίος in Hdt. has νιοῦ, &c., except νίεας IV 84. The inscriptions know no other inflection than that in ο. Simonides of Keos (249) is said to have used a nom. νίς; but cf. Hdn. on E 266.

πολλός and πολύς. Hdt. adopts the former form with scarcely an exception (πολύν II 121 δ, III 57, πολύ VI 72, and adverbial πολύ III 38, VII 46, 160). πουλός πουλύ have no support worth mentioning in the MSS. of Hdt. In compounds Hdt. has πολυ-. Herakleitos and Demokritos have πολλός: πολύ in Herakleitos 91 is a conjecture. In the poets πολλός is well attested. Lukian<sup>2</sup> and Arrian follow well in the wake of Herodotos, except in five passages where πολύ has forced its way in: *Syr.* 3, *Ind.* 4, 8, 29, 40. The *Vita Homeri* has πολλόν 5, 16, 17, πολύ 5, 21, 33, 34. The medical writers pursue an eclectic course: Aretaios has πολλόν 17 times in books I and II, πολύ 11 times, πολύς once, πουλύ 2, πουλός 12, πουλύν 2 in the later books. In Hippokrates the proportions are somewhat different<sup>3</sup>, and lead one to the conclusion that an original πολλός had been buried by successive deposits of epic and Attic forms. On the form πουλός, see § 254.

### Consonantal Declension.

480.] In the dative plural Ionic never has -οις, or -εσσι from non-sigmatic stems. Hence δαιτυμόεσσι Hdt. VI 57 (in A B) cannot be correct. Stein reads -εσι. Such forms in -εσσι in Homer are Aiolic. τοῖσδεσσι in the Hippokratic phrase πρὸς τοῖσδεσσι: § 475.

The hyper-Ionic genitive pl. in -εων contains an ε which may be explained in part as due to the influence of such forms as

<sup>1</sup> Aiolic, Greg. Kor. § 17; Ionic, schol. Apoll. Rh. I 132; generally accented φυλακος, above § 123.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Lindemann, *De dial. Ion. recentiore*, p. 12.

<sup>3</sup> Sometimes when the vulgate has ου, better MSS. have the form with ο. So in VI 358 θ has πολύς. Littré even reads πουλλοῖσιν II 650, where many MSS. have πολλ·; cf. II 692.



θεμιστέων Hsd. *Theog.* 235, γεροντέων Hdn. II 229, and partly to the belief in the predilection of Ionic for an open εω.

Examples of this parasitic -εων are: ἀλωπεκέων Hdt. III 102 (A B C), II 67 (C) from ἀλώπηξ Archil. 86, ἀλώπεκος Sim. Am. 77, Solon 118. Ananios has ἀλωπήκων in fr. 58, according to Hermann, the MSS. having ἀλωπέκων which is in violation of the metre (tetram. scazon). Frag. 5 has other strange forms (e.g. ἐσθίειν). ἀλωπήκεσσι occurs in Oppian. The edition of Aldus preferred χηνέων II 45, where it is certainly not adjectival. ἀνδρέων VII 187 is without any MS. authority. On μυριαδέων VII 187 (C d), χιλιαδέων VII 103 (C d), see § 74, 2. Hippokrates has ἀνδρέων, μηνέων, ῥινέων, φλεβέων, χειρέων, Luk. *Astr.* 5 μηνέων.

Hippokr. has τὸ πάθος and ἡ πάθη, τὸ πλάθος, φρίξ (also Hom.) and φρίκη.

### Stems in Iota.

#### 481.] Terminations :

ις	ιες (ις)
ιος, εος, εως	ιων
ι, ει	ισι
ιν	ις, ιας
ι	ιες.

Testimony of the grammarians. 1. Genitive -ιος : Joh. Gr. 240, Hdn. II 614<sub>22</sub> (Choir. 455), Gramm. Meerm. § 10, An. Ox. I 358<sub>15</sub>, 361<sub>21</sub>, schol. Ven. A on Γ 219, cf. on Ψ 500, the interlinear schol. Ven. A on A 214, An. Par. III 216<sub>11</sub>, III 295<sub>20</sub> (τὰ εἰς ις δξύτονα οὐ γίνονται παρὰ τοῖς Ἴωσι κατὰ ἀποβολὴν τοῦ δ . . . . κνημῖος, ἀσπίος ὡς Πάριος, Θέτιος). On Θέτιος<sup>1</sup> and Πάριος, cf. also Theod. 918, schol. Ven. A on Ψ 500, Hdn. II 614<sub>22</sub> (Choir. 455), II 700, (Choir. 189), II 760<sub>15</sub>, 17, &c. (Choir. 353<sub>21</sub>), II 249<sub>1</sub> (Choir. 410<sub>21</sub>, Et. M. 460<sub>2</sub>), Et. Gud. 260<sub>22</sub>. But Θέμιδος is Ionic, Hdn. II 700<sub>17</sub> (Choir. 189<sub>22</sub>). See also on -ιος, Hdn. II 406<sub>7</sub> = 702<sub>12</sub>, 544<sub>21</sub>, 577<sub>12</sub>, 885<sub>23</sub>, Et. Gud. 474<sub>10</sub>.

-εος : Greg. Kor. § 21 ὄφεος, μάντεος, and πόλεος, which form is quoted from Euripides' *Orestes* : τὸ μὲν γὰρ λέγειν ὄφιος, πόλιος κοινόν, τὸ δὲ ὄφεως καὶ πόλεως . . . Ἀττικόν. Ἔστι δὲ ὅτε καὶ τῷ κοινῷ χρῶνται (Ἴωνες), καὶ τοῦτο μάλιστα, ὡς Ὀμηροῦ (ἐξ ἀγροῦ νόσφι πόλιος). Cf. Hdn. II 767<sub>17</sub>, 18 (Choir. 373<sub>17</sub>), but in II 701<sub>18</sub> (Choir. 194<sub>18</sub>) -εος is restricted to Attic from which the Euripidean πόλεος, ὄφεος are cited, and in II 432<sub>20</sub> ὄφιος is stated to be Κοινή, ὄφεος Attic. It is peculiar, and perhaps not in accordance with the general procedure of Herodian, that a form should be stated to have undergone a dialectal πάθος and at the same time be regarded as Κοινή. ὄφεος is called Ionic by a scholiast on Hesiod, *W. D.* 414 = 412 (Gaisf. p. 266), πόλεος by Diakonon on the *Aspis* 285.

-εως Gram. Vatic. p. 696.

-ηος An. Ox. I 361<sub>23</sub>.

2. Dative -ι : Θέτι schol. Ven. A on Ψ 500.

-ει schol. Ven. A on Γ 219.

<sup>1</sup> Θέτιδος Erythr. 106 B 27.

3. *Nom. Pl.*:  $\delta\phi\iota\varsigma$  Greg. Kor. p. 475,  $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\iota\varsigma$ ,  $\phi\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\iota\varsigma$  Apoll. *Pron.* 94<sub>12</sub> (Schn.), cf. Hdn. II 578<sub>21</sub>, where  $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\iota\varsigma$ ,  $\delta\phi\iota\varsigma$  and  $\Sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\delta\iota\varsigma$  are not referred to Ionic. A grammatical treatise cited Greg. Kor. l. l. has  $\delta\iota\varsigma$  ἀπὸ τοῦ  $\delta\iota\epsilon\varsigma$ . These forms are like the Aiolic, Boiotian and Herakl.  $\tau\rho\iota\varsigma$ , Alkman's  $\delta\rho\iota\varsigma$ , and Attic  $\delta\rho\alpha\varsigma$ , merely accusatives that have usurped the place of the nominative.

4. *Accus. Pl. -\iota\varsigma*: Choir. 86<sub>118</sub>,  $\mu\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\iota\varsigma$ ,  $\delta\phi\iota\varsigma$ .

#### 482.] Interrelation of stems in $\iota$ and in $\bar{\iota}$ .

This declension comprises the two types (1)  $-\iota\varsigma$ ,  $-\mu\text{-}\sigma\varsigma$ , and (2) rarely in Ionic,  $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\iota\varsigma$ ,  $\phi\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\iota\varsigma$ ,  $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\epsilon\iota\sigma\varsigma$ ,  $\phi\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\epsilon\iota\sigma\varsigma$  =  $-\epsilon\sigma\varsigma$ . All the dialects, except Attic, adopted the forms of the first type which carry  $\iota$  through all cases, i. e. both those in which the termination begins with a vowel ( $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\iota\text{-}\sigma\varsigma$ ,  $\pi\omega\lambda\iota\omega\upsilon$ ), and in those where  $\bar{\iota}$  would properly appear, e. g. locative plural. The latter forms have  $\iota$  due to the influence of the second type. See § 484 Brugmann thinks that the inflection  $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\iota\varsigma$ ,  $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\epsilon\iota\sigma\varsigma$  was an inheritance of Greek from primitive times. Since  $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\epsilon\sigma\varsigma$  did not suffer contraction, its open ending, though apparently the direct descendant of  $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\epsilon\iota\text{-}\sigma\varsigma$ , has been referred to the influence of  $-\epsilon\bar{\iota}\text{-}\sigma\varsigma$ . See Schmidt, *K. Z.* XXVII 302.

The locative in  $-\iota$  is either the result of the contraction of  $\bar{\iota} + \bar{\iota}$  or  $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\alpha\bar{\iota}$  contains an I.E.  $-\bar{\iota}$ . The  $-\eta\bar{\iota}$  form is from  $-\epsilon\bar{\iota} + \epsilon$  or from  $\epsilon + \bar{\iota}$ . In either case  $-\epsilon\bar{\iota}$  or  $\epsilon$  was the stem ending of the locative.

*Nom. pl. -\iota\varsigma* is the form of an  $\bar{\iota}$  stem,  $-\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  that of an  $\epsilon$  stem. The *nom. pl.* in  $-\iota\varsigma$  is the *accus.* used as a *nom.* Cf. Attic  $\sigma\iota\lambda\chi\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ ,  $\alpha\iota\kappa\acute{\alpha}\chi\rho\upsilon\iota$ ,  $\epsilon\gamma\chi\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$ .

*Gen. Pl. -\iota\omega\upsilon* from  $\mu\text{-}\omega\upsilon$ , derived from an  $-\bar{\iota}$  stem.

*Dat. Pl. -\epsilon\sigma\iota* (Homeric, Attic, Arkadian) owes its existence to the  $\epsilon$  of the *pl. -\epsilon\iota\varsigma,  $-\epsilon\omega\upsilon$ , which gave the impulse to abandon the form with  $\bar{\iota}$  ( $-\iota\sigma\iota$ ). The  $\epsilon$  of  $-\epsilon\omega\upsilon$  came from that of the strong case forms.*

The ancients (cf. § 481) did not commit the error, still appearing in some modern books, of supposing that  $-\iota\varsigma$  is from  $-\bar{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$ .  $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\iota\alpha\varsigma$  is from  $\pi\omega\lambda\mu\text{-}\alpha\varsigma$ , the *accus.* of an  $-\bar{\iota}$  stem;  $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\iota\varsigma$  is from  $\pi\omega\lambda\iota\text{-}\nu\text{-}\iota$ , cf. Homeric  $\delta\iota\varsigma$ .

#### 483.] Sub-dialectal division.

1. In the inscriptions there is noticeable a difference between the genitive in the Ionic of Euboea and that of the Kyklades and Asia Minor. In Euboea we find the genitive in  $-\bar{\iota}\delta\sigma$  in the case of proper names whose second part consists of an  $-\bar{\iota}$  stem:  $\Delta\eta\mu\omicron\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\delta\sigma$  Kyme 3<sup>1</sup>.

In Attic inscriptions we find  $-\bar{\iota}\delta\sigma$  (and  $-\bar{\iota}\delta\epsilon$ ) in masculine proper names, e. g.  $\text{'}\Delta\delta\omega\bar{\nu}\bar{\iota}\delta\sigma$  C. I. A. I 324 C, II 36 (408 B. C.),  $\text{'}\text{Ε}\bar{\upsilon}\pi\acute{o}\lambda\iota\delta\sigma$  C. I. A. II 413<sub>24</sub> (200-197 B. C.),  $\text{'}\text{Ε}\bar{\upsilon}\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\delta\sigma$  C. I. A. II 809 C 191 (325 B. C.),  $\text{'}\text{Κ}\alpha\lambda\lambda\iota\theta\acute{\epsilon}\mu\iota\delta\sigma$  C. I. A. II 470, 93, II (69-62 B. C.)<sup>2</sup>.

The occurrences of  $-\bar{\iota}\delta\sigma$  upon inscriptions of the Kyklades (Delos, No. 55:  $\text{'}\text{Α}\nu\alpha\phi\iota\theta\acute{\epsilon}\mu\iota\delta\sigma$  VII 8,  $\text{'}\text{Τ}\mu\omicron\theta\acute{\epsilon}\mu\iota\delta\sigma$ <sup>3</sup> V 10; also

<sup>1</sup> This form is found C. I. G. 2911<sub>10, 11</sub> in a Magnesian inscription.

<sup>2</sup> But cf.  $\text{'}\text{Σ}\acute{\omega}\tau\iota\sigma$  in Ditt. *Syll.* 423<sub>2</sub>, 320 B. C., and  $\text{'}\text{Κ}\epsilon\tau\tau\iota\pi\acute{o}\rho\iota\sigma$  C. I. A. II add. 66 B 22 (356 B. C.). The latter form reappears in Thasos 86.

<sup>3</sup>  $\text{'}\text{Θ}\acute{\epsilon}\mu\iota\delta\sigma$  Ionic,  $\text{'}\text{Θ}\acute{\epsilon}\mu\iota\tau\sigma$  Doric, accord. to Hdn. II 700<sub>17</sub>.

in the hypocoristic names 'Αλέξιδος IV 10, Φάλλιδος V 8, Θέρσιδος VII 12, and in No. 56<sub>70</sub> 'Αναξιθέμιδος), and of the Asiatic mainland (Erythrai Φαννοθέμιδος 206 A 28, B<sub>7</sub>, Φανοπόλιδος 206 C 19) savour of Atticism, the inscriptions in question dating from the second and third centuries before Christ. In Samos 220<sub>30</sub> we find a feminine Εὐαγγελίδος.

Otherwise -ιος is the invariable termination in the Ionic of the Kyklades and of Asia Minor. ἐλπίς and ὄρνις are dental stems as in Attic.

### 1. *The Kyklades.*

Thasos λύσιος 72<sub>12</sub>, Φανοπόλιος 75 B 9 and Th. (L.) 6 C 12, and seventeen other instances of -ιος in Bechtel's collection of Thasian inscriptions in the Louvre, Νύμφιος Thasos 78 C 7, Σχησιπόλιος 82 A 4, 'Ηγησιπόλιος 76 (and Perinthos 233), even 'Αναξιθέμιος Delos 55, IV 11, and also in the hypocoristic names Μέννιος 55 VIII 10, Κρίττιος 56<sub>142, 154, 180</sub>, Φίλλιος 56<sub>19, 53, 97, 123</sub>, 'Αλέξιος 56<sub>30</sub> (and Akanthos 90), Μνήσιος 56<sub>141, 154</sub> (also Olbia 131<sub>16</sub>).

### 2. *Asia Minor and islands colonized from the Asiatic mainland.*

Πρωτοχάριος Samos 210, 'Αναξιπόλιο(ς) Abdera 163<sub>14</sub>, 'Απολλοθέμιος Kyzik. 110, Εὐξιθέμιος Maroneia 196<sub>8</sub>, Φιλοθέμιος Amorg. 231<sub>3</sub>, 'Ηγεπόλι[ο]ς Chios 174 C 14, Εὐπόλιος Maron. 196<sub>9</sub> (cf. Head *H. N.* 216), Κλεοπόλιος 196<sub>12</sub><sup>1</sup>, Φείδιος Amorg. 231, Π]όμπιος(?) Samos 214, Κλείσιος Miletos 98, Βρυάξιος Iasos 104<sub>17</sub>, *J. H. S.* IX 341, No. 3, παιηγύριος Mylasa 248 C 5, even in πράξιος (with α) Myl. 248 C 10, and in many other names. Even Karian names receive Ionic inflection; 'Οατάτιος Halik. 238<sub>6</sub>, Λυ[γδά]μιος 238<sub>11</sub>, cf. *Hdt.* VII 99, Παννάτιος 238<sub>16</sub><sup>2</sup>. In Latyschev, vol. II, we find Σώσιος 377, Καυκάσιος 9 (metr.), Δέρκιος 23, Κόλλιος 246, 68 (cf. 379) not Κόλακος as Bechtel reads in his No. 121, Αὔάσιος 97, Συτέσιος 135 (Roman), 'Αλδιος 206, Κωώλιος 226, Γόρδιος p. 312.

### 484.] Genitive Singular in -ιος.

Upon the inscriptions we find -ιος except in the few cases mentioned in § 483. Upon the ancient Ionic papyrus (*Philol.* XLI 746) we find 'Οσεράπιος, Δαμάσιος.

#### *In the Lyric poets.*

Archil. Σίριος tr. 21<sub>4</sub>, Mimn. βάξιος 16<sub>1</sub>, ὕβριος 9<sub>4</sub>, Solon ὕβριος 4<sub>8</sub>, 13<sub>11</sub>, Theognis ὕβριος 40, 1174, πίστιος 1244 (*Ἀπίστεως*), πόσιος 115, 479, 837, 844 (cf. the name Πόσιος (gen.), Olbia 128<sub>155</sub>, 131<sub>5</sub>, *Jahrb. Suppl.* vol. IV 472, No. 36, V 486,

<sup>1</sup> There is but one exception in -πόλιδος: Φανοπόλιδος Eryth. 206 C 19, an Atticized document; cf. Φανοπόλιος Thasos 75 B 9.

<sup>2</sup> Κουλδότης Halik. 240<sub>25</sub>, 'Ιμβράσσιος 240<sub>27</sub>, cf. 22, Κουγρίσσιος 240<sub>2</sub>, Χαλματίς 240<sub>11</sub>, 22, are -δ- stems.

No. 46, &c., Phanagor. 165, 168), *στάσιος* 1082, &c., *φύσιος* Eurip. frag. 902 Dind. (cf. *φύσεως* Kritias 6), *δῖος* by conj. Anan. 56. This word never shows a stem *οἰει-* in any dialect. Perhaps also in *λιός* from *λῖς* = *λέων*, Hipponax 124. The possession of this word by Ionic is interesting as it was in the inflection of *λῖς*, *κῖς*, *λιός*, *κιός*, that Ionic (as other dialects except Attic) found the model for *πόλῖς πόλιος*. See Brugmann, *Grundr.* II § 109, note 1 and above § 482. Herodas has *Μάνδριος* 108, *πόλιος* 28, 26, 31.

*Prose.*

In Herodotos *-ιος* is to be everywhere adopted though the MSS. have sometimes (1) *-εος*, e.g. *πόλεος* III 54 in R and often in the Aldine edition (z), and (2) *-εως*, e.g. *προκλήσεως* V 1 in Pd (here z has *-εος*). Hdt. prefers *-ιος* in *Θέμιος*, *Τομύριος*, *Ὀσίριος*. In other Ionic prosaists: Hekat. 202 *δύσιος*, Anaxag. 6 *περιχωρήσιος*, Diogen. *νοήσιος* 4, 6, *έτεροιώσιος* 6 (all attested by Simplicius), Demokr. *Mor.* *φύσιος*, *καταστάσιος* 184, *τέψιος* 20, *κτήσιος* 41, *ξυνέσιος* 58, *πρήξιος* 89, Pherek. Leros *ὄφις* 44. Among the pseudo-Ionists the *-ιος* form is more frequent, though the MSS. vary constantly. In the *Dea Syria* *-ιος* is universal, in Arrian 18, we meet with *Ἀμφιπόλεως*. The *Vita Homeri* has eight cases of *-ιος* to two of *-εως*. *καππάριος*, but *πεπέρεος*, or *-εως* Hippokr. VII 150, *σεσέλιος* VIII 448, VI 448 (v. l. *-εως*), cf. Hdn. II 646, 767. Hippokrates usually has *-ιος* in Greek words. In VIII 372 θ has *κομμέως*, other MSS. *-εως*, *-εος*, *-ιος*; cf. § 546.

Thukydides often uses an Ionic genitive in proper names, e.g. *Ἀφύτιος* I 64, *Γοάξιος* IV 107, *Κνίδιος* V 51; *Λυγδάμιος*, *Ἀθ. πολ.* 15, 2, *Ἴριος* Xen. *Anab.* VI 2, 1, *Ἀναχάρσιος* Plato *Rep.* 600 A. In inscriptions *-ιος* appears occasionally as in *Ἀντιστάσιος* C. I. A. I 489. Also in nouns not proper names: *μήνιος* *Rep.* 390 E, *τύρσιος* *Anab.* VII 8, 12, *τίγριος* Arist. *H. A.* 607 A 4, Theophr. *H. Pl.* V 4, 7. In *Agam.* 942 *δήριος*.

485.]

*πρυτάνεως* upon an inscription No. 144 from the territory of the Panionion, from about 350 B. C., is shown to be Attic not Ionic from the occurrence of *Πρυτάνιος* Olbia 131, *Melanges Grec. Rom.* II 22, No. 30, *Jahrb. Suppl.* vol. V 47, No. 47, X 29, No. 21 and Smyrna 153; cf. also *πρυτανίων* Halik. 242. Upon a Chian inscription B. P. W. 1889, No. 38, p. 1194 *πρυτάνεος*.

The genitive singular in *-ιος* was only displaced after stubborn resistance. It is retained oftentimes when *-εω* and *κλεῦς* have given way, e.g. Smyrna 153, *Μαίριος*, but *Διοσκουρίδου* 21, *Μενεκλέους* 10.

486.] Inflection of *πόλις* (genitive).

1. *πόλιος* Paros 63, and other forms § 483-4, also Dittenb. *Syll.* 1906, an inscription engraved by a North-Greek. This form

occurs in the MSS. Hipponax tr. 47 where Bergk reads πόλῆος, and in literary prose. πόλιος in Hdt., who has ἐξαπόλιος I 144.

2. πόλῆος, Ionic An. Ox. I 361<sub>25</sub>, is Homeric and occurs in Theog. 757. In Hippon. 47 it is a conjecture. See below on πόλεος.

3. πόλεως (ΠΟΛΕΩΞ) is surely Ionic on the evidence of Chios 174 A 13, B 12, an inscription of the fifth century, free from all trace of Attic ingressions. All other forms upon inscriptions fall in a period when Attic influence will account for their presence:—Mylasa 248 A 7 (367–66 B.C.), Erythrai 202<sub>6</sub> (about 356 B.C.), Zeleia 114 A B D E (after 334 B.C.), Samos 221<sub>22</sub> (after 322 B.C.), Thasos 72<sub>4</sub> (250–200 B.C.), Teos 158<sub>22</sub> (almost entirely Attic), Iasos 105<sub>3</sub> (late), Olbia 129<sub>13</sub> (period of the empire). In a fragment of Xenophanes in trimeters (p. 116 B<sup>4</sup>) this form occurs in the MSS., and was so read by Hartung and Meineke, whereas Bergk adopts πόλεος. Xenophanes has πόλεως in his elegies 2<sub>9</sub>, 2<sub>2</sub> (Schneid. -ιος). This form is now ejected from Homer A 168.

In Theognis 1043 A has πόλεως, which Renner (p. 223) thinks ought to give place to πόλεος. But A has -εως elsewhere where -εος is not to be restored, e.g. πίστεως for πίστιος. Bergk reads πόλευς. πόλεως in Hekat. 352, a fragment of Attic texture.

The appearance of πόλεως in Xenophanes sets aside the claim that the form belongs to the dialect of Chios-Erythrai (§ 12)<sup>1</sup>. The ancestor of πόλεως is the Homeric πόλῆος<sup>2</sup>, which was formed by analogy to πόλῆ-ι, a form containing the original locative \*πόλῆ + the locative sign ι. πόλεως has not borrowed its ending from νομέως, nor its accent from φύσεος, as has been supposed.

4. πόλει(ω)ς Zeleia 113<sub>19</sub> and in the non-Ionic metrical inscription from Priene, No. 141 (Kaibel πόλει ὥς). The inscription No. 113 dates from a period which corresponds to that in which ε becomes ει before a vowel (§ 220) in Attic (350–300 B.C.). Le Bas regards both πόλε(ι)ως and θε(ι)όν in 141 as genuine Ionisms. But see Dittenberger, *Hermes* XVII 40, 41.

5. πόλεος Oropos 18<sub>41</sub> (about 400 B.C.). Whether ΠΟΛΕΟΞ in an inscription from Arkesine (Rob. I 160 C, Bechtel 32) dating somewhere about 500 B.C., is to be transcribed πόλεος or πόλῆος is not certain. Since πόλεως occurs in Chios in the fifth century, and since πόλῆος in Hipponax is nothing more than a conjecture, the latter form would seem to have but scant foothold. In πόλῆας in Abdera 162<sub>2</sub>, even if the H represents η and not ε, it must be scanned short. On the other hand the

<sup>1</sup> Karsten, p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Wackernagel, *K. Z.* XXVII 266, Schmidt, *ibid.* 297, Johansson, *D. F. C.* p. 154.



Attic form πόλη, held by Meisterhans, p. 108, to be genuine and not an orthographical variation of πόλει, shows that the η forms did not entirely die out. If the form πόλη Iasos 104, is genuine Ionic, it is difficult to gainsay the existence of a post-Homeric Ionic πόλης. The dialect has however in its later period a greater fondness for ηι than for ηο. Upon late inscriptions πόλεος stands for πόλεως, as βασιλέος for -έως<sup>1</sup>.

πόλεος is found in Theognis 56 (A); πόλεως 776, and 1043 (MSS. πόλεως). These two verses have been branded as spurious by some. According to Renner (pp. 221, 223), -εος is not found in the lyric poets except when we read -εος as in Homer. Thus B 811, Φ 567 πόλεος is preferable to πόλιος<sup>2</sup>. πόλεος in Anacr. 72 is Bergk's conjecture for πόλεως (Schneidewin πόλιος); cf. Septem 181 (ch.) where a similar correction is necessary. πόλεος occurs in Agam. 1167 (lyr.), Antig. 162, Orestes 897.

### *Dative Singular.*

Three forms occur (1) -ι, (2) -ει and (3) -ηι.

487.] Dative in -ι.

The only example of an inscriptional form is χ]ύσι Keos 43, (latter part of the fifth century).

Anakreon 14, has νήνι from νεήνις, Aristoph. has ἀρχηγέτι *Lysistr.* 642 (lyr.). In Herodotos Stein has adopted as the uniform ending -ι, even where the MSS. have -ει exclusively or in great part; e.g. δυνάμι I 192 and IV 155 (cf. δυνάμει Teos 156 B 31), ἀριθμήσι II 143, ποιήσι II 82, ἐκποιήσι III 109, συνοικήσι I 196, καταστάσι II 173, Θέτι VII 191, cf. Θέτιδος Eryth. 206 B 27, and Θ 370. ἀπολις has ἀπόλι VIII 61.

Hippokrates has, according to Renner, some thirty passages with -ι. Littré reads -ει, e.g. in φύσει II 56, κύσσει II 268, Φάσει II 60 (Φάσι Hdt. II 103). Renner quotes Ermerins' ἐψήσι I p. 293 = II 246 L, καθάρσι Erm. p. 109, No. 568 = V 710, ὑποστάσι Erm. p. 111, No. 578 = V 714. Littré gives no variants -ι here.

Demokritos has συνέσι 135 which enables us to correct Stobaios' φρονήσει 14 and κτήσει 185, where Mullach has the strange form κτήσι. In many cases -ει is found in the MSS. of authors quoting early Ionic writers, e.g. πόλει Hekat. 202 (Strabo),

<sup>1</sup> πόλεος Latyshev I 41, 58, 61, 82, 89 (Olbia), cf. Attic βασιλέος C. I. A. III 553, 2 (first century A.C.). -εος, which appears in a few other late inscriptions in Latyshev II 153, 10, 20, 78, 223, 402, 21, was called Ionic by the grammarians because of its (possible) appearance in Homer. That it is Attic and Κοινή is certain. Early occurrences are probably derived from -ις, -ειος (§ 483).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Schmidt, K. Z. XXVII 301.

Hellan. 150 (Athen.), ποιήσει Ion 1. Simplicius has φύσει in citing Diog. Apoll. 2, where Mullach reads φύσει, misled by an erroneous pre-conception of the nature of the dialect.

Xenophon, *Anab.* VII 3, 32 has μαγάδι, cf. Anakr. 18 μάγαδιν in MSS. (Bergk -δην).

**488.] Dative in -ει.**

δυνάμει in Teos 156 B 31, an inscription of the fifth century and free from Atticism. Other inscriptions with -ει may owe this form to Attic influence: πόλει Halik. 240<sub>33</sub>, 37 (early part of the fourth century, but fifth century according to Dittenberger<sup>1</sup>), Eretria 157 (410–390 B. C., perhaps πόληι), Thasos 72<sub>14</sub> (300–250 B. C.), Teos 158<sub>17</sub> (cf. παρ ευρέσει 158<sub>8</sub>) an inscription full of Atticisms, Zeleia 113<sub>18</sub> (after 334 B. C.); Σανέργει Phanag. 167, βάσει Olbia 129<sub>12</sub> (period of the empire), and πόλει in an epigram Amorgos 34.

The dat. in -ει has been regarded by Erman and Karsten as a mint-mark of the dialect of Teos, § 12.

In the lyric poets we find -ει. Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>88</sub> πόσει<sup>2</sup>, Tyrt. 48, 10 πόλει, Xen. 2<sub>20</sub> πόλει, Phokyl. 12 πόλει, Theog. 52, 287 πόλει, προφάσει 323, πίστει 831, Solon 4<sub>17</sub>, 32 πόλει. βακκάρι is edited in Sim. Amorg. 16<sub>2</sub> and Hipponax tr. 41, though the MSS. in both passages have also βακκάρει.

The imitators of Herodotos who generally prefer -ιος, nevertheless adopt -ει with scarcely a variation, *e.g.* Lukian, *d. S.* 60, Arrian 18<sub>10</sub>. Dindorf overshoots the mark with his πόλι (cf. *d. S.* 1, 10, 13, 21, 22, &c.). Philip of Pergamum has the Attic παρατηρήσει *B. C. H.* II 273.

To what extent the termination -ει deserves a place in Ionic prose cannot be determined. That such a form was possible is evident from the Teian δυνάμει. All we can say is that the MSS. speak in favour of the adoption of the -ī form.

**489.] Dative in -ηϊ, -ηι.**

πόληι Iasos 104<sub>3</sub> before 350 B. C. may be Attic, cf. C. I. A. II 25<sub>10</sub> and II 42<sub>7</sub> (both before 376 B. C.), and even before 410 B. C. in C. I. A. IV 51, F 24. π]όλει in Eretria 157 (410–390 B. C.) may stand for πόληι. Since the preceding TEI is τεϊ, πόλει is however the preferable transcription<sup>3</sup>.

Trisyllabic πόληϊ occurs in Tyrt. 12<sub>18</sub>. So by imitation of the epic (Γ 50) form, upon a metrical inscription from Epidaurous Ἐφημ. ἀρχ. 1885, 65/6, line 71.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Zeitsch. f. Gymn.-wesen* XXVIII 114, note 3.

<sup>2</sup> This form, as all others in -ει, is regarded as doubtful by Renner on the specious ground that the language of the iambographic poets should correspond to that of the Ionic prose writers. Our inscriptions however offer examples enough of -ει.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. τεϊ βουλεϊ C. I. A. II 50, (372 B. C.).

## 490.]

*νήστις* in Hippokrates varies between *νήστιδι*, *νήστι* and *νήσσει*. The *-ι* form is found in *θ* and *C* VII 382, in *θ* VII 400, that in *-ει* is the vulgate reading VII 382, 402, and *-ιδι* occurs in *θ* *C* VII 352, in *C* VII 400, in *θ* VII 402. Sim. Amorg has a by-form *νήστης* 38, which is also *κοινή*.

In the *Peace* 930, *δι* is called an *ἰωνικὸν ῥήμα*. This form occurs in Aristotle, who has also *οἴ*.

## 491.] Accusative Singular.

*Ἄρτεμιν* Zeleia 113<sub>32</sub>; *οἶν* Thasos 68 A 2, not *οῖν*, since *οῖ* is generally contracted to *οι* even in the iambographic poets. *πόλιν* Archil. 46, Tyrt. 10<sub>3</sub>, Mimn. 11<sub>8</sub>, &c. Herodotos *ἀπολιν* VII 104, &c. *μῆνιν*<sup>1</sup> VII 137. Hipponax 115 has *θεῦτιν* = *τευθίδα*. Herodas Πάριν 1<sub>34</sub>, Μάνδριν 1<sub>77</sub>. Hdt. has *Ἄρτεμιν*, *Μαιῆτιν*, *Φθιῶτιν*, *Ἰστιαῖῶτιν*, *Θεσσαλιῶτιν*, *Τάναϊν*: *χάριν*, *ὄρνιν*, forms not declined as *iota* stems in other case-forms. On *Ἄρτέμιδος*, cf. § 546.

## 492.] Vocative Singular.

*Ἄρτεμι* Paros epigr. 60, Theog. 11, Λεύκασπι Anakr. 18<sub>2</sub>, Γύλλι Herodas 1<sub>67</sub>.

## 493.] Nominative Plural.

*πρυτάνεις* Iasos 104<sub>12</sub>, *διασυστάσεις* Eryth. 206 A 36 with the Attic termination. No case of *-ies* comes to light. In the lyric poets we have the genuine Ionic *-ies*: Theog. *στάσεις* 51, *πρήξεις* 1026, *ἰδρίες* 499; Sim. K. 84<sub>2</sub> *ἰδρίες*. *δόσεις* is found in Theognis 444 where Renner reads *δόσις*. The inflection *δόσις* \**δόσει-ες* is pre-Hellenic, as is seen in *τρεῖς* in Ananios 3<sub>2</sub>, where it is used as an accusative.

In Herodotos we have *-ies* (Bredow, pp. 263, 266), though the MSS. have *-is* or *-eis* very frequently, but rarely without any various reading, e.g. *βάρεις* II 41, *πρυτάνεις* V 71; *κτήσεις* IV 114. The accusative forms used as nominatives are rejected by the editors except Dindorf. No *-υ* stem has *-υς* in the nom. in Ionic, as in Attic. The adjectives in *-is* follow the nouns throughout, e.g. *δυωδεκαπόλεις* Ἴωρες VII 95. Philip of Pergamum has *στάσεις*, *B. C. H.* II 273 (but also *καταλύσεις*), Hippokrates *φύσεις* II 92.

Diogen. 6 *ἐτεροιώσεις*, Demokr. *Moral.* 17 *τέρψεις* (*-eis* Stob.), 66 *ὀρέξεις*: Lukian, Eusebios Mynd., epist. Hippokr., Pythag. have *-ies* throughout. There is no warrant for Dindorf's *πανηγύρις*, *ὄφρις*, *πρίστις*. Arrian and the medical writers adopt the Attic form; *πόλεις* Arr. 8<sub>5</sub> is indicative of the insecure speculation prevalent in the Hadrianic age concerning the periods of Ionic. Cf. Δ 45.

<sup>1</sup> Tzetz. Ex. II. 50<sub>1</sub> corrupt (*μῆνις* Ionic, *μᾶνιν* Doric, *μαῖνιν* Aiolio).

**494.] Genitive Plural.**

πρυ]τανίων Halik. 242, ἐπανλίων Eph. 148<sub>68</sub>. In Herodotos -ίων is without exception, though occasionally the MSS. have -εων. -εων is the only form of the genitive in Philip of Pergamum, *B. C. H.* II 273, who has -ιες.

Diogen. 6 ἑτεροιωσίων: Demokr. *Mor.* 181 πολλίων (according to Mullach, though Stobaios, who has -ιος, -ιες, has here -εων). Lukian *Astr.* 23 has μάντεων, Arrian 10 πόλεων, but better recollection of earlier usage gives us πολλίων ep. Hippokr. XXVI 1, 2, *Vita Hom.* 28, the Homeric form, though πόλεων appears E 744, where πολλίων is usually read.

**495.] Dative Plural.**

Theognis 302 has λάτρισι. In Herodotos the dative plural ends in -ισι, e.g. πόλισι, Σάρδισι, πύσισι, μάντισι. In the imitators of Hdt. there is not a single example of -ισι (e.g. ἀμπώτεσι Arrian 21<sub>3</sub>; elsewhere Arrian has ἀνάπωτις). The -εσι form is found in βρώσειν, πόσειν Demokr. *Mor.* 47, as in nouns in -σις (-ξισ, -ψισ). The termination -ισισι is unusual if not absolutely incorrect. Hippokrates has -εσι in such cases.

**496.] Accusative Plural.**

1. -ῖς occurs in πρήσις Chios 174 C 8. The MSS. of Hdt. have not infrequently -εις (Attic) or -ιας (Homeric, Aionic and Doric), though the normal ending is -ῖς. Thus in V 121 *rz* have πόλιας, *d* πόλεις where πόλις is to be adopted. Σάρδιας never occurs. Hippokrates has -ῖς in the accus. of τρεῖς: τρεῖς VI 482, VIII 184, 260, 304(θ). In Herodas 5<sub>8</sub> προφάσις may be itacistic.

Wherever -εις occurs it is due to Attic influence: Hdt. I 140, IX 7, in all of which passages read -ῖς. Teos 158<sub>4</sub> πράξεις, Samos 220<sub>27</sub> ἐξάστεις. τρεῖς in Ananios 3<sub>2</sub> is the nom. form which in Ionic was regularly used as an accusative. Hippokr. VIII 226, 228 has φθόεις, Ionic nom. φθόῖς.

## 2. -ιας.

στάσιας Xenoph. 1<sub>23</sub>, πόλιας Anaxag. 10 (Simpl. -εις), πρήξιας Demokr. *Mor.* 88, 105, Eurip. frag. 902, Philip of Pergamum, *B. C. H.* II 273, who has also διορθώσιας, Demokr. *Phys.* 4, ἐκλείψιας. Stein adopts -ιας in the following cases where there is no MS. authority for -ῖς: πόλιας I 94, V 15, τάξιας VI 111, μάντιας IV 68, ψευδομάντιας IV 69, δφιας IV 105, προφάσιας V 86 a, πανηγύριας VI 111, ἐνόρχιας VI 32. Bredow proposed to expel -ιας wherever it occurs. Its existence cannot however be assailed.

3. The later Ionists, except Arrian and Aretaïos, have -ιας. With πόληας, Arrian 11, 40, cf. πόληες 8; δφεας, δφιας *Ind.* 15.



In Lukian, Dindorf adopts *-īs* in opposition to Jacobitz (*Syr. dea* 1, 2 πανηγύρις, *Astr.* 23 πόλις but πόλιας 22); *V. A.* 14 ἐκπυρώσιας.

In a metrical inscription of Abdera, No. 162 (fifth century), we read πόλῆας, a form occurring ρ 486. Since we must scan πόλῆας, it has been suggested that the proper reading is πόλεας (G. Meyer, Blass) or πόλιας Roehl (on his No. 349) and Karsten, p. 26. There is no need of a change, cf. ἡρώας ζ 303.

### *Stems in Upsilon.*

497.] This declension includes nouns and the masculine and neuter of adjectives in *-us*.

1. Noteworthy is the considerable number of nouns in *-tús* in Ionic prose, which in Attic are poetical. Cf. βρωτός, κτιστός, ἐδητός, ὀτρυντός (Eust. 1180<sub>a</sub>), νηδός, ληστός = Attic ληστεία ἀρτός = ἀρθμός (Hesych. glosses the word with σύνταξις). In Hippokr. VIII 96 φλεγμαντός (θ, C) shows that after a nasal *-tús* might be used instead of *-sis*. Littré wrongly adopts φλεγμάνσιος.

#### 2. Terminations:—

υς	υες, εες
υος, εος	υων, εων
υι, ει	υσι, εσι
υν	υας, ὕς, εας
υ	υες, εες

On the inflection of *μῦς*, see under Sigma stems.

3. The testimony of the grammarians refers only to the inflection of the stems in *ευ/εφ*: πρέσβευς Greg. Kor. § 21, ὀξέας, πολέας, ἡδέας, § 40; ὀξείες Joh. Gr 240 B, Greg Kor. § 40, Meerm 652, Vat. 697; πολέες Greg Kor. § 40, citing Δ 143 (cf. Schol Ven. A = Hdn. II 88, on N 734: περισπαστέον τὸ πολεῖς accus. for πολέας) ὡς ταχεῖς, ὁμοίως τῷ "πολεῖς . . . , O 66. ταῦτα δέ φημι, ἐπεὶ τινες βούλονται ἔνεκα ἐμφάσεως μείζονος βαρυτόνως ἀναγιγνώσκειν, οἷς μαχεται καὶ ἡ ὀρθογραφία ἢ κατ' Ἴωνας). υῖες is called Ionic in Joh. Gr 240 B, Meerm. 652, Aug. 667, by enallage for υῖοί, an explanation adopted also in the case of ἐρυσάρματες and ἐρίηρες

#### 4. This declension comprises the types—

(1) νέκυσ, νέκυν, πέκυος = νέκυν-ος· ὀφρῦς, ὀφρῦος = Skt. bharṛis, bharut-as, and  
(2) -ῦς, -υν, with the genitive in *εφ-ος* as in πήχεος, ὀστεος, dative in *εφ-ι* as in πελέκει. The Homeric πολῦς, ἰθύς, βρωτῶν owe their long *υ*'s to the influence of the first class, as Pindar's ἰσχύν its *υ* to the influence of the second class. There is no pure dative form, the locative having usurped its functions, as in the case of the *iota* stems. The inflection according to the



first category comes into play wherever *υ* precedes a vocalic case ending. *-ῦς* in the accusative plural is framed from the stem with the short vowel (*υεῦ-υς*).

In the genitive plural *-εων* we have the strong case form, where the weak form was to be expected.

*-ῦσι* in *ὀφρύσι*, where we should expect *ὀφρῦσι* (Skt. *dhṛūṣi*), is due to the influence of *ὀφρῦ'ων*, &c. *πήχεσι* (Skt. *dhāḥiṣi*) has taken the place of *πήχυσι* under the influence of *πήχες*, *πηχέων*. For the Homeric forms in *-υσι* (§ 504, 1), *-ῦσι* has been conjectured. Monosyllabic nouns have *-ῦσι*, nouns of more than one syllable have *-ῦσι*. In the first class are included those with prosthetic vowel (*ὀφρῦς*, *ἰχθῦς*).

**498.] Nominative Singular.** The form *Ηυῖς* for *υῖος* occurs in No. 266, an inscription held to be Ionic by Bechtel<sup>1</sup>. Elsewhere *υῖος*, e.g. Mimn. 12<sub>11</sub>, *Ηυῖος* 265 (unc. loc.), Amorg. 35 (epigr.), *υοῦ* Paros 67 (late), *υῖόν* Delos 57. There is no trace of *ῦς* = *υῖος*, that word being employed by Herodotos in place of *σῦς*. Simonides of Keos (249) adopted the nominative *ῦς* (*υῖς*). Cf. Et. M. 553<sub>15</sub>, 775<sub>20</sub>, and Herodian quoted in the scholium on E 266. Hdn. denied the existence of a nominative *ῦς* or *υῖς*. The neuter ends in *-υ*.

**499.] Genitive Singular.**

1. *-υος*: *Θράσυος* Thas. (L.) 7 A 11; Hdt. *Ἄλυος*, *Ἀρδυος*, *ἰσχύος*, *ἰλύος*<sup>2</sup>, *ῥός*, e.g. I 36 where all MSS. have *συός* (cf. Hippokr. VIII 134 but *ῥός* VIII 138); Hippokr. VII 142 *νάπυος*, II 692 *ὀσφύος*. The Pseudo-Ionic writers have *-υος*.

2. *-εος*: *ὠκέος* Mimn. 11<sub>5</sub>, *ἄστεος* Sim. Am. 7<sub>74</sub> by an unusual synizesis. Hdt. has *ἄστεος*, *πήχεος*, *τετραπήχεος*, *ἡμίσεος*.

That *ἄστεος*, a r. l. in Thuk. VIII 92, 7 adopted by Classen, is foreign to Attic, is shown by the inscriptions. On *πήχες*, see Phrynich. 245 (Lob.), where it is erroneously stated that this form is Attic. Boiotian is *φέστιος* with *-ιος* from *-εος*. Ionic pursued a different path from Attic, which, in its *-εος*, permitted the genitive of *ι* stems to displace the ancient form.

**500.] Dative Singular.**

1. *-υι*: *ἰλυῖ* Theognis 961 (MSS. *ἔδει*). In Hdt. *-υῖ* (*ἰσχυῖ*, *νηδυῖ*, *νέκυι*) is read by the editors though the diphthongal pronunciation is not impossible, especially as we find *υῖ* in Homer in words of more than one syllable. Boiotian is *Δέρμυι*. *νηδυῖ* γ 486 has not the best authority. In Attic *-υῖ* is not to be questioned. *ἰλυῖ* is read Hippokr. VIII 138, *ὀσφῦι* VI 78.

2. *-ει*: *ὀξείι* Theognis 848. *-εῖ* has become *-ει* in *πελέκει*

<sup>1</sup> *υῖος* is also Attic, C. I. A. I 398, (epigr.) fifth century. In Attic inscriptions the forms of the *-υ* declension in this word prevail till about 350 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> Thus, and not *ἰλύος* as in φ 318 (*ἰλύφω*?). *ῥός* Hesiod, W. D. 460, is a poor support for *ἰλύος*.

Anakr. 47<sub>2</sub>, where a proceleusmaticus would have been unmetrical. In an epigram supposed to be by Anakreon (103) we read ἄσπεϊ in the fifth foot. The dialect of the poem is, however, not Ionic. The fusion of εῖ to εἰ must, however, have taken place before the fifth century, despite the fact that we read πελέκεϊ, ἐπταπήχει in the editions of Hdt. Anaxagoras 13 has πελέκει (*sic* Simplicius), though Mullach adopts -εῖ.

**501.] Accusative Singular.** ὄσφυν Miletos 100<sub>8</sub>, πάλμην Hippon. 1; Hdt. Τῆλυν, Μῖν, ἰσχύν, ἐγχελυν, νηδύν, ὕν, τετράπηχυν: in pseudo-Ionic sources: ἰχθύν, πῆχυν, θῆλυν.

**502.] Nominative Plural.**

1. -νες: Hdt. Μάξνες, Λίγνες, Λίβνες, ὄρνες, βόρνες, ἰχθύες, and so in pseudo-Ionic writers. Hippokr. ἐγγέλνες VI 548.

2. -εες: Hdt. πῆχες, τριπῆχες, ἡμισεες. Hippokr. VI 600 has both ἡδέες and ἡδεῖς.

3. Neuter (nominative and accusative) -εα: Hdt. ἄσπεα, διπῆχεα, ἡμισεα (in Attic sometimes -η and so on a Delian inscription), Phokyl. 11<sub>2</sub> ἡδέα, Solon 4<sub>35</sub> τραχέα.

**503.] Genitive Plural.**

1. -ων: Hdt. Μαξύων, ὕων: ἰχθύων Hdt., Luk., Arrian.

2. -εων: Hdt. πηχέων, τετραπηχέων, ἡμισέων. In τ 578 πελέκεων occurs. Protagoras has νιέων.

**504.] Dative Plural.**

1. -σσι in ὄφρῳσι Anakr. 54<sub>1</sub>, Hdt. ὕσι. ἰχθύεσσιν in Anan. 5<sub>8</sub> is an exception to the law that in Ionic -εσσι is restricted to the *sigma* declension. The form is a loan from the epos. Homer has σύεσσι, συσί, νεκύεσσι, νέκυσσι, γένυσσι, &c.

2. -εσι in Hdt.: πελέκεσι, πῆχεσι, ἐξαπήχεσι. Homer's πελέκεσσι is due to the influence of -εσσι from *sigma* stems, which may appear as -εσι.

**505.] Accusative Plural.**

1. -νας: ἐγγέλνας Archil. epod. 101 (cf. ἐγγέλνες Φ 203), ὄφρῳνας Hdt. II 66 (-ὕς *R d*), ἰχθύνας II 94 (*P R d*), ἰχθῆς (*A B C*). The former form is adopted by Stein. It occurs without a variant in III 98, and is found also in Lukian and Arrian. For Λίβνας II 55, 77, IV 160, VII 184 Bredow proposed to substitute Λίβνς, though this form is unattested.

2. -ῦς in Hdt. ὕς II 14, 47, IV 186, ἔνς VII 89, and ἰχθῦς I 141. In Attic -νας is later than -ῦς. Homer has both terminations, -ῦς occurring in words of more than one syllable, in the first foot and in the arsis of the third foot. Empedokles (106, 125 Stein) used ἰχθῦς both as nominative and accusative.

3. -*εας* in Hdt. *πήχεας*, *πρέσβεας*, *ἐπταπήχεας*, *ἡμίσεας*. The last mentioned form was thought to be better Attic than *ἡμίσεις* by the grammarians, whereas the contrary is the case, *ἡμίσεις* being the better attested form. In Ψ 114 we find *πελέκεας*. Hdt. IV 84 has *υἱέας* (Homeric), elsewhere *υἱούς*. Agathokles of Kyzikos (Athen. XIV 649 F) used the form *θαμέας*.

506.] **Feminine of Adjectives in -*υς*.** Herodotos has -*εα*, not -*εια* (see § 219, 419): *e.g.* *βαθέα* I 178, *τρηχέα* IV 23, *βραχέα* V 49, *παχέα* VII 33, *θήλεα* III 109, *ιθέα* II 17, *ἡμίσεα* V 111, *δασέα* IV 191; *τρηχέης* IV 23, *θηλέης* II 35; *θηλήη* III 85, *βαθέη* II 156, III 110, *πλατέη* II 156, *ιθέη* IX 57; *βαρέαν* II 94, *τρηχέαν* IX 122, *εὐρέαν* IV 3; *θήλειαι* IV 23, *ἡμίσειαι* VIII 18; *θηλέων* II 18, 46; no example of the dative plural occurs in Hdt.; *θηλέας* I 192, *ἡμισέας* II 10, VIII 27, *ιθέας* I 180. Otherwise adjectives in -*υς* are inflected like nouns in -*υς*, -*εος*.

The MSS. testify in so many instances to the presence of the forms in -*εα* that we may venture to regard as foreign to the dialect of Herodotos those cases of the retention, even by all the MSS., of the forms in -*εια*. These are as follows:—*βαθεῖα* VII 23; *Ι(εὺ)θεῖα* II 34; *Ιθείης* II 161, III 127; *Ιθειῶν* VII 193; *Ιθείας* I 180; *δασεῖα*, *δασεῖαν* III 32 (*δασέαν* Miletos 100<sub>4</sub>); *ταχέας* VIII 23; *ὀξεῖα* IX 23; and *θήλειαν* I 105 (CP). There is no basis for the view that a form like *δασέα* was introduced into the text of Hdt. at a period when such forms were common. In Attic they had a scant existence, in later Ionic they are unvouched for, and even in pseudo-Ionic writers they are sparingly attested. That the fuller form gained a position in the MSS. is not to be wondered at in view of the fact that it is made use of by Homer and by the Ionic poets. When the MSS. in general, inscriptions<sup>1</sup>, and grammarians agree as to the Ionic character of a form, some variations in the MSS. must not weigh in the balance.

In addition to the three examples of -*εα* from the genuine treatises of Hippokrates cited on p. 198, there may be quoted from the later tractates included in the Hippokratic corpus the following examples of the shorter form. They are: *παχέαι* and *παχεῶν* (v. l. -*ει*-) VI 60, *ὀξέαι* VIII 134 *bis* (v. l. -*ει*-); *ὀξέη* VI 172 (*θ*, *vulgo* -*ει*-), 174 (*θ*, *vulgo* -*ει*-), *ὀξέην* VI 178 (*θ*, *vulgo* -*ει*-) and so twice VI 180, the same page showing *τρηχείην*. In VIII 274 the *θηλίαν* of *θ* is read *θηλείην* by Littré. Hippokrates has as a rule -*εια*, but also -*εα*, and the hyper-Ionic -*εη* even in *θ*. The forms in -*εα* often have the v. l. -*εια*. In § 219 all the examples found in the pseudo-Ionists were enumerated.

<sup>1</sup> The form *δασεῖης* Zoleia 114 E 4 is late.

*Diphthongal Stems.*

These are -ηυ/-ευ, -ηυ, -ου, -ωι/-οι, -ωυ.

507.] Stems in -ηυ/-ευ. On the cases of the υ declension formed from a stem ευ, see above, § 497 ff. On νίυς, νιεύς, see §§ 498, 505, 3.

εὐς	εἶς
εὐς (ἦος?)	εῶν
εἰ (ἦι?)	εὐσι
εἶ	εἶς
εὐ	εἶς

Forms in -εἶ occur in tragedy (φορέα in Euripides *Hek.* 882, *El.* 599, 763<sup>1</sup>; and -εἶ, -εἶς are not infrequent in comedy. Cf. Meineke, I 295 ff. In the latter they may be regarded as the beginning of the movement of the *Koinḗ* towards the frequent adoption of the forms with εἶ. *Νηρέας* Ion 1082, *Ἀχιλλῆος* I. T. 436, *Βασιλῆος* Andr. 1022 (-ῆς Dind.), *Βασιλῆος* *Phoin.* 829 occur only in choric passages. -εἶς occurs in *Περσ.* 63, 580 (both choric). *Septem* 804 (trim.) contains *Βασιλείς*: but the whole passage is full of difficulties and has long been suspected. Plato, *Theat.* 169 B, has *Θησείς*. A change of -εἶς in these passages to -εῖς is hazardous since Attic *ἑπείης* may be nothing more than a confusion of ΕΞ and ΗΞ.

Testimony of the grammarians. This deals exclusively with Homeric forms. *Genitive*: -ῆος Joh. Gr. 239 B, Greg. Kor. § 20, Meerm 649, Vat. 695, Hdn. II 693<sub>33</sub> = Choir. 159<sub>9</sub>, II 709<sub>2</sub> = Choir. 221<sub>16</sub>, II 638<sub>7</sub> = An. Ox. IV 337<sub>11</sub>, II 673<sub>38</sub> = Choir. 209<sub>21</sub> (παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ἴωσι, Et. M. 630<sub>6</sub>, Orion 188<sub>10</sub>, An. Ox. I 315<sub>30</sub>, I 323<sub>9</sub>, An. Par. III 355<sub>39</sub>, Tzetz. Ex. II. 61<sub>12</sub>, 94<sub>21</sub>; *Ἀργεος* Hdn. II 682<sub>14</sub> = Choir. 145<sub>4</sub>, *Diakonos* on *Hed. Aspis* 88, but *Ἀργεος* is also called Ionic by Hdn. II 639<sub>23</sub> = Eust. 518<sub>29</sub>, quoting Archil. 47. -εὐς: *Ἀργεος* Eust. 623<sub>34</sub>. This was the *Koinḗ* form according to Hdn. II 673<sub>31</sub> = Choir. 209<sub>9</sub>. -εὐς. *Ἰδομενεὺς* N 424 (now read -μενεὺς with MS. authority) and *Ὀδυσσεὺς* ω 398 are called Ionic and Doric by Hdn. II 328<sub>11</sub> and II 692<sub>31</sub> = Choir. 157<sub>21</sub>, II 675<sub>11</sub> = Choir. 211<sub>21</sub> in this passage Hdn. recognizes that the nominative is preferable, quoting φ 305, but Choir. makes no mention of the reading -εὐς, II 677<sub>13</sub> = Choir. 216<sub>3</sub>, cf. also Hdn. in An. Ox. III 233<sub>30</sub> and Bekk. An. III 1204<sub>1</sub>, 1240<sub>12</sub>, Et. Gud. 273<sub>29</sub>, Eust. 1965<sub>19</sub>. -εἶος in *Ἀχιλλεῖος*, *Βασιλεῖος* was used by the *νεώτεροι* Ἴωνες, Hdn. II 674<sub>3</sub> = Choir. 209<sub>31</sub>. *Ἀχιλλεῖος*, *Βασιλεῖος* were also the late Aiolic forms according to Hdn. See §§ 25, 220. *Dative*. -ῆι Tzetz. Ex. II. 72<sub>1</sub>. -εῖ: Joh. Gr. 242, *Drakon* 157<sub>1</sub>, cf. 161<sub>1</sub>. *Accusative* *ἦα* An. Par. III 311<sub>27</sub>. -ῆ<εα in *Τυδῆ* Hdn. II 677<sub>1</sub> = Choir. 215<sub>21</sub> (Ionic and Doric). *Nominative Plural*: -ῆες: Joh. Gr. 239 B, 240 B, Greg. Kor. § 40, Meerm 652, Vat. 696, 697, *Drakon* 115<sub>10</sub>. *Genitive Plural*: -ῆων. Schol. Ven. A (interlinear) on A 176. Eust. 1108, *Φωκῆων*: in 272, Eust. says that there was also a reading *Φωκεῖων* according to Aristarchos. So schol. Ven. A on B 517. This form cannot well be a parallel to *Ἀχιλλεῖος*. *Accusative Plural*: -ῆας: An. Ox. I 315<sub>1</sub>.

508.] *Nominative Singular*. εὐς throughout: *Εὐβοεύς* *Styra*

19<sub>28</sub>, *ιερεύς* Erythr. 206 B 58. On *ιερέως* in Miletos 100<sub>4</sub>, see § 477.

509.] Genitive Singular. *ιέρεος* Orop. 18<sub>3</sub>, 'Ανδρέος Chios 174 D 6, Θαργαλέο[s] Chios 174 C 18, Δωριέος Amorg. 231<sub>10</sub>. Φιλέος Chios 181 and Μνησέος Chios 182 are genitives from -ῆς or -εύς. 'Αχιλλέος from Olbia, Latyschev I 62<sub>8</sub>, 67<sub>8</sub>, 77<sub>8</sub>, 80<sub>4</sub>, 83<sub>4</sub> (Attic βασιλέος C. I. A. III 553<sub>2</sub>) are all very late<sup>1</sup>.

The Attic has displaced the epichoric form in the following instances:—*Κεραμέως* Olbia, *Jahrb. Suppl.* vol. V 487 No. 47, X 29 No. 21, *Αθυσιάς* Smyrna 153<sub>21</sub>, *Βραβέως* Maroneia *Zeitsch. f. Num.* III 284 No. 24 (before 400 B.C.), *Κεγχρέως* Erythr. 201<sub>7</sub> (early part of the fourth cent.), *Καυκασέως* Erythr. 206 A 19, *Βασιλέως* 206 B 61, Samothrake 236 (Roman), 'Αχιλλέως Erythr. 206 B 27, 'Αρμαστέως 206 C 31, Βακχέως 206 C 36, Πεδιέως Thasos (L.) 14 B 9, *Κοπρέως* Teos, C. I. G. 3064<sub>21</sub>, *Ξιθηρέω[s]* *ibid.* l. 1. In C. I. G. 2157<sub>8</sub> (Samothrake) we must read 'Αριστέω[s]. This inscription contains the form *ἱππάρχεω*. Of the forms here cited that are dateable, most may be referred to the third century. This is noteworthy as regards the tenacity of the dialect in respect of its inflectional system.

A genitive βα]σιλῆος is read by Le Bas No. 41 in an Erythraian inscription. There is no evidence from later literature of an Ionic -ηος<sup>2</sup>; and historical reasons militate against Le Bas' other restorations in the same inscription (Nöldeke *G. G. A.* 1884, 294, Bechtel *Ion. Insch.* p. 125). We read Διὸς Πλουτῆος on a late inscription (No. 243 Halik.) that has not been recollated, and whose original is not to be found. If genuine, the genitive savours of poetical usage. Bechtel compares 'Αρηος νικηθέντος (C. I. G. IV 7030). Κεφαλέος in No. 266, an inscription found on the Erechtheion, and regarded by Bechtel as Ionic, has been read by Neubauer Κεφαλῆος, by Bechtel Κεφαλέος (=εύς). See Bechtel *ad loc.* The only example of -ηος from Attic is οἰκῆος, in a law quoted by Lysias X 19, a form doubted by Dittenberger *Hermes* XVII 36 (οἰκῆος for οἰκέως < ΟΙΚΕΟΣ?). The support for an inflection -ηος, -ηι to be gained from Πριηνῆι Samos 212 (§ 510) is exceedingly weak.

In the lyric poets we find -εος in Πριηνέος (Hipponax, tetr. 79) restored by Bergk for the vulgar Πριηνέως from Codex E of Suidas. Πριηνέος is also found in Archil. 97<sub>2</sub> epod., where it was restored for -έως by Elmsley. In a pentameter attributed to Anakreon (99) we read Θησέος. In an Ionic epigram (Bechtel No. 265) we find 'Αρεος. Herodotos has βασιλέος, &c.<sup>3</sup> (*Αιγέως*

<sup>1</sup> Κυ]νδιδέος from Teos in Le Bas No. 130 (a very late inscr.).

<sup>2</sup> A few variants ('Ερεχθῆος, Πηλῆος) in Hdt. are not valid evidence of the existence of an inflection to which the Aldine edition gave credence.

<sup>3</sup> Struve in his *Quaest. de dial. Herod. specimen* II first showed that the epic and Attic forms, even when supported by good MS. evidence (which is rarely the case), are to be rejected.



I 173 is incorrect), while Lukian has βασιλῆος in *Syr. dea* 4 (or -έως) and 17, as if he imitated Homer, not Herodotos. Hippokr. II 666 has γναφέως. Arrian has -εως in 5<sub>11</sub>, 15<sub>11</sub>, 28<sub>3</sub>, changed by Eberhard to -εος, for which there is MS. support in 34<sub>1</sub>, 38<sub>9</sub>. -εως is not found in the lyric poets except in Μεγαρέως Theog. 23, for which Bekker and Renner read Μεγαρέος.

The forms in -ειος quoted by Herodian are explained as -εος with the glide *iota* in § 220; cf. § 507, note 2.

**510.] Dative Singular.** ἱερεῖ Orop. 18<sub>33</sub>, Milet. 100<sub>7</sub>; (ἰ)ρεῖ Thasos 71<sub>11</sub>; βασιλεῖ Iasos 105<sub>7</sub>; Εὐβολεῖ Paros 65; Πριεῖ Erythr. 201<sub>20</sub>. In Samos 212 we read Πριηλῆι or Πριηνῆι an interesting form of the dative singular, held by Bechtel to be a locative<sup>1</sup>. Tyrt. V 1 βασιλῆι is not support enough for so wide a divergence from the Ionic prose ending; much less πόλῃι, which is an undoubted locative. Cf. § 513. Herodotos has βασιλεί, &c., according to the editors. The variations in favour of -ει are very numerous, notably in the class of which χ was the archetype. There can be no doubt that \*εῖ in the dative-locative singular did not remain open as late as the fifth century in the vulgar speech. The epic form occurs in *Vita Homeri* 11. Hippokr. VI 78 χοεῖ (v. l. χοῖ, χωῖ), Littré χοεῖ.

**511.] Accusative Singular.** ἱερέᾱ Oropos 18<sub>2</sub>, 14<sub>7</sub>, 26<sub>7</sub>, 28<sub>1</sub>; Thasos 71<sub>7</sub>, βασιλέα Mylasa 248 A 5, as in Hdt. Lukian *Syr. dea* has βασιλέα § 20 in E, while the rest of the MSS. have the epic form. Theognis 285 has the Old Ionic βασιλῆα. Εὐρυμεδορτιάδεα Hippon. 85 is from a patronymic in -δεus, cf. Μαίαδεῦ Hippon. 16<sub>1</sub>. Hippokr. VII 156, 158 χοέα (Attic χοᾶ) from χοεύς, which nominative was New Ionic, but not Attic.

**512.] Vocative Singular.** Hdt. βασιλεῦ, &c.; Μαίαδεῦ Hippon. 16<sub>1</sub>.

**513.] Nominative Plural.** Ἐρετριεῖς Eretria 14, ἱερεῖς Iasos 104<sub>14</sub>, βασιλεῖς Ephesos 147<sub>9</sub>, Μυλασεῖς Mylasa 248 C 7, Ἴασεῖς Sam. 221<sub>4</sub>, Κασταλεῖς Perinthos 234 B 39, and Παλ[α]εῖς Rob. I 160 E. Theog. 263 τοκῆες has the Homeric ending which appears in Bacchyl. 42, in a fragment Ionic in metre, tone and dialect:—

Ἀβρότητι ξυνέασιν Ἰώνων βασιλῆες.

This line must not be held to support a contemporary Ionic inflection which retained the η. φονῆες in Archil. tetr. 59<sub>2</sub> is on

<sup>1</sup> Kirchhoff takes this to be a dative and finds here a mark of sub-dialectal difference. Hdt. I 170 has Πριηνέος. Bechtel compares the locative τὸ χωρίον τὸ Μυρρινούντι in Attic.

the other hand a highly remarkable form, as it is the only instance, except 'Ησιονῆας Kallinos 5, in an early lyric poet of Ionic birth, of the appearance of the long stem vowel. Nevertheless it is possible to find in the character of the verse (cf. § 52) an explanation for the presence of an Homeric form. It is unwise to admit the survival of the -η- forms in ordinary Ionic speech; a conclusion not vitiated by Πριηνῆι (§ 510). Hdt. βασιλέες, &c., and so in the later Ionists except Arrian *Ind.* 23, ἱππεῖς in all MSS. (Eberhard ἱππέες), Abydenos 1 βασιλεῖς. The epic form seems occasionally to have been dragged into the MSS. of Hdt. and also occurs in ep. Hippokr. 27<sub>31</sub> βασιλῆες, Aret. 63, 166 ὀχῆες. κεραμέες (32) is the only case in the *Vita Homeri* of the open form (ἀλιῆες 35). -εες must have been contracted in the fifth century.

514.] **Genitive Plural.** 'Ερετριέων Head *H. N.* 307, 'Ιστιαίων *ibid.* 309, Χαλκιδέων Olynth. 8 B 10, 9, and Erythr. 201<sub>18</sub>; Πριηνέων Priene 143, 'Ιασέων Iasos 104<sub>3</sub> and Samos 222<sub>22</sub>; 'Αλικα[ρινη]σσέων Halik. 238<sub>41</sub>; Θατέων Pantik. 122 and Phanag. 167, 168; ἀμφορέων Zeleia 114 D 5; βασιλέων Eph. 147<sub>2</sub>; Μυλασέων Mylasa 248 A 7, 10; Δω[ρι]έων Rob. I 137 (Didyma). Herodot. has βασιλέων, &c. (v. l. occasionally in -ηων as also in epist. Hippokr. 17<sub>29</sub>). 'Ερετριῶν, 411 B. C., 'Εφ. ἀρχ. 1890-1, 196 ff. In the lyric poets: γονέων Theog. 1330.

515.] **Dative Plural.** Χαλκιδεῦσι Olynth. 8 A 8-9, Συκεεῦσιν Prokon. 103<sub>10-11</sub>, Μυλασεῦσιν Mylasa 248 A 3; Hdt. βασιλεῦσι, &c.

516.] **Accusative Plural.** βασιλέας Chios *Berlin. Phil. Wochenachr.* 1889, p. 1195, l. 8; Ταορέας Erythr. 209, 2. In the elegiac poets we find the epic -ηας (Theognis 821, 1211 τοκῆας, Kallinos 5 'Ησιονῆας, Tyrt. 4<sub>3</sub> βασιλῆας). The epic form was apparently affected by some of the pseudo-Ionists: Aretaios ἀνοχῆας 45, epist. Hippokr. γονῆας 13<sub>6</sub>, βασιλῆας 17<sub>29</sub>, if they are not due to the same cause which lodged the epic forms in some MSS. of Hdt. Hdt. has βασιλέας, &c. 'Υσιᾶς VI 108 (*ABP*, Stein 'Υσιᾶς) recalls 'Ερετριᾶς, 'Ισστιαῖας Eretr. 15<sub>17</sub>, 18 as in Attic inscriptions of the fifth century ('Αλαιᾶς, 'Εστιαῖας). In the fourth century (350-300) both -ᾶς and -έας occur in Attic. υῖέας Hdt. IV 84 is an exception to the inflection of 'son' in post-Homeric Ionic. See § 498.

517.] Ζεύς, γῆϋς, βοῦς, χοῦς, 'Αρης.

1. Ζεύς<sup>1</sup> Amorg. 33, Sim. Am. 7<sub>23</sub>, Mimn. 16, Theog. 337. For Ζᾶς in a fragment of Pherekydes of Syros, quoted by

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Collitz, *B. B.* X 47 ff.

Clemens, Ζῆς is the form to be expected in Ionic; see Hdn. I 402<sub>7</sub>, II 911<sub>8</sub> and cf. § 182. Διός Paros 59<sub>7</sub> (epigr.), Erythr. 206 B 19, Halik. 243, Sim. Am. 7<sub>24</sub>, Solon 4<sub>1</sub>, Theog. I, 11, 15 (Διόθεν 197), Anakt. 69, Hdt. II 13, &c. Ζηνός Solon 13<sub>1</sub>, 25, Herakl. 65. On Δί and Δί see § 270. Hdt. V 49 has the former form. Δία occurs in Anakt. 6<sub>3</sub>, &c. Ζεὺν Aischrion *apud* Athen. VIII 335 B, cf. Eust. 1387<sub>23</sub>. Bergk (8<sub>8</sub>) edits Ζῆν'. Ζῆνα Theog. 285 as in Ξ 157, ω 472. Ξ 265, Θ 206 are hypermetrical if we do not adopt the form Ζῆν < \*Διῆν. Ζεῦ Archil. epod. 88<sub>1</sub>, Hippon. 30 A, Anakt. 79, Theog. 731, &c.

In II 642<sub>13</sub> (=An. Ox. III 237<sub>23</sub>), cf. I 394<sub>28</sub>, Herodian states that the παλαιοὶ Ἴωνες used Ζῆν, Ζηνός, the μεταγενέστεροι, Ζάν, Ζανός. Ζανός and Ζανί are found in Bergk, *F. L. G.* III Adespota 82 A B:—

Κλῦθί μοι Ζανός τε κούρη.

Ζανί τ' ἐλευθερίῳ.

Ζηνός occurs *ibid.* Adesp. 78. See § 182.

Διειτρήφης referred in § 215 to a stem διφο- may perhaps be better explained as the old dative of the stem διφ-. It cannot, however, be derived from \*Διῆφι, whence Διεί through \*Διῆ.

2. νῆς<sup>1</sup> in Hdt., with η for ᾱ adopted by the nominative from some oblique cases<sup>2</sup>. νᾶν- occurs in ναυπηγήσιμος in Hdt. and Olynthos 8 B 2; ναυαρχίη, ναυηγίη, νευαυηγήκασι, &c., in Hdt. Herodas has νῆς 1<sub>41</sub>. Theognis 84, 856, 1361 has ναῦς, but in 970 A has νῆς. Whether νεῦς mentioned by Hdn. I 401<sub>1</sub>, II 553<sub>11</sub> is ascribed solely to Homer, is uncertain. From II 674<sub>23</sub> νεῦς, νεός καὶ γρεῦς, γρεός it might be supposed that Hdn. had the later Ionic in mind. In II 675<sub>29</sub> νεῦς, νεός, νεί, νεῖ are compared with γρεῖς, γρεός, γρεί, γρεῖ. νεί actually appears in Hdt. VII 184 (A B C), and νευσί (Littre νεῦσι) in a pseudo-Hippocratic letter (IX 414). But perhaps the forms νέες, νεῶν, νέεσσι, νέας, which occur in the epos, were not without influence upon Herodian in causing him to set up a nominative νεῦς. νεός is generally stated to be the Herodoteian genitive. The MSS., however, have νῆς<sup>3</sup> almost without a variant, which is not to be rejected, despite λεώς and other forms in which ηο < ᾱφο has suffered *metathesis quantitatis*. Cf. § 170. νῆς is found in the elegy: Archil. 4<sub>1</sub>, Theog. 513. Arrian has νεώς, a form that is also found in the best MSS. of Hdt., and for which νεός is substituted

<sup>1</sup> Tzetz., Ex. II. 741<sub>6</sub>.

<sup>2</sup> It is to be noticed that only when η is = I. E. ε is it reinstated in the nominative from the analogy of other case forms. A βασιλῆς is unheard of.

<sup>3</sup> Eust. 1716<sub>1</sub>, Ἴωνες δὲ πάντας τὸ νῆς καὶ γρηός: Tzetz. Ex. II. 741<sub>6</sub>.

by Merzdorf (Curtius' *Stud.* IX p. 242), who regard its -os as due to the influence of that of other consonantal stems (cf. Brugmann *Gramm.* § 19). *νηί* is often found in the MSS. of Hdt. On *νεί*, see above. *νηί* Solon 19<sub>3</sub>. See § 238. *νεία* occurs in Hdt. nineteen times without a variant. *R* has *νῆα* eight times in the eighth book. Euseb. Mynd. 12, and Hippokr. epistle 17, have *νῆα*, Arrian the Attic *ναῦν*, a form that may be regarded as Doric in Theog. 680. Herodas 2<sub>2</sub> has *νηῦν* by a probable conjecture of Blass. *νέες*<sup>1</sup> nineteen times without variant in Hdt., *νῆες* only twice without a variant. Arrian and Aretaios appear to have the latter form, which is more frequent in Homer than the former. *νέες* is derived directly from *νῆ-ες*. *νεῶν* Hdt. fifty-nine times without a variant, but *νηῶν* VII 160 in all MSS. *νεῶν* is the Arrianic form. *νηυσί* Hdt., Mimn. 9<sub>2</sub>, Solon 13<sub>44</sub>, Theog. 12. Arrian has the Attic *ναῦσί*<sup>2</sup>, which represents the original Greek form better than the Ionic *νηυσί*. On a *νευσί* in Homer, cf. Hdn. II 553<sub>13</sub>. *νέας*<sup>3</sup> 110 times without a variant in Hdt., *νῆας* without a variant V 83, *ναῦς* VI 46, VIII 94 as in Arrian. In these passages *νέας* is to be adopted. *νέας* is from *νῆας* < *πᾶν-ης*, as *νέ-ες* from *νῆ-ες*. Attic *ναῦς*, like *ναῦν*, is a new formation.

3. *γρηῦς*. In Archil. 31 we must read *γρηῦς* for *γραῦς*. *γρηῖ* occurs in an iambic fragment (Bergk *P. L. G.* III 692, Adespota 16). *γρηῦν* is found in Hippokr. VIII 448 in C. Bergk reads *γρηῦν* (*sic*) on Archil. 168. Hdn. II 645<sub>30</sub> = An. Ox. IV 337<sub>π</sub> cites the form thus and compares *γρηῦ* χ 395. He, however, remarks: τὸ νηῦς ἢ γρηῦς διηρημένον κατὰ τοὺς Ἴωνας οὐκ ἐκλίθη. The resolved forms (*γρηῦς*, &c.) are later than the closed (*γρηῦς*). Hdn. cites *γρεῦς*, *γρεός*, *γρεῖ* (above under *νηῦς*). Herodas 3<sub>20</sub> has *γρηῦν*.

4. *βοῦς* and *χοῦς*. *βοός* Hdt., Anakr. 21<sub>8</sub>, Hrd. 3<sub>es</sub>; *βοί* Hdt., *βοῦν* Hdt.<sup>4</sup>, Hrd. 4<sub>18</sub>; *βόες* Hdt.; *βοῦς* accusative plural Hdt. (c. l. *βόας* IV 8 in *R*, which has also *Γηρυόναο* as an epic reminiscence, cf. Hekat. 349), *βόας* Lukian *Syr. dea* 54, *Astr.* 22 ('*Ἡελίου βόας* an epic reminiscence?) and Arrian 7<sub>7</sub>. *βόας* is an earlier form than *βοῦς*, which is formed from *βοῦν*.

*χοῦς*, from *χόφος*, follows the analogy of *βοῦς*. Hdt. has *χοῦν* (cf. *φλοῦν*). Arrian has *χόον* 13, but *χοῦν* 13<sub>6</sub>, so fluctuating are the MSS. Eberhard writes *χόον* in both cases.

5. *ἄρης*<sup>5</sup> Anakr. 70. *ἄρεος* Hdt. II 63, 83, IV 62, VII 76,

<sup>1</sup> *νέες* Gram. Paris. p. 677, § 6 = An. Bachm. II 366<sub>11</sub>.

<sup>2</sup> Called Ionic by Tzetz. Ex. II. 84<sub>7</sub>.

<sup>3</sup> *νέας* Greg. Kor. §§ 19, 24, and 53, p. 461; *νῆας* Tzetz. Ex. II. 74<sub>6</sub> and on Hdt. *W. D.* 244.

<sup>4</sup> *βῶν* II 40 *Rd* and Aldus; VI 67 Aldus. This form is that of H 238.

<sup>5</sup> The Homeric forms of this word are given Eust. 518<sub>21</sub>, An. Ox. III 237<sub>1</sub> = Hdn. II 639<sub>π</sub> ff.



Tyrt. 16, (*embat.*) in *DE* (vulg. \**Ἀρεως*) as in Hom. and Hsd., Lukian, *Astr.* 20, 22. \**Ἀρηος* is perhaps a *v. l.* Hdt. IV 62 (*C*). It is not an Ionic prose form, but is found in Tyrt. 11, for the vulgate \**Ἀρεως*, according to Bergk. Schneidewin here adopted \**Ἀρεος*. \**Ἀρηος* is the Homeric and Hesiodic form. The H of APHOΣ upon an Attic vase from Kameiros (*Journ. of Philol.* VII 1877) must be a mistake for E. \**Ἀρεω*<sup>1</sup> Archil. 48. This is said to have been written by Aristarchos in  $\Xi$  485,  $\Sigma$  100, 213 for Zenodotos'  $\alpha\rho\eta\varsigma$ <sup>2</sup>. \**Ἀρεῖ* Sim. Amorg. 1<sub>13</sub> (-*εῖ* vulgo, cf. B 479), and Hdt. II 63. This form preserves the natural quantity of the initial vowel (*ā*). \**Ἀρηῖ* Hdt. IV 59, 62 in all MSS. (cf. B 385, &c.). Stein reads \**Ἀρεῖ*, which is correct except the diaeresis. The Simonideian form was the prose form as well. \**Ἀρεα* Hdt. II 63, IV 59, V 7, Luk. *Astr.* 27. Homer has \**Ἀρηα* and \**Ἀρην*.

The inflection according to the -*ev*- stem<sup>3</sup> is older than that in -*εσ*-; and is supreme in Aiolic. From \**Ἀρεα*, an ambiguous accusative, came the inflection on the lines of a sigmatic stem: \**Ἀρης*, \**Ἀρεῖ*. On the other hand \**Ἀρης* was inflected as a stem in *η*, \**Ἀρηο* producing \**Ἀρεω* in Archil., and the Homeric \**Ἀρην*. On the relations of the three stems, see Bechtel, *Göttinger Nachrichten*, 1886, p. 378. With \**Ἀρεως* \**Ἀρης*, cf. the so-called Doric *Τύδης*, \**Ὀρφης*, \**Ὠλέξης* in Ibykos<sup>4</sup>, and the Latin Ulixes, Achilles.

#### *Stems in ωι/οι.*

518.] The terminations of the singular (plural not attested) are *ω*, *ωι*; *ους*, *οι*, *ουν* (*ω?*), *οι*. On the forms in -*ώ* and -*ώι* see Ahrens, *Kleine Schriften* I 31 ff., Schmidt, *K. Z.* XXVII 374, and Brugmann, *Gramm.* 70<sup>a</sup> note.

#### Testimony of the Grammarians.

The statements of Hdn. II 338<sub>14</sub> = 755<sub>21</sub> (= Choir. 332<sub>14</sub>), Plut. *Mor.* 1078 B that *Ξαυφός*, *Ἀητός* were Ionic are unsupported by tradition. *Ἀητός* may.

<sup>1</sup> Hdn. II 639<sub>23</sub> = Eust. 518<sub>26</sub>: σπονδειακὸν \**Ἀρης* \**Ἀρου* ὅθεν κατὰ Ἰάδα διδλεκτον ἐπεκτείνας \**Ἀρχίλοχος* . . . "παῖδ' \**Ἀρεω* μιηφόρου."

<sup>2</sup> The Et. M. 138, supposes that this \**Ἀρεω* is the genitive of \**Ἀρεως*. But in  $\Xi$  485 and  $\Sigma$  213 the MSS. generally have \**Ἀρεως*, not \**Ἀρεω* (in  $\Sigma$  100  $\alpha\rho\eta\varsigma$ ), and Didymos' διὰ τοῦ *ω* may refer to the penultimate, not the ultimate, letter, as is pointed out by Schulze in *K. Z.* XXIX 155, who regards this \**Ἀρεως* as a mistaken reading for *ἄρεως*, genitive of *ἄρος* βλάβος ἀκουσίον in H. *Psychia*. This *ἄρος* has the same meaning as *ἀρή*, *ἀρην* ἐτάροισιν ἀμύνειν M 334. It is certainly difficult to see how Aristarchos found a genitive of \**Ἀρης* in the passages. *ἄρει* Hippon. 65 is doubtless connected with *ἄρεα*, derived from this *ἄρος*, not from *ἄρδ* as L. & S. think.

<sup>3</sup> This appears in \**Ἀρηίθους* Thasos L.) 14 B 2, 16 B 7.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Kretschmer, *K. Z.* XXIX 433.



however, be read in Homer and in Hesiod, *Aspis* 202, and Hymn to Hermes 521, Apollo 545. [Casaubon wrote *Καλλιστόος* for -οῦς in the senarius of Machon preserved in Athen. XIII 583 A (*Καλλιστοῦς δὲ τῆς ὕδης κεκλημένης*), but it is improbable that Machon should have had any knowledge of a form that has disappeared from literature. *Καλλίστιον* is a common name for an hetaira]. Cf. *Ἄδος* (?) Pind. *Nem.* VI 52. Joh. Gr. 268 B claims that forms in -*δος* were in use among certain of the Dorians. -οῦν Joh. Gr. 240, 268 B, Greg. K. § 35, Drakon 116, Birnb. 677, Gram. Vat. 696 regarded *Λητών* and *Σαφών* as Ionic. These forms are referred to by Hdn. II 755, who held, according to Choir. 333, that *Σαφῶν* and *Λητῶν* (accusative) were derived from the -*ών* forms by a change (unheard of in Ionic) of *ω* to *οι*. For a correction of this passage, which supplies the missing -*ων* from Choireobakos, see Ahrens, *Kl. Schr.* I 40.

**519.] Nominative.** There are two forms on inscriptions:—

- |                |                                 |                                       |
|----------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| (1) <i>ώ</i> : | <i>Φλυτώ</i> Rob. I 188 E       | } On Chalkidian vase<br>inscriptions. |
|                | <i>Κλυτώ</i> 190 I F            |                                       |
|                | <i>Μυρώ</i> 190 I B             |                                       |
|                | <i>Fiώ</i> 190 I C, II C        |                                       |
|                | <i>Ξανθώ</i> 190 I H            |                                       |
|                | <i>Νοσσώ</i> Erythrai 206 C 10. |                                       |

- (2) *φ* (*ώι*): these are rare in Ionic.

*Ξαν[θ]φ* Rob. I 190 II B, Chalkidian.  
*Διονυσφ* C. I. G. 2151, Chalkidian.  
*Ἀρτεμφ* C. I. G. 696 late, Milesian.  
*Φιλυτφ* C. I. G. 2310, probably not Ionic.

In Ionic literature only the former of these occurs.

**520.] Genitive.** *Πειθοῦς* Thasos 70, *Ν]οσσούς* Erythr. 206 C 11, perhaps *Φαινοῦς* or *Φαεινοῦς* on the electrum stater reproduced in Roberts I p. 177 = Bechtel 247. Herodotos uses *Ἴους*, *Λητοῦς*, *Γοργούς* (with no trace of the *ν* stem), *Σαφούς*, &c. *Λητοῦς* occurs in Theog. 1, Herodas *Κλεοῦς* 392, Κοριττοῦς 62, Lukian *Δερκετοῦς*. Ahrens sought to find the form in -*ως*, which is Aiolic and Doric (in part), in Ionic territory. The inscription of Tenos C. I. G. 2338, whence he cites *Φειδῶς* l. 92, &c., contains no Ionisms. In Homer the open forms may be read except in a few cases: A 9 (*v. l.* *Λητοῦς ἀγλαὸς υἱός*), E 327 (spurious).

**521.] Dative.** *Ἀλεκοῖ* Amorgos, Rob. I 158 B, is a doubtful reading though the *Οι* is plain; *Βαβοῖ* Paros 65, *Πεδιοῖ* Chalkidian, Rob. I 183 A B (Fick *Πεδίωι*). Hdt. has *Λητοῖ*, *Ἀργοῖ*, *ἐνεστοῖ*. Hippokr. V 128 *λεχοῖ* is better than *λεχοῖς*. Lukian *Δερκετοῖ*.

**522.] Accusative Singular.** In inscriptions we find *Λητούν* Eretria 16 A 48 as in Herodotos II 156, *Δημούν* Smyrna 154,

and Μητροῦν C. I. G. 3241, Ἀρτεμοῦν C. I. G. 3223, both late Smyrnaian documents. From the poets the instances are Κυψοῦν Hipponax 87, Ἀητοῦν Hrd. 2<sub>38</sub>, Μητροῦν 6<sub>45</sub>, πειθοῦν 6<sub>71</sub>. In Herodotos there are two sets of forms: (1) -οῦν<sup>1</sup>. Ἴουν I 1, 2, II 41, Βουτοῦν II 59, &c., Τιμοῦν VI 134, 135. In II 156 for Ἀητοῦν there is the v. l. Ἀητώ. (2) -ώ. Πυθώ I 54, Σαρδῶ I 170, &c., Πειθῶ VIII 111. Compare the Homeric Πηρώ, Τυρώ, Kretan Λατώ Cauer 117<sub>14</sub>, the Delphic and Attic Φιλώ, forms showing the retention of the nominative accentuation<sup>2</sup>. Kirchhoff inclines to the view that -οῦν is the only correct form. The -ώ forms may have been inserted through recollection of the Homeric accusative. κακεστοῦν in Hesychios is Ionic, cf. εὐεστοῦν in Demokritos 206.

### 523.] *Varia.*

1. *Vocative.* Κοριττοῖ Herodas 6<sub>12</sub>, &c., Μητροῖ 6<sub>1</sub>, &c. The former has as a by-form Κοριττί 6<sub>40</sub>, with which we may compare Νοσσίς 6<sub>22</sub>, a parallel form of Νοσσώ, § 519 (1).

2. *Plural.* In Hippokr. V 128 λεχοῖ, not λεχοῖς as was read by Galen, is to be adopted. In Hesiod, *Theogon.* 274 we find Γοργοῦς. A few forms appear in Attic poetry, but among the Ionians the plural did not exist.

3. *Variation with -ν stems.* The vocative of χελιδών is χελιδοῖ Anakr. 67, as in Aristoph. *Birds* 1411; cf. ἀηδοῖ *ibid.* 679. Hippokr. has βληχοῦς with which compare βληχοῖ in Theophrastos, βληχώ *Lysistrata* 89. εἰκών has in Hdt. the accusative εἰκῶ VII 69 (εἰκόνα II 143). Cf. κυκεῶνα Hipponax 43, with κυκεῶ κ 290. On γληχώ, &c., see § 552.

### *Stems in ων/ωf.*

524.] This declension has been partly merged with the so-called Attic declension, § 477.

**Nominative.** Hdt. πάτρως, Μίνως, ἥρως.

**Genitive.** ἥρωος Hdt. VI 69, Μίνωος Hdt. III 122 as in Homer. The *Romanus* has here Μίνω, which is the only form in I 171, 173. A similar ingression of the 'Attic' declension is found in the Homeric ἥρω which may be displaced H 453, θ 483 by the dactylic form ἥρωϊ.

**Dative.** ἥρωϊ Hdt. VIII 117.

**Accusative.** ἥρων Hdt. I 167, Homeric ἥρωα in II 143,

<sup>1</sup> Hort. Adon. p. 268 B οἱ δὲ Ἴωνες αὐτὴν εἰς οὐν ἐποίησαν, Σαρφοῦν καὶ Ἀητεῖν.

<sup>2</sup> According to some of the ancients with the perispomenon accent.

VI 69, as in the non-Ionic inscription from Priene (No. 141<sub>4</sub>). *πάτρων* is found IV 76, IX 78, but *μήτρωα* IV 80 according to Stein. *Μύων* occurs VII 170, 171, with traces of a form in *-εω* and *-εων* due to the supposed fondness of Ionic for *-εω*. In VII 171 the Aldine edition adopted the Homeric *Μύωα*. Lukian *Astrol.* 20 has *Μύω*. It is evident that such fluctuation was unknown in the original Hdt., though which form is to be adopted is uncertain.

**Nominative Plural.** *ἦρωες* Samos 225.

**Dative Plural.** *ἦρωσι* Hdt. VII 43.

### *Stems in Sigma.*

This declension comprises stems in *-ες*, with nominative in *-ος*, or *-ης* (525–540); stems in *-ῦς* (541); stems in *-ος* (542), *-υς* (543), and those in *-ας/-ες*, varying with *-ατ*, nominative *-ας* (544).

### *Stems in -ες.*

#### 525.] Terminations :—

<i>ος, ης</i>	<i>ees (eis), ea</i>
<i>εος, ευς</i>	<i>εων</i>
<i>ει</i>	<i>εσι</i>
<i>εα (ην), ες</i>	<i>εας, εα.</i>

#### Testimony of the Grammarians.

*Genitive* : *-εος* Joh. Gr. 239 B, 242, Greg. Kor. § 11, Meerm. 649, 655, Vat. 695, Et. M. 152<sub>12</sub>, Hdn. II 692<sub>27</sub> (= Choir. 156<sub>22</sub>). Cf. Schol. Ven. A on O 302, who quotes *ξίφεος* from Hekataios. *-ευσ*. The Homeric *ἐπέβευς* is called Ionic or Doric in Hdn. II 675<sub>21</sub> (Choir. 212<sub>13</sub>), II 692<sub>28</sub> (Choir. 157<sub>21</sub>), II 336<sub>12</sub>, II 777<sub>10</sub> (Choir. 395<sub>21</sub>, cf. II 328<sub>13</sub> and Et. Gud. 273<sub>20</sub>. *εἰς* Schol. Nikander *Ther.* 2. *βέλευς* and *σάλευς* are called Doric by Tzetz. on Hsd. *Scutum* 334, and *ἐπέβευς* is said to be Doric, not Doric and Ionic, by An. Ox. II 343<sub>20</sub>. On Homeric forms in *-ευσ*, see Schol. Ven. A on O 3. *Dative* : *-ει* Joh. Gr. 240, 242, Greg. Kor. §§ 11, 34, Meerm. 655, Birnb. 677<sub>22</sub>. *Accusative* : *-ει* Joh. Gr. 239 B, Greg. Kor. § 11, Meerm. 649, Vat. 695, Schol. Ven. A on B 115 (cf. also on K 281) *δυσκλείᾳ καὶ ἀκλείᾳ Ἰωνικῶς, εἰ δὲ Ἀττικῶς ἀκτείνουσιν*. *Nominative Plural* : *-εες* Joh. Gr. 240 B, Greg. Kor. § 40, Meerm. 652, Vat. 697. *-εα* Joh. Gr. 240 B, Meerm. 652, Aug. 667, Vat. 697, Birnb. 677<sub>22</sub>, An. Bachm. II 367<sub>2</sub>. *Genitive Plural* : *-εων* Joh. Gr. 240 B, cf. Greg. Kor. § 11, Meerm. 652, Aug. 667, Vat. 697, Birnb. 677<sub>22</sub>, Bekk. An. I 404<sub>22</sub> = Bachm. An. I 98<sub>22</sub>. *Accusative Plural* : *-εας*, see Schol. Ven. A on K 281.

526.] **Nominative Singular.**1. *Names in -κλέης, -κλῆς (Dialectal Subdivision) in inscriptions.*

In inscriptions we notice a difference in names in -κλῆς between the Ionic of Euboea and of its colonies and that of the islands and of the Asiatic mainland. In Euboea we find -κλέης, in the other portions of Ionic territory -κλῆς. A similar variation may be observed in Attic inscriptions, though there the difference is chronological merely. The oldest prose inscriptions have -κλῆς, while even in the fifth century the longer form comes to light; and the latter appears, though sporadically, in the inscriptional monuments of the fourth century.

A. *Euboian Ionic.*

Ἰπποκλέης Eretria 16 C 44 (340-278 B.C.); in Styra 19 Θεοκλ<λ>έης 45, Ἐπικλέης 187, Νικοκλέης 271 all of the fifth century. The single case of -κλῆς (Ἡρακλῆς Roberts I 191 B and 192 B on amphorae) may be accounted for by the constant variations in the dialect of vase inscriptions, explained by Kretschmer, *K. Z.* XXIX p. 393 ff.

B. *Ionic of the Islands.*

Ἡπποκλῆς Amorg. 31, Ἠγησικλῆς Keos 44 B 15, Ἀριστοκλῆς 44 B 18, [Φ]ωοκλῆ[ς] 44 B 19, Ὑψικλῆς Delos 55 II 4, Διοκλῆς, Πολυκλῆς, Μενεκλῆς Delos B. C. H. VII 107, lines 6 and 18, Τιμοκλ(ῆ)[ς] Thasos 72,<sup>1</sup> Ἰπποκλῆς Thasos 78 C 10, Μεγακλῆς Thasos 81 B 2 and in nineteen names in -κλῆς in the Thasian inscriptions in the Louvre (in Bechtel's collection: *Thasische Insch. ionischen Dialekts im Louvre*), Τιμοκλῆς Siphnos 89.

C. *Ionic of the Asiatic mainland and of the colonies of Asiatic cities.*

Πασικλῆς Miletos 93, Τερψικλῆς Mil. 94, both inscriptions of the sixth century, Στρατοκλῆς Theodosia (?) 127, [Τι]μοκλῆς Zeleia 113<sub>2</sub>, Ἡπειροκλῆς Smyrna 153<sub>14</sub>, and Lampsak. 171, Ἀγαθοκλῆς Smyrna 153<sub>19</sub>, Πυθοκλῆς Erythr. 206 A 32, 35, Ἰατροκλῆς 206 A 38, Ἀριστοκλῆς 206 B 48, 206 C 37, Μενεκλῆς 206 C 19, Ἀγασικλῆς 206 C 36, Ἀριστοκλ[ῆ]ς Erythr. *Zeitschr. f. Num.* XIV 152, Ἠγεκλῆς, Ξενοκλῆς, Μεγακλῆς Ephesos (Head, *Num. Chron.* 1880, 117 ff.). From island colonies: Εὐκλῆς Iasos 104<sub>12</sub>, Ἰατροκλῆς 104<sub>32</sub>, Φιλοκλῆς Chios 174 C 19, Φανοκλῆ[ς] Chios, *Zeitschr. f. Num.* XIV 153, the Samian Δαμασικλῆς Bechtel No. 217<sub>6</sub>, Πυθοκλῆς 217<sub>8</sub>, Θεμιστοκλῆς 222<sub>6</sub>, Διοκλῆς Perinth. 234 A 14, Ἀγαθοκλῆς 234 B 3. Τερψικλῆς in No. 260 of uncertain provenance, but probably Asiatic Ionic. It may be noticed that Τερψικλῆς was the name of Archilochos' father.

<sup>1</sup> Τιμοκλέους Choiseul and Koehler, -κλέης Boeckh, -κλῆς Karsten.

2. *In the lyric poets*: Προκλέης Phokylides 1<sub>2</sub>, Demodokos 2<sub>2</sub>, with the open form that is not found in the contemporaneous dialect of Miletos<sup>1</sup>. No example of a noun in -κλῆς has been discovered in a Lelian inscription. It should be noticed that Προκλέους in Demod. 2<sub>2</sub> and Phokyl. 1<sub>2</sub> are non-Ionic, but readily admit the substitution of Προκλέος. The Phokylideian passage might be cured by writing καὶ δὲ Προκλῆς (Fick), but neither epigram should be tampered with, as it is not certain that the original form has been preserved.

3. *In Ionic prose*: -κλῆς is the correct form in Herodotos, though rarely admitted by all MSS., as in Ἡρακλῆς II 145, Προκλῆς III 50, 51, Μανδροκλῆς IV 87 (*P R*, but -έης *A B C d*), Σωσικλῆς V 93 (*A B<sup>1</sup> C d*, -έης *reliqui*). In all these passages Stein and Holder adopt the uncontracted forms; a procedure which is open to grave doubt. Themistokles' name occurs twenty-three times in the uncontracted form in all MSS. In the case of other names the testimony is almost entirely in favour of the open form; which appears in the Arrianic Ἡρακλέης 513, 86, 7, Νικοκλέης 188. All who quote Hekataios have Ἡρακλῆς (48, 345, 349), and so in the case of Hellanikos 50 (Θεοκλῆς). Ion 1 has of course Σοφοκλῆς.

4. The nominative neuter ἄδος (in Halik. 238<sub>19</sub>, τὸ ἄδος) affords a remarkable confirmation of the Hesychian glosses ἄδημα· ἄδος· ψήφισμα· δόγμα, with which we may compare ἄδηκε βουλὴ in Hipponax frag. 100. The word is not attested except in Ionic. ἄδος is connected with the last member of the Ionic names Λεάδης Styra 19<sub>242</sub>, and Λεώδης Thasos 77 B 7 (Λεώδεις). The second form is = Ληφοάδης (Hom. Ληώδης), the first from Λη(fo)άδης as Λέαναξ from Λη(fo)φαναξ. Cf. §§ 281, 289.

527.] **Genitive Singular of Proper Nouns in -ης (Inscriptions).** In the following tables are enumerated the occurrences (in Bechtel's collection) of the genitive of the -ες (-ης) declension together with the genitive of nouns of other declensions, whose genitive is made in -εος, &c. (except the patronymics in -δεος, -δεις, and the terminations -γορεως, which have been tabulated above § 427). The Thasian inscriptions of the Louvre I have placed in the third century, though the latest (part of Nos. 15, 16, 20, 21, and all of No. 18) may be referred to the beginning of the second century. It will be remembered that only those inscriptions are cited which contain one or more Ionisms, and that the lists do not attempt to trace out the usage of the inscriptions after the dialect had passed completely under the sway of Attic.

<sup>1</sup> Both Προκλέης and Προκλῆς are Old-Attic.





[illegible]



	-ΕΟΣ	-ΕΥΣ	-ΕΟΥΣ
III Century (continued).		'Αριστομένευσ Thas. 72 <sub>1</sub> Κλ]εομένευσ Thas. 80 <sub>10</sub> 'Αλθημένευσ Thas. (L.) 4 B 3 Είδομένευσ Thas. (L.) 5 <sub>6</sub> Καλλιμένευσ Thas. (L.) 11 A 2 'Ορθομένευσ Thas. (L.) 12 C 3, 13 A 6  Θεογένευσ Thas. 78 C 5 Κλεογένευσ Thas. (L.) 12 C 4          Λ[εω]σθένευσ Th. 78 A 9 Εύρυσθένευσ Th. (L.) 12 B 5  Τηλεφάνευσ Th. 77 A 9, 78 C 2, Th. (L.) 12 B 10, 14 B 10 'Αντιφάνευσ Th. 75 B 6 'Ερμοφάνευσ Th. 78 B 13 Ξεινοφάνευσ Th. (L.) 3 A 5 Λεωφάνευσ Th. (L.) 4 A 12 'Απολλοφάνευσ Iasos, J. H. S. IX 341, No. 2  Δικηκράτευσ Th. 75 A 9 'Ασικράτευσ Th. 78 B 2 'Ε[π]ικράτευσ Th. (L.) 14 B 8, 11 A 4 'Ηγεκράτευσ Th. (L.) 12 B 8 Αὐτοκ[ρ]άτ[ε]υ[ς] Th. (L.) 13 A 7 'Αριστοκράτευσ Th. (L.) 14 A 7	
	'Αριστοφάνεος Th. (L.) 4 A 8 Ξενοφάνεος (?) Th. (L.) 5 <sub>3</sub>		
	Τιμοκράτεος Th. 82 B 13 (225-200) 'Επικράτεος Th. (L.) 2 <sub>8</sub> (about 300)		

-ειου	-ει	-ει	-ει
(L.) 20 A 13, Eryth. 206 B 50	<p>Ἀριστομένει Ery. 206 C 29, 41, 50, Th. (L.) 20 A 2, 21, Ὀρθομένει Th. (L.) 15 C 7 Καλλιμένει Th. (L.) 15 A 10</p> <p>Ἐγγένει Erythr. 206 B 28 Διογένει Th. (L.) 20 C 10 (Μ)οισηγένει Th. (L.) 15 B 8 Ἀθηνογένει Eryth. 206 A 31 Ἰερογένει Eryth. 206 A 33, 36</p> <p>Μητροφάνει Ery. 206 C 34 Ἀριστοφάνει Th. (L.) 20 A 4 Λευ[φ]άνει Th. (L.) 15 B 2 Ἀντιφάνει Th. (L.) 18 B 15</p> <p>Ἐπικράτει Th. 81 B 9, Th. (L.) 20 C 3 Ἀριστοκράτει Th. 82 B 5 Κτησικράτει Ery. 206 C 2 Πολυκράτει Th. (L.) 15 B 7 Ἀντικράτει Th. (L.) 16 A 7, 18 A 11, 20 C 5 Τεισικράτει Th. (L.) 17, Τιμοκράτει Th. (L.) 18 B 1 Δεινοκράτει Th. (L.) 19 A 8</p>		Ἀστοκράτει Ery. 206 B 32

	-εος	-ευσ	-εους
III Century (continued).	Μενάλλεος Th. (L.) 6 C 2	Θρασυάλλευσ Th. 78 B 14 Δημάλλευσ Th. 81 A 13, 82 A 5	
	Κλεομήδεος Th. (L.) 1 about 300 B.C.)	Λεωμήδευσ Th. (L.) 11 B 3	
II Cent. and later.	Πολυάλλεος Th. (L.) 10 A 11	Παγχάρειος Th. 72, Κλεοκύδευσ Th. 77 A 10	
	Εὐηφέρεος Th. (L.) 213 (about 300 B.C.)	Παγγήθευσ Th. (L.) 6 C 7 Δημεῦς Th. (L.) 11 A 3 Ἠγησιτέλεος Th. (L.) 6 B 5	Ἡρακλέους Teos 158 <sub>a</sub>
	Ἰατροκλέος Halik. 244 Ἀντιφάνεος Samothr. 236 <sub>a</sub>		

There are numerous occurrences of names in -εος and -ευσ in inscriptions later than 400 B.C., which afford insufficient criteria to permit of their arrangement under the foregoing table. Some of these may here be mentioned.

1. Ἀριστοκλέος[s] Erythr. 198, perhaps of the fifth century; Ἀγασικλέ(ος?) Olbia 131, 7 (after 400 B.C., probably fourth century); Ἀστυκλέος Chios 188 (fourth); Μεγακλέος (or -κλέους?) Chios, C. I. G. 2374 *d* appendix; Ἡρακλέος Chios, Paspates 9; Θεοκλέος (or -κλέους?) Halikarn. C. I. G. 2661 *b*, Ἐκατοκλέος (or -κλέου?) Ephesos 149; Μενεκλέος of Soloi, C. I. G. 900; Ἀριστοκλεῦς Perinth. 234 B 19; Μενεκλεῦς Halikarn. 245; Ἀγαθοκλεῦς Chios 191<sub>9</sub>, 192; Τιμοκλεῦς *ibid.* 191<sub>10</sub>, 14 (cf. Ἡρακλεῦς read by Paspates (No. 24) as -κλέους); Attic -κλέους appears in Smyrna 153<sub>14</sub>, 18, 35; -κλείους (§ 220) 153<sub>3</sub> and C. I. G. 3245, both from Smyrna, cf. 3256, where -κλήους is written. This last document is very late.

2. Τηλεφάνεος Thas. 83, 1 and Erythr. 198, but -φάνευσ Thas. 74: [Πρω]τοφάνεος Olbia 131, 20; Ἀπολλοφάνευσ Perinthos 234 B 21, Ἀπολλοφάνου Smyrna 153<sub>3</sub>.

3. Ἐπικράτεος Olbia 131, 6, Ἡροκράτ[ε]ος 131, 8, Ἴφικράτεος 131, 9, Φιλοκράτεος 131, 10 are probable readings; Φιλοκράτευσ 131, 22, Μενεκράτευσ Perinth. 234 B 7; Καλλικράτον and Ξενοκράτον Samos 222 (pre-Roman).

4. Λεωσέβεο[s] Chios 177<sub>3</sub>, Δεινέος 177<sub>11</sub>, Πυθέος 179<sub>13</sub>.

5. Μεγαμήδευσ Teos 157<sub>29</sub>, [Τηλαύγ]ευσ Chios 191<sub>7</sub>.

6. Ἀριστομένου Smyrna 153<sub>17</sub>, Σωσιμένου Perinth. 234 A 5; Ἀνδροσθένου Smyrna 153<sub>6</sub>, Καλλισθένους Olbia 131, 11.



-eios	-ou	-eu	-ous
	Παισιόδου Panti- kap. 122		
	Εὐκράτου Teos 159,		

The forms in -eos are probably of the fourth century, though some may date from after 300 B. C.

528.] **Remarks on the Chronology of the Genitive Forms.** From the foregoing it is apparent that the life of the old termination -eos in the inscriptions was threatened on two sides. First, by -eus which was at least Ionic; secondly, by various Attic forms, notably that in -ou. -eus begins to take the place of -eos about the middle of the fourth century B. C. It was the third century that witnessed the rapid and wide extension of -eus, but after 200 B. C. it too has succumbed. In the Roman period the forms in -eos and -eus are practically extinct. The genitive in -ios was more tenacious of life than that in -eos or in -eus. In its inflection of sigmatic stems Ionic was, generally speaking, more conservative than Attic. In the latter dialect proper names gradually yielded to the encroachments of the  $\hat{A}$  declension. In the inscriptions we do not observe a pronounced increase of Attic forms until the third century, and it is worthy of note that of these Attic forms, that in -ous, except in -κλέους, was rarely adopted by Ionic. Doubtless the newer orthography -eus was in itself a sufficient approximation to the Attic, as it left no doubt that the sound was not a dissyllable.

529.] 1. Ἀριστοκλέους Thasos 72, and Εὐρυσθένεους Samos 217, are noticeable forms. In No. 72, which dates from the first half of the third century, the genitive ends regularly in -eus, except in the form cited; and the -σθένεους form is singular because it is apparently formed in violation of Greek morphology. These forms, as well as Δεουνύς on a coin of Maroneia (Bechtel

p. 114) may be explained by assuming that the engraver began with EO, and then, desiring to adopt the modernized orthography, added Υ after O. See Bechtel, *Ion. Insch.* p. 58, and cf. § 247.

The earliest example of the Attic -κλέους dates from the middle of the fourth century B.C. After this date this form strives for supremacy with the epicchoric -κλέος.

2. The example of -κλέου is not beyond suspicion, not only because of its isolated position, but also from the fact that Letronne's reading is controverted by Le Bas' Ἐκατοκλέος. If the latter is correct, it is worthy of note that, while -κλέους has been able to drive out the native -κλέος, -κλέου nevertheless, which appears upon Attic inscriptions after 329 B.C., has not been able to effect an entrance into Ionic.

3. The forms in -κλείους represent -κλέους with the intervocalic glide ι, found in εἰάν, ἐννεία, πόλει(ω)s Zeleia 113 (§ 220), and are paralleled by Ἀντικλείους C. I. A. II 580<sub>3</sub> (324 B.C.), Δημοκλείους C. I. A. II 872, III 12 (341 B.C.), &c. In Attic inscriptions I find no form in -κλείους antedating 344 B.C. (of that date Θεμιστοκλείους C. I. A. II 701, I 24), while upon Ionic soil the entrance of the glide *iota* into -κλέους does not ensue before 278 B.C. upon the Asiatic mainland, and in fact in an inscription that is all but Attic (No. 206). In Thasos it does not occur before 200 B.C.

4. In an inscription from Pantikapaion (Latyschev II 140), at least as early as the fourth century, we meet with the unique form Αὐτοκλήος (ΚΛΗΟΣ). This genitival form appears in the traditional text of Homer, in Kretan Ἐμπεδοκλήος *Mon. Ant.* I 61, No. 8 (together with -κλείος *c.g.* *Mus. It.* III 655, 7, No. 71<sub>10</sub>), in Argolic Πατροκλήος Loewy 86 (but cf. 89, 103), and perhaps in Kyprian. The epic -κλήος reappears in poetry (Tyrtaios 11<sub>1</sub>, Kaibel 949, late Spartan), and was adopted even in Herodotos by Aldus (cf. IX 90). As even the Homeric form is to be impeached (for Ἡρακλήος read -κλέεος), it having been introduced from the analogy of -ῆος, -έος in -ηυ- stems, a prose form -κλήος on Ionic soil must be pronounced indefensible. I suggest that the engraver had in mind the H of the nominative, and failed to correct his mistake after it appeared in the genitive; or H is a downright blunder for E. The latter suggestion is less probable since it is only in late documents that we find the two letters confused, *c.g.* Ἡράκληα Aiolic, C. D. I. 302, Δημοκλήους Smyrna, C. I. G. 3256 (at the earliest from the second century B.C.).

530.] The tables in § 527 show that, as in Attic, names in -κράτης, -γένης, -φάνης have partially passed under the sway of the A declension with which the -ες declension is in closest

touch. In Attic inscriptions the accusative passed out of use before the genitive (from 350 on). In Ionic it is not till the opening of the third century that forms in -κράτου, &c., come to light, though by the year 300 B. C. in Attika the older inflection had been almost completely submerged. This is because in Ionic the hold on the dialect forms in -εσ, after the older -εος had given way, was strong enough to prevent the old declension from being entirely displaced. Nouns in -μένης have -μένου in Ionic by 278 B. C. In Attic these names are genuine -εσ- stems until towards the end of the fourth century, but by 300 B. C. they have passed over into the  $\hat{A}$  declension. Again, it is worthy of note that the Ionic -φάνεος, -φάνευσ, -δίκηος, -πείθεος, -άλκεος, -άλκευς show that -φάνης, -δίκης, -πείθης, -άλκης are treated as -εσ- stems; cf. Attic Εὐφάνους C. I. A. 126<sub>2</sub>, 'Αξιοπείθους C. I. A. 324 D 4, Δημά[λ]κους 'Αθην. IV 199, Hdt. 'Αριαπείθεος IV 76, -ει IV 78, Σπαργαπείθεος IV 76, 78 (Arrian, *Αναβ.* VI 2, 2 has Σωπείθου).

The form -ευσ comes to light in Rhodian<sup>1</sup> and Knidian<sup>2</sup> documents and in the MSS. of Pindar and Theokritos. The inflection -ον and -ευσ is also Delphic. The former ending occurs in inscriptions from Knidos, Skyros, Skopelos, &c.

**531.] Genitive Singular (excluding inscriptional forms of proper names).**

### I. Inscriptions.

τεμένεος Oropos 18<sub>32</sub>, Samos 216, ἔτεος Zeleia 114 F 4<sup>3</sup>, Chios 183 A 15, 51 B 6, προσεχέος τείχους Teos 159<sub>2</sub>, a very late inscription. No case of -ευσ occurs.

### II. Lyric Poets.

1. -εος. ξίφεος Tyrt. 11<sub>34</sub>, άνθεος Xenoph. 1<sub>6</sub>, πολυανθέος Mimn. 2<sub>1</sub>, κράτεος Theog. 46, οὔρεος Theog. 881, κέρδεος Theog. 133, αἰκέος Theog. 811, Καρικευργέος (conj.) Anakr. 91. Cf. also under No. 5. It should be remarked that there is no case of -εος in the iambographic writers.

2. -εος. θέρεος Sim. Am. 7<sub>39</sub> (thus, and not υ υ υ in the first foot), παλιτριβέος 7<sub>43</sub>. Λυκάμβεος is the form in the MSS. of Archil. 28, and, if correct, is the earliest instance in the Ionic lyric of the influence of the -εσ- stems upon the  $\hat{A}$  declension. Bergk followed Elmsley in editing Λυκάμβεω. Παιρισάδεος occurs in an epigram from Pantikapaion in Kaibel 773 = Latyshev II 9.

<sup>1</sup> E.g., 'Ισοκράτεος Cauer 178<sub>6</sub>, Θεοφάνεος *ibid.* 182 A 9, Παλακλεῦς A 18.

<sup>2</sup> 'Αγαθοκλεῦς C. D. I. 3549. 2 ff., 'Αριστογένεος *ibid.* 21, 'Ανδροθένης *ibid.* 46.

<sup>3</sup> This form occurs also in C. I. G. 2919<sub>1</sub>, a forged inscription from Tralles.

3. -εὺς. Hipponax 19<sub>2</sub> ῥίγευς, 49<sub>2</sub> τριήρευς; Herodas 3<sub>40</sub> τέγευς. In Homer we find a few examples of -εὺς:—ἐρέβευς, θάμβευς, θάρσευς, θέρευς.

4. -ους (Attic). ψεύδους Theog. 607 (quoted by Stobaios), Γανυμήδους at the verse end, 1345, in a passage perhaps belonging to Evenos of Paros, Κυπρογενοῦς Sol. 26<sub>1</sub>, and Theog. 1304, 1308, 1332, 1383. On Προκλέους Phokyl. 1<sub>2</sub>, Demod. 2<sub>2</sub>, cf. § 526, 2.

5. -ηος in Ἡρακλῆος Tyrt. 11<sub>1</sub> is the epic form, for which -κλέος may be substituted.

6. -εω. A mixed form is Πρηξitéλεω Hrd. 4<sub>22</sub>: οἱ Πρηξitéλεω παῖδες· οὐχ ὁρῆς κείνα, where no other genitival form had suited the verse. Cf. Λυκάμβεος and Λυκάμβεω under (2) above, and -κλέω, Eretria, Ἐφ. ἀρχ. 1887, 83 ff. In Attic inscriptions of the end of the third century we find -τέλου in proper names.

### III. Prose.

ἔλφεος Hekat. 360 (Schol. Ven. A on O 302), θάρσεος Demokr. 207, ἡθεος 127, σκήνεος 6, 127, 128, ἐπιμελέος 70, πλήθεος Diog. Apoll. 6 (Simpl. 153<sub>11</sub>, a rare instance of the retention of -εος in Simpl.), Hdt. πενταέτεος I 136, συνεχέος Philip of Pergamum in B. C. H. II 273. Hdt. I 85 and Hippokrates VI 384 have δέους=Homeric δείους from original \*δέεος < δφεϊεσ-ος. The Homeric form was not misinterpreted out of a contracted \*δείεος, but misread out of δέεος which can be restored K 376, O 4.

Hdt. has usually -εος in proper names. In V 92 β Ἐχεκράτεος is found in A B<sup>1</sup> C d. Traces of this εὐ are rare in the MSS. of the historian. In Herodotos -κλέος is the usual form with the variants:—(1) -κλέους, e. g. I 7 (C R) or (2) -κλήος, e. g. IX 90 Θρασυκλήος in Aldus. It is noticeable that the scribes who wrote our MSS. of Hdt. never adopted the form -κλείους. Ionic -κλέος occurs in the pseudo-Ionists: Lukian, *Syr. dea* 3, Arrian, *Ind.* 59, 10, 91, 183, Abydenos 9, ep. Hippokr. 26<sub>3</sub> (v. l.). On the other hand the Attic form comes to light in Lukian, *Syr. dea* 26, Arrian, *Ind.* 512, 13, 88, four times in the letters of Hippokrates. The pseudo-Ionists usually have -εος in other words, e. g. ἰθαγένεος *Vita Hom.* Arrian has κλέους in 36<sub>8</sub>, for which Eberhard reads κλέεος.

### 532.] Dative Singular.

1. -εῖ in σθέρει Erythr. 204<sub>18</sub>, τείχει Halik. 240<sub>55</sub>, ἄρει 240<sub>61</sub>, ἔτει Myl. 248 A B C, ἔπει Chios in B. P. W. 1889 p. 1195. None of these inscriptions is metrical. In Sim. Amorg. 1<sub>13</sub> ἄρει occurs, where Brunck corrected ἄρει of the vulgate, and also in Sim. Keos 43<sub>2</sub>; in Hipponax 11 ἀγεί is the proper reading according to Bergk, ἀγεί according to Fix. Cf. § 156.

ἐναγεί is the correct form as conjectured by Meineke, but this form in Archil. 113 has no great probability. Anakr. 107 (eleg.) has τεμένει. πλήθει is found in Tyrst. 49, Theog. 699 (-εῖ possible), ἔλκει in Theog. 1134, πελάγει in Sim. Keos 1352, 1362, 1426, ὄρει 1076.

2. -εῖ in poetry is very rare; ἔγχεῖ Tyrst. 1120, τροχοειδέῖ Theog. 7, φιλοκερδέῖ 199, νήλει 1125. It will be noticed that these forms occur in poets not of Ionic birth. That -εῖ had ceased to exist in purely Ionic poetry before the year 500 B. C. is highly probable; a conclusion that tells against the assumption of a prose -εῖ.

In Herodotos it is the custom to use the non-contracted form even when the MSS., either generally or partially, oppose its adoption (cf. I 70 μεγάθει, III 9 μήκει). The preponderance of -εῖ over -εῖ in the MSS. as a whole has blinded editors to the large number of instances of -εῖ in such MSS. as *A B* (173 cases). The contracted form appears to have existed in the archetype  $\chi$ ; and this represents the actual Ionic form of the fifth century, though it is uncertain whether or not it has come down from Herodoteian times to the date of the writing of  $\chi$ . How keen the pursuit of open forms was, is evident from the Aldine edition's στάσει, δόσει, ἀφίξει (I 68), &c. Authors quoting Hekataios have -εῖ, e.g. ὄρει 344, Ἄργει 357. Forms from Anaxagoras likewise, cf. πλήθει, μεγάθει 1, Melissos ὑγεί.

The open forms occur also in the other Ionic writers, who have been subjected to the same μεταχαρακτηρισμός as Herodotos. Thus Hippokrates regularly has -εῖ, and the letters current under his name -εῖ seventeen times, -εῖ only twice. The first epistle of Pythagoras has a contracted form. Lukian in the *Syr. dea* 32 has ἀτρεκέῖ, Arrian about twenty examples of -εῖ to three of -εῖ; Abydenos frag. 9 has τείχει, Euseb. Mynd. § 1 εὐσεβεῖ, 63 γένει (MSS.) and εὐτυχεῖ (συνεχέῖ Mullach) and κάλλει in the same fragment. Arrian has both Ἡρακλεῖ (362) and Ἡρακλεῖ (80), πλήθει 119. The *Vita Homeri* has τείχει 26.

### 533.] Accusative Singular (Masculine and Feminine).

1. -εα. ἀφανέα Teos 174 *A* 12, Στρατοκλέα Amphip. 102, Theog. βαθυκήτηα 175, εὐτείχέα 1209, περικαλλέα 1277, Demokr. πολυτελέα, αὐταρκέα 36, ἰσοσθενέα 24, δημωφελέα 57, Hdt. διφυέα IV 9, ὑγία III 130, 133, 134. -κλέα is common in Hdt. -κλήα, the Homeric ending, was adopted by Aldus (VII 193, VIII 92). There is no variant -κλήν. Hippokrates has Περικλέα III 120. Ἡρακλέα occurs in Ktesias § 21 and six times in Arrian. We find in Herakleitos 16 Ξενοφάνεα, in Lukian, *Vit. Luc.* 4 ἐμφανέα, 6 ἐμπερέα; ὑγία *Syr. dea* 19; *Astr.* 2 ψευδέα and ἀληθέα, 3 πολυειδέα, 5 ἀτελέα. In the *Vita Homeri* the open



forms prevail (twenty-four in all; two contracted forms). On *δεσπότεα*, *Γύγεα* and the like, see § 438, 2.

2. -εα. *μελιηδέα* Anakr. 41<sub>2</sub>, *νεοθηλέα* Anakr. 51<sub>1</sub>, *δυσμενέα* Sim. Am. 7<sub>102</sub>.

3. In Hdt. II 108 we find *ένδεα*. For this form that in -έα should be substituted; cf. epist. Hippokr. 22<sub>1</sub> *εύκλέα*. *ύγια* occurs in Hippokr. III 252, and is Attic as well as *ύγιη*.

4. -η. *έξώλη* Mylasa 248 A 15 (367/66 B.C.), and so on the forged inscription from Tralles, C. I. G. 2919. This ending occurs also in poetry, where it is not different from -εα: *έξηκονταέτη* Mimn. 6<sub>2</sub> (Sitzler -εα), *όγδωκονταέτη* Solon 20<sub>4</sub>, *άσκηθῆ* Sol. 19<sub>4</sub>. In Theognis we observe *άπειθῆ* 1235 at the end of the verse, and *είαλδῆ* 830 (Bergk, *εύώδη* MSS.) before the caesura of the pentameter. There is no example of -κλή in Ionic. *εύφυῆ* occurs in Aretaios 331, despite -εα in the plural.

In Hdt. VI 57 for *θυσίην δημοτελή* Stein reads with good MSS. *θυσίη δημοτελής*.

5. -ην. *Ἀντιγένην* is found in Thasos 72<sub>8</sub> (300-250 B.C.). Forms in -ην in inscriptions from Smyrna (*Μενεκλήν* C. I. G. 3238 as C. I. A. II 305<sub>20</sub>, *Σωκλήν* 3241, and probably *Δημοκλήν* 3256<sub>2</sub>) are common in the later stages of the life of all dialects. In Attic inscriptions the accusative of names in -κλής ends in -κλέα until the year 300 B.C., afterwards in -κλήν. But other names in -ης have -ην in the earlier part of the century. On Anakreon's *αίνοπαθῆν* 36 (Bergk -παθῆ), see under AIOIC.

534.] **Vocative.** *Δημοκλείς* Theog. 923, though -εες was possible. Uncontracted are *Περίκλεες* Archil. 9<sub>1</sub> (eleg.) and *Ἡράκλεες* 119. Theog. 1323 has *Κυπρογένη*. Hdt. has *ῴστασπες* I 209, since *ῴστάσπης* is inflected as an -ες stem (*ῴστάσπεος* l. l.), and also *Πρήξασπες* III 34, &c., *Ἀρτέμβαρες* I 116 and *Οἰβάρες* III 85.

535.] **Nominative Plural (Masculine and Feminine).** -εες. *άτελείς* occurs Teos, *Mith.* XVI 292, but the inscription is Hellenistic. *κατηρεφές* Anakr. 121, but *Λυδοπαθείς* 155, Demokr. *Mor.* *εύσταθείς* 20<sub>8</sub>, *άμαθείς* 70, *θεοφιλέες* 107, *πολυμαθείς* 140, *άνακηδέες* 214; and *φιλομεμφές* 146, *ξυγγενές* 152, and *εύφνές* 226 (all fragments of Demokrates). Hdt. has *έπιδεές* (?) IV 130 (v. l. -ενέες), Hippokr. *φρικώδες* V 588 (12). In Hippokr. the open far outnumber the contracted forms.

In the *Syria dea* of Lukian there are twelve, in the *Astr.* two open forms; Arrian also has twelve cases of -εες; Euseb. Mynd. § 4 *προσφιλέες*, 41 *άπειθέες*, 63 *άφανέες* for which Mullach reads *διφανέας*; epist. Thales 1 *φρενῆρες*; epist. Hippokr. seven open forms. Abydenos 1 has *διφνέες*, Aretaios contracts seven times, and resolves sixty-one times in the first two treatises. Eusebios has *άδρανέες*. On nominative forms in -εις used as accusative, see § 539.

## 536.] Nominative and Accusative Plural (Neuter).

1. -εα. Upon inscriptions: *ἔτεα* Olynthos 8 A 5, Teos, *Mitth.* XVI 293 (an inscription containing *ἀτελεῖς* and *τελών*), *τέεα* Olynthos 8 B 8. In Keos No. 437, an inscription of the fifth century written *στοιχηδόν*, Roehl has supplied *ὀλ[ο]-σχερ[έα]*. In line 17 of the same document *θύη* is certain. The difference according to Bechtel between the *η* and *εα* is here purely graphical; cf. *εἴρηται* Oropos 18<sub>17</sub> with the usual -εσται in Ionic poetry.

Open -εα occurs in the poets. In the elegists: Archil. 9<sub>1</sub> *κήεα*, *φάρε'* Xenoph. 3<sub>3</sub>, *νείεα* Anakr. 94<sub>2</sub>, *βέεα* Mimn. 14<sub>3</sub>. Theognis has *ἀλγεα* 1189, *αἴσχεα* 388, *ἄλσεα* 1252, *κέρδεα* 50, 835, *ἦθεα* 970, *ψευδέα* 713, *δήνε'* 222. Solon has *ἀλγεα* 4<sub>2</sub>, 21<sub>2</sub>, *ἀνθεα* 4<sub>36</sub>, *κέρδεα* 13<sub>74</sub>. *παναλουργέα* Xenoph. 3<sub>3</sub>. In iambic poetry we find *αἰκέα* Sol. 36<sub>11</sub> at the verse end with *ἦθη* in the next line.

-εα in Ionic prose: *οὔρεα* Hekat. 172, *ψεύδεα* Demokr. 119, *εἶδεα* Melissos 17, &c., *ἀληθέα* Hekat. 332, Herakl. 107, Melissos 17, Lukian, *de Domo* 20, *ἀνωφελέα* Demokr. 13, *διαπρεπέα* 18, *ἀσφαλέα* 58, *ἀσθενέα* 185; Protag. *πένθεα*. Hdt. has -εα throughout, e.g. *ἔτεα* (*ἔτη* I 16 *b d z*), Philip of Pergamum (*B. C. H.* II 273) *ἔθνεα*, Lukian, *Vit. auc.* 14 *δακρυώδεα*, *Syr. dea* *αἰκέα*, *ἀτρεκέα*, *θεοπρεπέα* 29, Aretaios *ἀπάθεα* and *ὑγιέα* 91. Hippokr. III 450 has the latter form by a conjecture adopted by Littré. Hdt. II 92 has *κρίνεα*, the usual nominative being *κρίνον*.

2. -εα. *δήνεα* Sim. Am. 7<sub>78</sub> (first foot), *ἔτεα* 3<sub>2</sub> (end of verse); *μέεα* Archil. 12<sub>1</sub> (end of pentameter); *ἀνθεα* Mimn. 1<sub>4</sub> (before the caesura); *σκέεα* Herodas 3<sub>40</sub> (perhaps *υύυ*).

3. -εᾶ. Hdt. *καταδεᾶ* II 121 (*β*), *ἀκλεᾶ* I 1 are as incorrect as the same forms in the singular. Fritsch in Curtius' *Studien* VI 93 proposes to read *καταδέα* with hyphaeresis. Bredow preferred *καταδεέα*.

4. -η. *ἔπη* Theog. 1366 and *ἀσεβῆ* 1180 at the end of the verse, a position occupied by *ἔτη* in Sol. 27<sub>14</sub>. *αἰκέα ἦθη* 36<sub>12</sub> (trim.); *κράτη* 36<sub>13</sub> (trim.) according to Blass, where Bergk reads *κράτει*.

## 537.] Genitive Plural.

1. -εων: *ἑτέων* Zeleia 114 F 3, *τελέων* 114 D 6; Archil. *δρέων* 115 (dactylic tetrap. + ithyphallicus), Mimn. *ὀχέων* 12<sub>11</sub>, *δυσμενέων* 14<sub>8</sub>, *δυσηλεγέων* 7<sub>3</sub>; Tyrt. *δρέων* 5<sub>2</sub>, *βελέων* 11<sub>20</sub>, *δυσμενέων* 12<sub>21</sub>; Theog. *ἐπέων* 755, 1334, *δρέων* 1292, *χαμαιγενέων* 870, *εὐσεβέων* 1141; Solon *νεφέων* 13<sub>24</sub>, *δυσμενέων* 4<sub>21</sub>; *μεδέων* occurs in Archil. 138, a fragment of uncertain metre.

This form is constant in the prose of Hdt. Ktesias has ἐτέων 21, Herakl. ἐπέων 2, ἐτέων 12, ψευδέων 118 (*vulgo* -ῶν), Demokr. κτηνέων 127, Philip of Pergamum (*B. C. H.* II 273) κερδέων, παθέων, Lukian, *Vit. auc.* 3 ἐτέων.

2. -εων: Archil. στηθέων 103<sub>3</sub>, Sim. Am. ἐτέων 1<sub>8</sub>; Theog. κερδέων 46 (in *A O*, *ceteri* κερδῶν), τειχέων 951, στηθέων 1154 (*A*, Stobaios); Solon ἐπέων 1<sub>2</sub>.

3. -ῶν: Archil. ἐνάδεν δυσμενῶν 66<sub>2</sub> (tetram.), for which we may read ἀνὰ δ' ἔχει μένων, Theog. ἐπῶν 1321, Anakr. μελῶν 45 (Blass). τελῶν, Teos, *Mitth.* XVI 292, is Hellenistic.

538.] **Dative Plural.** τέλεσι Priene 144, (φάρεσι in a non-Ionic epigram, Priene 141<sub>3</sub>). Archil. has δυσμενέσιν 7, πελάγεσσιν 11, κήδεσιν 66<sub>1</sub>; Kallinos δυσμενέσιν 1<sub>8</sub>; Simonides Amorg. οὔρεσιν 14<sub>1</sub> (as Hekat. 172, 173), ἄλγεσιν 1<sub>23</sub>; Mimnermos ἀνθεσιν 2<sub>3</sub>, Anakr. στήθεσι 39. The dative plural in -εσσι is practically restricted to sigmatic stems in Ionic, only two exceptions being known: ἰχθύεσσι Ananios 5<sub>8</sub> and πτερύγεσσι Anakreon 24<sub>1</sub>. In Xenophanes 3<sub>5</sub> χαίτησιν ἀγαλλόμενοι εὐπρεπέεσσιν is a conjecture of Bergk, to which Schneidewin's ταναῆσιν is preferable; especially since in a fragment of Aristeeas (Kinkel p. 245) we find χαίτησιν ἀγαλλόμενοι ταναῆσιν.

539.] **Accusative Plural (Masculine and Feminine).**

ἀφανέας Teos 156 B 38, ἀκρατέας[s] Chios 174 C 8, ἀνωφελέας Xenoph. 3<sub>1</sub>, εὐγενέας Theog. 184, Τρήρεας Kallinos 4; Hdt. τρήρεας VII 158, περιδεέας V 44, ἀνθρωποφνέας I 131, Hippokr. ὑγιέας II 110.

The nominative form -εις is used for the accusative in πρεσβυγενεῖς Tyrt. 4<sub>5</sub> (Renner -εας), εὐανθεῖς Theog. 1200.

540.]

Many proper names in -ης, inflected in other writers according to the *Ā* declension, in Hdt. follow the *es* declension. For a full list of such names, see Bredow p. 230 ff. Some are Φαρνάκειος VII 66, Αλάκειος VI 13, Ὑδάρνης VIII 118, Φαρανδάκειος IX 76, Ἀρσάμειος VII 224, Πολυδέκειος VIII 131 Stein's -εω is a conjecture of Valckenaer). Names in -φρένης are invariably -εις stems in Hdt., in Arrian -ᾶ stems. On Herodoteian names that are usually -ᾶ stems but incline to the -εις declension, chiefly in the accusative, see above § 438, 2, and Bredow pp. 226 230.

541.] **Stem in -υς-.**

Original forms of the inflection of μῦς are rare, the influence of the type ὄφρῦς, -ύος having obliterated the ancient inflection. In Hdt. II 141 we find μῦν for the old \*μύσα; in Herodas 3<sub>16</sub> μῦς is the nominative plural, whereas the older form is μῦες,

Epicharmos 28 Ahrens;  $\mu\upsilon\sigma\iota\nu$ <sup>1</sup> for  $*\mu\upsilon\sigma\sigma\iota\nu$  is supported by a reading in Batrachom. 260 ( $\mu\upsilon\sigma\iota$ , the regular form from  $*\mu\upsilon\sigma\sigma\iota\nu$  in 173, 174, 178), but is a mistaken form, only nouns of more than one syllable in the nominative ending in - $\upsilon\sigma\iota$ .

#### 542.] Stems in -os-.

Here belong  $\alpha\lambda\delta\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  and  $\eta\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ . *Nominative*: Hdt.  $\eta\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  VIII 83, Arrian  $\xi\omega\varsigma$ ,  $\xi\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ <sup>2</sup>,  $\xi\omega\theta\epsilon\nu$ . *Genitive*:  $\eta\acute{\omega}\upsilon\varsigma$  <  $*\eta\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma\varsigma$  Oropos 18<sub>46</sub>, Hdt. II 8, VII 167,  $\alpha\lambda\delta\acute{\omega}\upsilon\varsigma$  Tyrt. 12<sub>40</sub>, Theog. 253, 410, 1266.  $\alpha\lambda\delta\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  and  $\eta\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  are everywhere possible in Homer except  $\upsilon$  171,  $\Theta$  470, 525,  $\delta$  188. *Dative*:  $\alpha\lambda\delta\acute{\omega}\iota$  may be read K 238. *Accusative*: the ground-form  $*\alpha\lambda\delta\acute{\omega}\sigma\sigma\alpha$  yielded  $*\eta\acute{\omega}\sigma\alpha$ <sup>3</sup> =  $\eta\acute{\omega}\alpha$ <sup>4</sup>, which may be read in Homer in place of the traditional  $\eta\acute{\omega}$ .  $\alpha\lambda\delta\acute{\omega}$  may likewise be displaced in favour of  $\alpha\lambda\delta\acute{\omega}\alpha$ .  $\alpha\lambda\delta\acute{\omega}$  appears in the MSS. of Hdt. I 8 and deserves the preference over  $\alpha\lambda\delta\acute{\omega}\upsilon\nu$ , an analogue of the - $\omega\iota$  declension, which Greg. Korinth. § 35 calls Ionic.  $\eta\acute{\omega}\upsilon\nu$  in the same grammarian is found only in an elegy in Athen. XI 473 A. In Hdt. IV 40  $R$  has  $\eta\acute{\omega}$ , the other MSS. the Attic  $\xi\omega$  as Arrian, *Indl.* § 28. Xenophon adopted  $\eta\acute{\omega}$  according to Photios. Our MSS. have however  $\xi\omega$ .

#### 543.] Stems in -vs-.

$\mu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$  in Mylasa 249 is the only inscriptional testimony in Ionic to the authenticity of a form preserved in T 117<sup>5</sup>, Hymn II 11, Hesiod *W. D.* 557, Pind. *N. V* 44, Anakreon 6 and Hdt. *c.g.* II 82. It also appears in a Korkyraian inscription, C. D. I. 3199<sub>3</sub>, in one from Kalchadon, 3052<sub>27</sub>, and is not unknown in Attic (*Timaios* 39 C, *Kratylos* 409 C). The preservation of this original form until so late a period (the inscription no. 249 is not older than the first century B.C.) is an interesting case of the retention of dialect forms.  $\mu\acute{\eta}\nu$ <sup>6</sup> is only apparently a  $\mu\epsilon$  stem,  $\mu\eta\nu\sigma$ - being original.  $\mu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$  is from  $*\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\varsigma$  <  $*\mu\acute{\eta}\nu\varsigma$ , according to the law that a vowel followed by a nasal and a consonant is shortened; a law that came into existence after  $\nu\varsigma$  had become  $\nu\nu$  (Aiolio  $\mu\acute{\eta}\nu\nu\varsigma$ ).

The genitive  $\mu\eta\nu\acute{\rho}\varsigma$  is found in Oropos 18<sub>6</sub>, Keos 47<sub>4</sub>; nomina-

<sup>1</sup> W. Schulze, *Quaest. Hom.* 50.

<sup>2</sup> Eustath. 727<sub>11</sub>, 11, 1142<sub>11</sub>, 1504<sub>11</sub>, holds that  $\eta\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma\varsigma$  is the Ionic form as compared with  $\eta\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$  and  $\xi\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$ .

<sup>3</sup> (i. Meyer and Schmidt (*K. Z.* XXV 24) regard  $*\eta\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma\varsigma$  as the original ablaut form which became  $\eta\acute{\omega}\alpha$  through influence of  $*\eta\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma\varsigma$ .

<sup>4</sup> In Hdn. II 391<sub>11</sub> = Et. M. 351<sub>11</sub>, Et. Gud. 195<sub>11</sub>, An. Ox. I 158<sub>11</sub>,  $\eta\acute{\omega}\alpha$  is attested as Ionic; incorrectly called Aiolio by Et. Gud. 196<sub>11</sub>, An. Ox. I 137<sub>11</sub>.

<sup>5</sup>  $\mu\acute{\eta}\varsigma$  was read T 117 in the Chian edition of Homer. The Schol. Ven. A ad loc. calls  $\mu\acute{\eta}\nu$  Aiolio.  $\mu\acute{\eta}\varsigma$  appears in the Herakleian Tables, Cauer 40<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>6</sup>  $\mu\acute{\eta}\nu$  was abstracted from  $\mu\eta\nu\acute{\rho}\varsigma$ . On the declension of this word see Solmsen, *K. Z.* XXIX 61.



tive plural *μηρες* Anakr. 41, dative plural *μησίν* Halik. 238<sub>18</sub>; Stein correctly edits this form in Herodotos, though *κ* has *μήνεσιν* in IV 43, VIII 51.

544.] Stems in -ασ- -εσ-, nominative -ας.

On the interconnected words *κρέας* and *κάρη* (§ 545), and on *κρέας* see Schmidt's *Neutra*.

*κρέας* is inflected in Hdt. as follows:—*κρέεος* VI 111, IX 26, *κέρει* IX 102, *κέρεια* II 38 and often, *κρέων* II 132, IV 183. In Hippokr. II 68 we find *κέρως* and *κέρατα*. The form with *τ* was contemporary Attic as we learn from [*κέρ*]ατε C. I. A. IV 185 B 46 (410 B. C.). The difference between Hdt. and Hippokr. is marked. *κέρως* could not have come into existence in Ionic at the same time and place as *κρέεος* < \**κέρασος*. *κέρατα* is a new formation, which came into existence after \**κερά(σ)ατος* had been substituted for \**κρά(σ)ατος*. The former of these is the parent of Attic *κέρατος*. *ὑψικέρητος*, which is cited in Hdn. II 68<sub>33</sub> without any statement of its provenance, might at first sight appear to be Ionic; but is in fact a heteroclit from *ὑψικέρης* as *ἀμείνητος* from *ἀμείνης*. Pindar fr. 325 has *ὑψικέρατα*, but no Ionian used -*κέρητα*.

*κρέας* yields *κρέως* Hdt. II 41, *κρέα* Hdt. I 119, II 47 and often, Hippokr. VII 196, Hekat. 355, Sim. Am. 24<sub>1</sub> (end of trimeter), Theog. 293 (ᾶ), *κρεῶν* Hdt. I 59 and often, Oropos 18<sub>31</sub>, Hippokr. VIII 238, [*κρέεσσιν* oracle in Hdt. I 47, cf. C. I. G. 1724], *κρέασιν* Hippokr. VIII 54, 138 as Θ 162. Hdn. II 319<sub>6</sub> = Choïrob. 488<sub>33</sub> has preserved in *κρεῶν* a trace of the form with *ε* for *α* before an *ο* sound. This may be either Ionic or Attic<sup>1</sup>. That the substitution is preserved in Homer is assumed by Schmidt, who proposes to substitute *κρεῶν* for *κρεῖων* in Homer; though in Hymn II 130 *κρεάων* is read by all MSS. (but rejected by Gemoll). I find this plausible, as it accounts for the *ει*, which is difficult.

The Herodoteian forms of *τέρας* are *τέρεος* VIII 37, *τέρατος* and *τέρατα* II 82 in all MSS., *τέρεα* VIII 37. Homer has *τεράων*, *τεράεσσι*, *τέραα*; and *τερεα* Σ 485, *τερεσιν* Hymn VII 7 are usually ascribed to the same nominative form. Alkaios 155 used *τερέων* (Eust. 1155<sub>40</sub>), not *τείρεων* (*sic*) as is reported in the Lexicon of Kyrillos, An. Par. IV 192<sub>70</sub>. *τέρατα* is good Attic despite the statements of the grammarians to the contrary, and may well be Ionic of the fifth century. Inscriptional Attic has *κέρατα* but *κρέα*. *Τειρεσίας*<sup>2</sup> was introduced into later literature

<sup>1</sup> That Attic did not repudiate the stem in *τ* is evident from *κρέατος* in 'Αθην. VII 87, 73, the only occurrence upon Attic inscriptions.

<sup>2</sup> The name can, however, scarcely be derived from the dative plural *τερεσι* + *ας*, as 'Αλκι-δάμας, &c. I do not know of any certain phonetic change that will explain it as coming from *τερεσί-ας*.



in the form its initial syllable was forced to assume in the epic. Τερεία in Kaibel 52 may contain the same root, but the name is too singular to be adduced as evidence without further light from other dialects. τείρεα in Σ 485, where it is = ἄσπρα, is not to be separated from τέρας. Cf. τερασκόπος and Eurip. fr. 485: ἡ πρῶτα μὲν τὰ θεῖα προυμαντεύσατο | χρησμοῖσι σαφέσιν ἀστέρων ἐπ' ἀντολαῖς, and Δ 76.

The plural of γέρας occurs frequently in Hdt. in the form γέρεα. This is also found in Miletos 100<sub>7</sub>. In Kos (Paton and Hicks' *Inscriptions of Kos*, No. 37<sub>21</sub>) we find γ]ερεαφόρος, but γέρη in l. 22 (κρέα l. 23). γερηφόρος appears in *B. C. H.* XII 282, γερηφορία in Dion. Halik.

Epic in colouring is γήραος in Hdt. III 14 (γήραος οὐδῶ), Archil. 116, in Mimn. 2<sub>6</sub>, and in Theog. 527, perhaps a verse of Mimnermos. In 174 Theognis has γήρως which is not Ionic. γήραι, not γήραι, is read in Hdt. VI 24. The occurrence of γήραος in Archilochos deserves attention, since it is a case of an Homeric form appearing in a trimeter. Elsewhere the poet contracts α + ο separated by σ (§ 277, 2).

The substitution of ε for α before ο sounds appears also in γήρους, in the pseudo-Hippokratic treatise περὶ τῶν ἐντὸς παθῶν (VII 182). Littré here adopts ἕως γήρους (with Attic -ους), the reading of another hand in *H* (of the fourteenth century) for ἐς τὸ γήρας. In Luke I 36 we read γήρει. The grammarians register γῆρος<sup>1</sup> under the same category as οὔδος, κῶος, σκέπος, κνέφος, &c., all of which forms appear to be nothing more than figments made out of the forms with ε before the case ending. Γῆρος as a proper name is found in an inscription from Panti-kapaion (Latyshev II 140) that is peculiar from the presence of a genitive in -κλήος (§ 529). If connected with γήρας, it is the only occurrence outside of grammatical literature of a nominative form in -ος interchangeable with one in -as.

Homer has οὔδεος, οὔδεϊ and οὔδει; Aischylos βρέτεος, -εἰ, -εα, -έων.

The genitive -ας is called Ionic in the case of κέραος, κρίας, γήρας by Hdn. II 301<sub>2</sub> = Choirob. 386<sub>10</sub>, cf. Hdn. II 317<sub>17</sub>, 773<sub>21</sub>, cf. 774<sub>1</sub>, κέραος Et. M. 505<sub>11</sub>; δέπας, κρέας, γέραος, σκέπας An. Ox. I 251<sub>22</sub>; κρίας, γήρας Theod. 35<sub>11</sub> (Hilgard; κρέαι Hdn. II 316<sub>11</sub>, 774<sub>2</sub> = Choirob. 388<sub>2</sub>, [κρέων Choirob. 388<sub>2</sub>, κρέας Choirob. 388<sub>2</sub>], κρέας Choirob. 386<sub>20</sub>. γέραος is assumed as an Ionic form, An. Ox. I 99<sub>2</sub> (cf. τέρας μ 394).

<sup>1</sup> Hdn. II 281<sub>11</sub> = Et. M. 639<sub>1</sub>, II 220<sub>12</sub> = Eust. 1560<sub>20</sub> (cf. 600<sub>11</sub>), II 773<sub>21</sub>, 22 = Choirob. 386<sub>10</sub>, 387<sub>10</sub>. Nowhere is the form called Ionic. Of the forms that appear to be analogous, the only instances which are ascribed to definite dialects are δέρος (on which see Schmidt, *Neutra*, p. 341) and κῶος, which are called Ionic or Doric by Et. M. 257<sub>2</sub>; the latter, Aiolie by Tzetzes on Hesiod, *W. D.* 61. ψέφος is Pindaric (frag. 324) according to Et. M. 818<sub>24</sub> (cf. Lobeck, *Rhem.* 315).

## 545.] Stems in Tau.

1. Stems in -ντ-. It has been supposed that Hipponax 12 has preserved the original participial inflection of τάλας<sup>1</sup>:—

τί τῷ τάλαντι Βουπάλῳ συνθήκῃσας;

With this form we may compare αἰνοτάλαντα in Antimachos. The correct explanation is that τάλαντι is a neologism like Σαρπήδοντος, θεράποντος, δράκοντος. Nominative and vocative were alike in the case of -αν and -αντ stems. Participles in Ionic are inflected as in Attic, e.g. κατανοῦσι Archil. 64. φάγουσι Hipponax 82.

Other stems in -ντ are: Ἀλκιδάμας Keos 41 (on ā, see § 161), Δηιδάμαντ- Aigiale 28 A; [Ἀγ]λωφῶντος Thas. 78 A 2, [Νι]κοφῶντος 75 A 2 (see § 277, 1, on the contraction of α + ο), Λεωμέδοντος Smyrna 153<sub>10</sub>, Δηιλέοντος Smyrna 153<sub>18</sub>, Μεγακρέ(ο)ντος Chios 177<sub>4</sub>, Ἠγεκρέοντος Samos 217<sub>9</sub>.

Herodotos has ὀδών<sup>2</sup> VI 107 = Attic ὀδούς. An indirect attestation of Ionic ὀδών is found by Bechtel in KOKOΔON<sup>3</sup>, Styra 19<sub>53</sub>, formed as Χαλκῶδων. Hippokrates also has ὀδών. Plural ὀδόντες Hippon. 62<sub>2</sub>, Anakr. 43<sub>2</sub>, Hippokr. II 320. ὀδόντες is the aorist participle of the √ēd (or perhaps ēd) eat. Its initial ο is assimilated from the ε of Aiolic ἐδόντες. See J. Schmidt in K. Z. XXXII 329.

2. Stems in -τ-. δόρυ is inflected as a stem in ρ in the following cases: δουρός Tyrt. 11<sub>20</sub>, δουρί Anakr. 21<sub>0</sub>, δορί Archil. 21, 2-δουρικλυτοί 3<sub>5</sub>. Elsewhere the τ form: δόρατα Hdt. VII 89, 224, IX 62 in all MSS., but incorrectly, δούρατα I 79 (all MSS.), δούρασι I 172, VII 41 (in P only), Tyrt. 11<sub>37</sub>. The forms in ου are Ionic, notwithstanding Archil. δορί (§ 253, 1). Δούριδος occurs upon a Samian inscription (C. Curtius' *Samische Inschriften*, No. 13).

Hdt. has γόνυ VI 27, γούνατος II 80, γούνατα I 199, III 103, V 86, γουνάτων I 112, IX 76 (γούνων Lukian *Syr. dea* 22), γούνασι IV 152, II 132 (γόνασι A B C), VII 88 (γόνασι A B). οὐς yields ὦτα, ὦσι in Hdt., ὦτα Herakl. 4, ὦτων Herakl. 15. ὦς is found in a late inscription from Delos (B. C. H. II 322) and in one from Oropos (Ἐφημ. ἀρχ. 1889, p. 3, l. 19). Hippokrates has ὠτός II 78, VI 368 (θ, Latré οὔατος), οὔατα VI 390 (ὦτα in θ), IX 84, οὔατων VI 126, IX 86; but ὠσίη VI 128, ὦτα II 646, VI 392 as Herakl. οὔατα is found in Theog. 1163, ὠσί Anakr. 21<sub>4</sub>. In Homer we have the forms with οῦ- except μ 200 (ὠσίη, for which οὔασ' has been read). See § 266.

<sup>1</sup> Hdn. II 628, = Choir. 280<sub>n</sub> = Bekk. An III 1431; Theokr. 2<sub>4</sub> has τάλας. In Hrd. 3<sub>61</sub>, 7<sub>33</sub> we have an hyper-Ionic τάλας, according to Crusius, for the usual reading τὰ λῆς. I do not think such a slip possible even in the speech of the vulgar.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Eust. 854<sub>19</sub>, where προδών and χαυλιδών are cited. Epicharmos has κυνόδων fr. 9, (Ahrens)

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Meister in *Jahrb.* vol. 125, p. 525.

Hdt. has ἐν χροῖ IV 175. The word is rare in Ionic as in Attic prose. Homer generally has χροός, χροῖ, χροά which recur in Euripides. χροά is found in Archil. 100, Tyrt. 10<sub>27</sub>, Theog. 217, cf. ἀπαλόχροος 1341. χρώτα occurs in Keos 43<sub>30</sub>. Hdn. has a nominative χροῦς I 401<sub>5</sub>, II 921<sub>8</sub>, &c., from which he derives χροός. Hdt. has μελάγχροες, Hippokr. -χροῖος.

σταῖς Hdt. II 36 (not στάς) yields σταιτός. See Schmidt, *Neutra*, p. 357. Hdt. I 120 has ὄνειράτων (cf. υ 87) from τὸ ὄνειρον (ὄνειρος VII 16). ἔρωσ Archil. 103, ἔρωτι Anakr. 19<sub>2</sub>, ἔρωτα Hdt. V 32. ἔρωσ occurs in Homer Γ 442, Ξ 294, a form with τ for the first time in Hymn II 449 (ἔρωτα). Theognis has the Homeric ἔρος 1322, ἔρον 1064. ἐσθήν Mykonos 92<sub>24</sub> is a heteroclite (ἐσθήτος Hdt. IX 80), cf. μύκην in Hekataios (schol. Ven. A on O 302). Both of these words are classed by Bechtel (*Ion. Inschr.*, p. 66) with those which he maintains have pan-Hellenic η stems. The genitive of the latter noun is μύκεω in Archil. 47.

From εἴλωσ we have εἴλωτες IX 80, εἰλώτων (C, -τέων R) in IX 80 and IX 28. In IX 10 εἰλώτων is read, but in VI 58, 75, 80 εἰλωτέων is the sole reading of all the MSS. εἰλωτας VI 81 is indifferent as no stress is to be laid on the accent. The co-existence of the two genitive forms in this and other abundantia such as μέγαρον, μέγαρος may have been in part the cause of such formations as μυριαδέων, -ων, ἀλωπεκέων, -ων, &c.

On λιός from λῖς = λέων, see § 484. Hippokr. VIII 168 has ἀλειφα for ἀλειφαρ.

κάρη nominative Anakr. 43<sub>1</sub>, accusative Tyrt. 10<sub>23</sub>, Ionic for κάρῃ. This nominative in Homer forced an entrance into the genitive and other cases. In earlier prose the word went out of use save in compounds (Hdt. παραδοκεῖν which has Attic ᾱ, Hippokr. κερηβάρεια, -βαρέω, -βαρικός), but in post-Homeric poetry κάρη was treated as a stem of the first declension. Theognis 1024 (Mimnermos?) has κάρη. κάρην occurs in Kallimachos fr. 35 B, Nikander *Ther.* 131, &c. κάραν appears in the Anakreontics 50, and is the accusative of the Attic dative κάρῃ (in tragedy).

### 546.] Stems in Delta.

According to Hdn. I 526<sub>27</sub>, II 18<sub>17</sub> (cf. Drakon 23<sub>10</sub>, 45<sub>21</sub>), in trisyllabic nouns in -ις, the ι was long in Ionic, short in Attic, e. g. πλοκαμῖς, κεραμῖς, but ἀγαθῖς and τρυφαλῖς always have -ῖς. Clip-names in -ᾱς<sup>1</sup> have -ᾱδος<sup>2</sup>, rarely -ᾱ, in the genitive. -ᾱ is

<sup>1</sup> E. g. Μικᾱς Thaa. (L.) 14 A 7, Ἐκατᾱς Erythr. 106 B 23, Πραξᾱς 106 A 8, Θεωδᾱς Samos 225, Πυγμαᾱς Amorg. 28 A, Νεσσεικᾱς Thaa. 76<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>2</sup> Hdn. II 657, Βιττᾱς Βιττᾱδος, Κυρᾱς Κυρᾱδος.

the original termination, -ādos having worked its way in from the analogy of φυγὰς, νομάς, &c., G. Meyer, *Gramm.* § 345. On the accent of -ādos see Bechtel (*Ion. Inschr.* p. 60). Examples are: 'Ηράδος Thasos 76<sup>1</sup>, 82 B 3, Thas. (L.) 18 A 10, 20 B 6, Μολπᾶδος Abdera 163, 10, Διονυσ[ᾱ]δος Abd. 163, 15<sup>1</sup>, 'Απολλᾶδος Dittenb. *Syll.* 344<sup>60, 98</sup> (Ephesos), C. I. G. 3253 Smyrna (late), Εἰρηνᾶδος Erythr. 206 B 25, Σωπᾶδος 206 C 27, Βαρ(τ)ᾶδος Perinth. 234 B 16, cf. Dittenb. *Syll.* 172<sup>1</sup> (Erythrai?), Κακρᾶδος Halik. 240 A 43, Ταυσᾶδος 240 A 64, 'Ολετάδος 240 B 47. These genitives in -ādos appear upon Ionic soil as early as the first half of the fourth century. Dative in -ādi: Φιλωνᾶδι Smyrna, C. I. G. 3392 (late). Μαιᾶς has the genitive Μαιᾶδος Hipponax 21 A.

Διονυσᾶ Smyrna, C. I. G. 3137<sup>33</sup>, Θευδᾶ Iasos 106 (first century B.C. or later), 'Απολλᾶ Ephesos (Dittenb. *Syll.* 344<sup>72</sup> first century), are the only examples of -ā, which never gained a foothold in Ionic. See Dittenberger *Sylloge* No. 344, note 28.

Names in -ūs have -ūdos, e.g. Δεονῦδος<sup>2</sup> Erythr. 198, and -ēos, e.g. Διονῆος Olbia 133, inflected on the lines of ἰχθύς.

'Αρτεμῖς<sup>3</sup> yields 'Αρτέμιδι Chios 193, Miletos 101, Pantikap. 120, Phanag. 165, Paros 59 (epigr.), and so in Hdt. The accusative is 'Αρτεμιν § 491. On late coins 'Αρτέμιδος Ephesos Head *H. N.* 498, 'Αρτέμιτος Magnesia, *ibid.* 502. Μαιητις, Φθιώτις, Ἰστιαιωτις, Θεσσαλιωτις, Τάναϊς have in Hdt. -ιδος, accusative -ιν. New Ionic usually prefers -ιος. Hdt. has κανναβίδα IV 74, but -ιος 74, 75.

Θέτις yields Θέτιδος Erythr. 206 B 27 (also Epic). On Θέτιος see § 481. Theog. 499 has ἰδριες as Homer. νεήνις has the dative νήνι Anakr. 14<sup>3</sup>.

The Homeric genitive 'Αἴδος which occurs in Theog. 917 is from the stem 'Αἰδ-. 'Αἴδης is elsewhere an Ā stem ('Αἶδαιο Theog. 244, 427, 906, 'Αἶδεω Theog. 703 (in A), Solon 248).

πάλμυς has πάλμυδος Hippon. 154, but πάλμυν 1,; vocative πάλμυ 30 A, 30 B. Hdt. has νεήλυδα I 118, ἐπήλυδα I 78.

Hdt. has Μελάμποδα II 49, τρίποδα I 144 &c., αἰγίποδας IV 25 but Οἰδιπόδεω IV 149, Οἰδίπουν V 60, ἀρτίπουν III 130.

A grammarian in Bekk. Anecd. I 104<sup>1</sup> says that Hdt. used the dative form κόμμιδι<sup>4</sup>; whereas in reality both Hdt. and Hippokr. use κόμμι; cf. § 484.

On the parasitic ε in hyper-Ionic -εων, see §§ 74, 2, and 480.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Διονυσᾶδος C. I. G. 3141<sup>33</sup>, 3242 (both late inscriptions from Smyrna, Διονυσᾶδος Abdera, in *Cat. Brit. Mus. Thrace* 74. No. 62, 68, 85.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Zeit. f. Gym. Wissen.* 38, p. 110, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Buck, *A. J. P.* X 463.

<sup>4</sup> This form was used by the comic poet Krobylos *Hdn.* II 767<sup>10</sup>.

χρυσάλγιδ<ε>ος Keos 41 (epigr.) is due to the error of the stone-cutter.

#### 547.] Stems in Theta.

Hdt. has ὀρνιθος, ὀρνιθα IV 131, and ὀρνῖν II 73, ὀρνιθες and ὀρνεα, ὀρνίθων and ὀρνιθίων in II 77, ὀρνισι, ὀρνιθας.

#### 548.] Declension of θέμις, χάρις.

Hdt. has Θέμιος II 50, Theognis θέμιστας 1141 as A 238. Cf. θέμιστος Aiolic and epic, θέμιτος in Pindar, θέμιδος Aischylos. The stem θεμιστ- has been regarded as a compromise between θεμισ- and θεμιτ-. Hdt. uses the adjective θεμιτός V 72, ἀθέμιστος VII 33 (A B C), VIII 143. See THESSALIAN § 37, 6 c.

ἄχαρις has the dative ἀχάρῃ I 41, despite χάριτα VI 41, IX 107, ἀχάρिता I 207 (neuter plural), ἀχαριτώτατον VII 156; ἀχαρίστοισι I 90, εὐχαρίστως I 32. Hdt. has χάριον V 99, ἄχαριν III 24. Χάρισιν occurs Thasos 68 B.

#### 549.] Stems in Gutturals.

In the old Chian inscription 174 we find A 16 οὐροφύλακες, A 19 οὐροφύλακας, whereas Hdt. uses both φύλακος and φύλαξ according to Stein: φύλακα I 41, 44, VIII 41, φύλακας VII 95, cf. also χρυσοφύλακας IV 13, 27, and Herakl. 123 φύλακας. In Hdt. I 113 φύλακα is supported by *d* and Aldus only, and in II 121 (γ) φυλάκους is undisputed.

From θρίξ, we have τρίχα Paros 67, ; Hippokrates has ἐλμιγγες, -ων, from ἐλμιγξ for the ordinary ἐλμινς, ἐλμινθος (VII 596).

Theog. 1 uses the Homeric vocative ὦ ἄνα<sup>1</sup>; Hdt. has ὦναξ I 159, IV 150 &c. Theog. 949 has the Homeric (E 299) ἀλκί. Anakreon 24 has in περύνγεσσι a rare instance of the Aiolic transference of the ending -εσσι to non-sigmatic stems.

ῥήνιξ Hippokr. VIII 116 (adjective ῥηνικός) is a noteworthy form. ῥήνις is found in lexicographers. Cf. κέληξ, κέλης.

On hyper-Ionic -εων, see § 480.

#### 550.] Stems in Labials.

In VIII 322 Hippokrates uses λίπα with ἔλαιον in a preceding clause; in 324 we have ἐλαίῳ χρίων λίπα.

#### 551.] Stems in Rho.

The inflection of πατήρ, θυγάτηρ, μήτηρ in Herodotos presents nothing unusual. The tendency of Homeric forms to find a footing in MSS. of Hdt. is seen in πατέρι, III 34, *R* and Aldus. πατρός is found in Theodosia (?) 127, πατέρα Delos 57, Chios 192. μητέρα is read in Keos 43<sub>26</sub>. θυγατρός Pantikap. 120, θυγατέρας

<sup>1</sup> ἄνα is called Ionic, Bekk. An. II 930<sub>18</sub>.



Keos 43<sub>π</sub>. The epic and Aiolic<sup>1</sup> *θύγατρα* is called Ionic by An. Bachm. (Max. Pl.) II 65<sub>3</sub>, but is not met with. Hdt. has *Δήμητρος*, -τρι, -τρα (*Δήμητραν* II 123 in *d* and Aldus; cf. Kratylos 404 B where Schanz read -τρα, and Plutarch *de Malig.* 13 &c.). Hippokr. VII 596 *γαστήρσι*, v. l. *γαστρήσι*. In Hdt. the word presents no peculiarities.

*χείρ* has the following inflection:—*χείρως* Hdt., Hippokr., Sim. Keos 136<sub>3</sub>. *χείρι* Hdt., Hippokr. *χείρα* Hdt., Hippokr., Archil. 130, Sim. Keos 141<sub>6</sub>. *χείρε* Hippokr. VIII 236 *vulgo*, *χείρας* in *θ*. *χειρῶν* Solon 1350<sub>92</sub>; cf. note 2 below. *χείρες* Hdt., Hippokr. *χειρῶν* Hdt.; Herodas 7<sub>3</sub> has the hyper-Ionic *χειρεων*. In 6<sub>11</sub> *χειρέων* is a correction for *χειρῶν* of the papyrus. The appearance of this form harmonizes with the date of the papyrus (first century A.D., see § 113). *χειρέων* also occurs Hippokr. II 74, III 462; the correct form V 466. *χερσί* Hdt., Hippokr., Mimn. 12<sub>8</sub>, Tyrt. 10<sub>25</sub>, Sim. Keos 142<sub>6</sub>. *χείρας* Hdt., Hippokr., Solon 4<sub>4</sub>, Sim. Keos 115<sub>1</sub>.

In MSS of Hdt. we occasionally find the forms with *ε*. Thus *χέρας* VIII 106 C P, the Venetus *δ* and Aldus. Steph. Byz. s.v. *Αὐτόμολοι* cites Hdt. II 30, but in a form that is so Atticized that we need not wonder at *χερός*. Aldus alone has *χερός* II 169, V 77, VII 112, 115, *χερί* II 106, III 78, IV 71, VIII 121, IX 72, *χερα* VII 42, *χέρας* IV 64, 69.

It is interesting to note that in Attic inscriptions we find [*χ*]*ειρῶν* C. I. A. II 742 A 14; *χειρῶν* C. I. G. II Add. 1811 b 10 Aphrodisias and 2942 c 4 (Tralles). In both places Boeckh read *χερῶν*. Hdn II 177<sub>π</sub>. 74<sub>π</sub> denies the existence of this dative form with *ει*. Hdn II 748<sub>π</sub> says that the form *χερός* occurred in iambographic poets; but he cites no example in proof.

The difference between the Homeric and Herodoteian inflection consists in the possession by Homer of the following non-Herodoteian forms:—*χερί* (only three times), *χείρε*, *χείρεσαι*, *χείρεσι*.

*ἄνῆρ* has *ἄνέρος* Xenoph. 6<sub>4</sub>, *ἀνέρι* Kleobulina 1, *ἀρέρας* Phokyl. 15<sub>2</sub> (*vulgo* *ἄνέρος*), all poetical forms. The iambographic poets use the forms known to prose: *ἄνδρός* Sim. Amorg. 711<sub>0</sub>, *ἀνδρί* 721<sub>0</sub>, *ἄνδρα* Archil. 124, *ἄνδρῶν* Hipponax 45<sub>2</sub> trim., *ανδράσιν* Archil. 64 and 74<sub>6</sub> tetr., Phokyl. 15, Mimn. 1<sub>5</sub>, Sim. Amorg. 772<sub>0</sub>, 92<sub>0</sub>, 93<sub>0</sub>, *ἄνδρας* Hippon. 21 B trim.

On Aldus *ἄνδρέων* Hdt. VII 187, see § 480.

In Hipponax 51, Buttman read correctly *μάπτρυσιν* (Welcker *μάπτρυσιν*) for Tzetzes' *μάπτρυσιν*. Theog. 1226 has *μάπτρῶν*. The suffix in *μαπτρ-*, *μάπτρς* is a product of dissimilation (Kretschmer, K. Z. XXXI 447) from *μητρυ-*. A suffix *-τρ-* is unknown. *μάπτρς* is found in Pindar and in tragedy, and *μάπτρς* occurs upon an Attic epigram *Philol. Wochenschr.*, 1888, p. 3. *μαίτρς*

<sup>1</sup> Tzetzes, Ex. II 741<sub>0</sub>. This epic form from the shorter stem is due to an objection to the succession of short syllables.

and *μαῖτυρς* occur in Kretan, *μάρτυρος*<sup>1</sup> in Homer, Phokian and Delphic, *μάρτυρ* in Aiolic according to Hdn. I 236<sub>14</sub>, and certainly in Doric. Hdn. I 47<sub>7</sub> (cf. Eust. 114<sub>20</sub>) cites *μάρτυρες* as occurring in the comic poets and in Hipponax. This form is found in Herakl. 4, 15, 118 (-as), and was read by Zenodotos in B 302.

The accusative *μάρτυν* occurs in Sim. Keos 84<sub>4</sub>, *μάρτυρα* 148<sub>8</sub>. The latter form is found in Archil. 152.

Solon frag. 14 has preserved the older form *μάκαρ* (Bergk *μάκαρς*) which occurs also in Diphilos (Clem. Alex. *Str.* VII 303). Alkman's *μάκαρς* (frag. 10) is due to analogy.

### 552.] Stems in nu.

The quasi *nu* stem Ionic *μείς* has been discussed above § 543. Under this section are included the stems of comparatives which end now in *nu*, now in *sigma* (-ω from -οσα, -ους from -οσες). The *nu* stems of Ionic are in general declined as in Attic. Hence only such inscriptional forms as serve to explain the language of the lyric poets, Herodotos, and the later prose writers are adduced.

The omission of *ι* in the form *πλέον*, &c. (see § 219, 3), is highly probable, at least in Herodotos, notwithstanding that the MSS. sometimes preserve it. It is difficult to see how the form *πλεῦν* could coexist with *πλείον*. The forms with *ευ* are less frequent in other Ionic prosaists.

**Nominative Singular:** *πλέων* Hdt. II 60, Herakl. 112 (Cobet for *πλείων*); neuter *πλέον* or *πλεῦν* often in Hdt. (all MSS. *πλείον* in I 192). *πλεῦν* occurs II 52, IX 41.

**Genitive Singular:** *πλέονος* Keos 43<sub>8</sub>, as Demokr. 21, Hdt. *πλεῦρος* I 97, II 89, III 40, IV 43. V 34 with no case of *πλέονος*, though this form appears in *AB*<sup>1</sup> in IV 43. It is to be noticed that *πλείονος*, which does not appear on Attic inscriptions till the second century B.C., is found in no Ionic document. For *γλήχους* in Hippokr. VII 160 it is to be noted that *θ* has *γλήχωρος*.

**Dative Singular:** *Ἀπόλ(λ)ωνι* Naxos 24, Milet. 93 &c. In VII 49 Hdt. has *πλέονι* (*πλείωνι d*, *πλεῦνι* Stob.) side by side with *πλεῦρα*; in II 25 for *πλέονι R d* have *πλείωνι*.

**Accusative Singular:** *ἐλαττον* Orp. 18<sub>3</sub>, 22 (cf. Hippokr. *ἐλασσον* II 36) and *πλέον* 18<sub>4</sub> are neuter. In Hdt. we find *ἐλάσσω* often, e.g. VII 8 (a), where is also the sole occurrence of *ἐλάσσονα*; *καλλίω*; *ἀμείνω* seven times, but IV 158 *ἀμείνονα*; *μέζω*; *ἔσσω*; *κακίω*; *πλέω* but *πλεῦρα* IV 114, VII 49, 51, IX 111; *κρέσσω* but *κρέσσονα* IX 41; *αἰσχίονα* IV 144. In

<sup>1</sup> An. Par. III 135<sub>10</sub>, Schol. Apoll. Rhod. I 132, Greg. Kor. p. 591 (Aiolie).

Hippokr. we find ἀμείνω II 24, 30, 146, πλείω 270, 292, 318, 326, ἐλάσσω VII 228 (cf. *Vita Hom.* 16), πλέονα II 112, ἥσσονα 316. ἀμείνω occurs in Theog. 409, 1161, πλείω Theog. 907 (O has πλείον), κακῶ in Archil. 6<sub>4</sub> (cf. κάκιον 13).

κυκεῶνα Hipponax 43<sub>4</sub>, as in Hippokrates II 306, Lukian *V. A.* 14, Aret., Aristoph., Plato. Homer has κυκεῶ, -ειῶ. Τυφῶνα in Hdt. II 144, but also Τυφῶ in III 5. For γλήχωνα of the vulgate in Hippokr. VI 248, θ has γληχω (*sic*; see under genitive). Hdt. has εἰκόνα II 143 (cf. § 523).

The accusative singular of nouns in -ων, -ωνος is not -ω as in Attic inscriptions of the classical period: Ἀπόλλω C. I. A. I 9<sub>18</sub> (464/57 B.C.), Hdt. Ἀπόλλωνα I 87; Ποσειδῶ C. I. A. II add. 66 C 14 (356 B.C.), Hdt. Ποσειδέωνα VII 129, VIII 55.

**Vocative Singular.** In certain Milesian inscriptions from Naukratis (Roberts 132 A, B, F) Mr. E. A. Gardner has thought to discover a vocative Ἀπόλλω, a form hitherto unknown. That Mr. Gardner's conclusions rest upon incorrect reading of the inscriptions has been shown by Merriam, *Am. Journ. Archaeol.* III 304, and by Bechtel *Ion. Inschr.* p. 153. For Ἀπόλλω, σοῦ εἰμι read Ἀπόλλωνό(ς) εἰμι. On χελιδοῖ see § 523.

#### Nominative Plural.

(1) *Masculine and feminine.* In Chios 174 B 24 we find ἁάσσονες. In Hdt. ἀμείνονες (but ἀμείνους V 78), πλεῦνες (πλέονες II 8, where *R d z* have πλείους, and II 120, where all MSS. have πλείους), κρέσσονες, ἐλάσσονες, μέζονες, κακίονες, ἥσσονες. Hippokrates has πλείονες II 58, 84, πλείους II 642, 668 (*bis*), μέλους II 628, βελτίους II 24, ἐλάσσονες II 646, μέζονες II 628, ἥσσονες II 646 (ἥσσον *A C H*). Demokritos 115 has πλέονες, Xenophanes 34 μέλους, Theognis κρέσσονες 618, 996.

The nominative plural in -ους was also carried over into the accusative.

(2) *Neuter (nominative and accusative).* In inscriptions we find μέζονα Oropos 18<sub>10</sub>, πλέω Miletos 100<sub>2</sub>. Hdt. has ἐλάσσω (ἐλάσσονα III 102 accusative), κρέσσω, ἀμείνω, πλέω (πλέονα II 145, where *A B C* read πλείονα), μέζω (μέζονα nom. VIII 37, accusative I 26, II 68 where *P R d z* have μέζω, II 148, III 102). In Hippokrates we find πλείω II 650 nominative and III 482 accusative, πλέονα VI 368, ἀμείνω II 30, μείζονα II 52, μείζω II 624, μέζω 324, III 450, ἐλάσσονα VIII 36 (θ), ἐλάσσω II 24, 306, χείρω II 702, μείω III 534, κακίω II 306, κρέσσω VI 14; Demokritos 92, Anaxag. 14 (*bis*) have πλέω, a form adopted by Mullach in Melissos 3, where Simplicius read πλείω; Protagoras has κρείσσω (*sic*), Anaxagoras 6, 14 ἐλάσσω, 6 μείζω (Simpl.). In Theognis 702 we find πλείονα, in Herodas 3<sub>85</sub> πλέω.

**Genitive Plural.** Hdt. πλεόνων and πλεύνων; πλειόνων Demokr. 20. On hyper-Ionic -εων, see § 480.

**Dative Plural.** The regular termination is -σι, *e.g.* in Μακεδόσιν Olynthos 8 B 9, ἐλάσ[σ]οσ[ι] Keos 434, μνήμ[οσ]ιν Halik. 238<sub>10</sub>. Theognis has νήφοσι 481, 627, Xenophanes 2, ἀγῶσιν, Archil. 74, δελφῖσι. Hdt. has πλέοσι II 53, VIII 69 (πλείοσι *R*), IX 122 (πλείοσι *A B C*), and so in Hippokr. III 450 in many MSS. (Littré πλείοσι); μέζοσι I 194, εἰδαίμοσι II 78.

An irregular -εσι, recalling the ending of ἵεσιν, Ψ 191, &c., occurs in δαιτυμόνεσι Hdt. VI 57 (-εσσι *A B*), πλεόνεσιν VII 224 in *R d*. Neither of these forms is to be adopted. μήνεσι (§ 543) reminds one of Aiolic μῆννεσι C. D. I. 213<sub>12-13</sub>, though in that form one σ does duty for two. σπλήνεσι, found in Hippokrates III 432, 450, 452, 496, IV 120, 148, 156, 160, 218, 220, is a noteworthy form for σπλησί.

ἡγεμόνεσιν Solon 1, is not to be expelled though not Ionic, because of the existence of Homeric forms in his diction. The conjectures of Fick (*B. B.* XIV 254) ἡγεμονοῦσι or ἡγεμονεῦσι are improbable on other grounds. πλεόνεσσι in Theog. 800 is Homeric.

**Accusative Plural (masculine and feminine).** In Hdt. the Attic πλείους occurs I 167 for which Stein has substituted πλείστους, Bredow πλέους or πλεῦνας; in II 120, II 121 (δ) Stein reads πλέους where all MSS. have πλείους. πλεῦνας is the common form. On πλεῦνας or πλέονας see § 287. Other forms are αἰσχίονας, μέζονας, ἔσσονας, ἐλάσσονας, ἀμείνονας (ἀμείνους V 92 (α) in *C*). Hippokrates adopts ἀμείνους II 92, πλείους 20, 308, βελτίονας II 64, πλείονας 278, *Vita Hom.* 34 πλείους. Theog. 605 has πλέονας.

Ionic uses the longer forms more frequently in nominative and accusative plural (masculine and feminine), the shorter more frequently in accusative singular, in nominative, accusative, and vocative plural (neuter).

If we compare the Ionic comparatives (*πν* stems) as attested by inscriptions with their Attic kindred, it is clear that the older forms were retained for some time by the Ionians, and that at a comparatively early date those derived from sigmatic stems came into use. But in Attika we find in the epigraphic monuments down to the opening of the first century B.C., only such forms as μείζω, πλείω, ἐλάττω; ἀμείνους, ἐλάττους, πλείους. Forms in -ονα, -ονες, -ονας appear in Athens with Sulla.

Later Ionic does not use πλέες, πλέας < \*πλε-ισ-ες, < \*πλε-ισ-ας. Cf. Hom. πλέες, Kretan πλέες, Hom. πλέας, Kret. πλέας.



*Adjectives.*

558.] Varying case forms have been discussed under Declension of Nouns. On πολλός, πούλυσ see §§ 254, 479. On πλέος, πλέη, πλέον *full*, see § 478. In the following are mentioned some words whose structure is of interest, and others not recorded in L. S.

Hdt. has σῶς I 24, III 124, IV 76. A feminine σῶη is found in Babrios 94<sub>s</sub> (σῶην). For σόον, occurring in Hdt. II 181, σῶον (*CP*) may be substituted. This form has come to light on an Attic inscription C. I. A. I 36<sub>o</sub>. σῶοι should be read V 96, VIII 39, cf. σῶαι I 66, σῶα IV 124, VI 86 (a). σῶων II 121 (β). In these passages Stein wrongly adopts σόος. [σ]όαι? Hrd. 6<sub>o2</sub>.

In I 194 ζωός is found (ζῶς *R d*) and so in II 122 (ζωίων *ABC P*); and in Archil. 63<sub>2</sub> ζωοί is the MS. reading for which Porson substituted ζοοί. In 63<sub>3</sub> [Archil.] has ζωοί.

πίερα is found in Hippokr. II 90, VII 516 (*ru/ro*), II 76 (πίερα). πιάρος in VII 512, 514 (and 516 according to Littré) has been emended to τὸ πῖαρ, because πιάρος appears only in later Greek. Anakreon's πέπειρα (87) recalls πίερα, which in Homer exists alongside of ἡ πίων. αἱ πέπειροι Hippokr. VI 562; πέπειρον II 306, 308, πέπειρος VIII 228 (θ) have been attacked in favour of the feminine forms.

Hdt. has -ετις for -ετης, e.g. τριηκοιτοέτιδας σπονδάς VII 149 (-αέτιδας *B d z*). Noteworthy is ἐπήλυδα ἔθνεα VIII 73.

ἄδαής in Abdera 162 (epigram), is a word known to Hdt. IX 46, but not to Homer, who has ἄδαήμων.

ἀνηρίθευτοι Chios 174 B 25-26 is from ἔριθος with the initial vowel lengthened in composition. In ἀνερίθευτος the lengthening has not taken place.

ἀλοργ- and ἀλουργ-: see § 295, III.

σιρδὼν λῖς Samos 220<sub>19</sub>. ΛΙΣ is all that is preserved. Since there appears to be no break after the word, it must not be filled out by λισ(ή). Cf. Odyssey 12. 79: πέτρη γὰρ λῖς ἐστι, and λιτί, λίτα. λιτός occurs in this Samian inscription (l. 23).

With τεσ(σ)ερακαεβδο[μη]φοντούτης Paros 58, cf. πεντηκοιτόγυος Iliad IX 579, ἑξηκοιταέτη Mimn. 6<sub>2</sub>, ὀγδοκοιταέτη Solon 20<sub>1</sub>.

πρωτόμητος, found only Paros 67 (period of the empire), is applied to the hair of an ephebos.

αὐτοίκος Zeleia 114 E 6.

Adjectives of two or three endings. ἔρημος (§ 123) in Hdt. has usually two, rarely three, endings. ἔτοιμος has sometimes three endings. Hippokr. has ἡ ἄρτιος, Hdt. ἡ ἡλίθιος. αἰδαίος has usually no feminine in early Greek except in Hom. and Hdt.,



so δούλειος (δουληίη Hdt. III 14). In Hdt. ἐδώδιμος has three, ἱππάσιμος three, but two in IX 13, λόγιμος three, but two in VI 106, παραθαλάσσιος varies (but two VI 48; VII 110, VIII 23 three); αἴτιος and μετάρσιος have three, ἐπέτειος three, but two in II 92; αὐτομάτη is found in Hippokr. VI 326.

Apollon. *Adv.* 602 = Schn. 189<sub>8</sub> states that Ionic adopts the -η forms in compounds instead of the -ο of the stem, and cites *inter alia* ὀρκιητόμος, αἰμηπότης.

**554.] Comparison of Adjectives (Regular).** Forms which do not differ from those in use in Attic or not noteworthy for other reasons are not adduced.

1. -τερος, -τατος.

Hdt. has πρηύτερος (Plato πραότερος), βραχύτερος, ταχύτερος, ταχύτερον and θᾶσσον as adverbs. Hippokr. and Arrian have ταχύτερον. οἰκτρότερος is Herodoteian. New Ionic is κεινότερος and στεινότερος = Attic κeno- and steino-. Melissos 14 has κενεώτερος. κυδρότερος is found in Xenoph. 2<sub>6</sub>, Ion 2<sub>10</sub>, κύδιστος Theog. 904. From adjectives in -οος we have ἀθροώτερος, εὐπνοώτερος, δυσπνοώτερος (-πνουστέρος Hippokr. II 154), εὐροώτερος, εὐχροώτερος, λευκοχροώτερος in Hippokrates. ὕβριστότερος Hdt. III 81 and not -ιστερος.

ἀνδρηιώτερος Hdt. I 79 (-ειω- *d*, -ειο- *ceteri*), -ηιότατος IV 93 (-ειο- MSS.), IX 37 (-εω- Venetus 8, -ειο- *ceteri*). In I 123 Stein reads ἀνδρειωτάτῳ, in all the other passages -ηιο-. -ηο- is correct.

ἰρωτάτας is read by Stein V 82 (cf. Attic ἰερω-), where ἰρο- of *P* (*pr.*) *r* is better.

In VII 99 we have εὐδοξοτάτας (-ωτ- *d*).

Hdt. has οἰκηιότατος III 65 (-ηο- *R*, -ηῖω- *P d z*, -ειο- Prisc.), V 5 (-ειο- *r*) according to Stein. Since *ηι* cannot here be regarded as two sounds, we must write -ηότατος with Schulze, *K. Z.* XXIX 252. ἐπιτηδεότερος and -ότατος are read by Stein. I would adopt -ειο-<sup>1</sup> which occurs as follows: I 110 -εω- in *CPz*, -ειο- *ABd*; I 126 -εω- *CP*, -εο- *AB*, -ειο- *Rdz*; IV 72 -εω- *CPz*, -ειο- *ABd*, -εο- *R*; VI 102 -ειο- *A*, -εο- *R*, -εω- *reliqui*, except *B* which has -ιο-; IX 2 -εο- *ABR*; IX 25 -εο- *ABR*. In I 115 Stein cites only *AB* with -εο-, II 133 -εω- *B corr. Pd z*. How ἐπιτήδεος, even if correct (§ 219, 5), can yield -εότερος, -εότατος, I do not see. Hippokrates II 334 has the correct form ἀνεπιτηδειότερος.

2. -εστερος, -εστατος<sup>2</sup>.

Hdt. has σπουδαιέστερος I 8, -έστατος I 133, as Hekataios

<sup>1</sup> Fritsch, *V. H. D.* 43, prefers -ηο-, which is nowhere found. Demokr. has ἐπιτηδειέστατος (Eust. 1441:4).

<sup>2</sup> Et. M. 31, αἰδοιέστατον, ἀφρονέστατον ποιητικῶς, κατ' ἔθος ἱόντων γινόμενα; cf. 394<sub>3</sub>, 420<sub>7</sub>.

*apud* Eust. 1441<sub>17</sub> (Hdt. -ότατος II 86), ἀμορφέστατος I 196, ἀγνωμοιέστερος IX 41, ὑγιηρέστατος II 77 but ὑγιηρότατος IV 187, ἐρρωμενέστερος IX 70, εὐνοέστερος V 24; ἡσυχέστερος Hippokr. VI 76, 80 (-αίτερον A C), II 154 (some MSS. -αίτερος which Littré adopts), ἀκρητέστερος II 496, VI 74, 80, 82, 84 (-έστατος VI 82), εὐδιέστατος II 54, ἀφιληκέστερος VI 186.

### 3. -αιτερος, -αιτατος.

μεσαίτατος Hdt. IV 17 is not an analogue of παλαιτέρος, which occurs in Homer and in Hdt. I 60, but formed from \*μέσαι (cf. μεσαιπόλιος Hom.) as παλαιτέρος from πάλαι<sup>1</sup>. μέσσατος is found in Theog. 998. Hippokr. has γεραίτερος II 162, 334, VI 186, IX 50, the Homeric form; πλησιναιτέρω occurs in Hdt. IV 112, but παραπλησιωτάτην V 87. These forms are sporadic; as is clear from Hippocratic ὀψίτερος, Platonic ὀψιαίτερον. ὀδυναίτερον Hippokr. III 478 (*v. l.* -ώτερον) is a noteworthy form from ὀδυνηρός.

**555 ] Irregular Comparison of Adjectives.** ἀγαθός: ἀμεινότερος Mimn. 149; on κρέσσων see § 142; ἀρείων Hippokr. VIII 58, ἀρειότερος Theog. 548; βέλτερος Theog. 92, 181, 866, βέλτιον Mimn. 210. κακίων Archil. § 196. χείρον Hippokr. II 680. χειροτέρη IX 240 is to be read χειρίστη. On ἔσσων see § 139. ἐλάσσων § 163. ὀλίγος (notice the use Hdt. IX 70), ὀλιγώτερος Hippokr., ὀλίζων § 377. On μέζων see § 142. πλέων, πλεόν § 552. In Hippokr. VIII 36 θ has πλέα for πλέονα of C and πλείονα of the vulgate. On πλέα and connected forms, see Collitz, *B. B.* X 306.

ρήδιος or ῥήδιος yields ῥητέρος or ῥήτερος. ῥητέρας Hippokr. VIII 10, but ῥαῖον in θ VIII 124, 274 for ῥήιον. In the first case Littré adopts ῥαῖον, in the second ῥᾶον. Hippokr. VII 196 ῥήιον according to Littré (*v. l.* ῥῆον, ῥᾶον, &c.). ῥῆδιον Theog. 577 (ῥήιον conj.). ῥᾶον is found in Theog. 429, ῥήτερον 1370.

ὀνήτιος yields ὀνήσιος in Phoenix of Kolophon *ap.* Athen. XI 495 D, Herakl. 114, Anaxag. 10, Pythag. *apud* Diog. L. VIII 49, Aretaios 331. The comparative exists in Nikander *Alex.* 627 (ὀνήιον).

Of πέπων the comparative is πεπειρότερος in Hippokr. VI 554 (θ). πιότερος Hippokr. VII 512, 516, πιότατος VII 512. ῥίγιον Mimn. 42. φίλος requires the aid of μάλλον and μάλιστα in Hdt. ὠκύτερος Theog. 715, 986, 1306, ὦλιστα 427 (cf. O 238). Heightened superlatives are rare in Ionic prose. Hippokr. VI 522 has ἐγγιστότατα.

From adverbs or prepositions are formed ἀνώτερος Hippokr. III 528, ἀνώτατος Hdt. II 125; κατώτερος Hippokr. III 528; ἀγχότερος Hdt. VII 175.

<sup>1</sup> With the adverbs in -αι, cf. those in -ai in Lithuanic.

δοῦλος is an adjective Hdt. VII 7 (δουλοτέρην); cf. ἀνεμοὶ ὑετώτατοι II 25, βασιλεύτερος Tyrt. 127.

**558.] Comparison of Adverbs.** Some noteworthy forms are ἡσσόνως Hippokr. VI 14 (in *A* according to Gomperz), θειοτέρως Hdt. I 122, ἰσχυροτέρως III 129, εὐπετεστέρως III 143; ἱκανωτάτως Hippokr. VI 24, ἐσχάτως VI 14, ἐλαχίστως IX 254. Hdt. has κατωτάτω, ἄσσον (Sim. Am. 7<sub>26</sub>, 33), ἀγχοτάτω (*v. l.* -τα in *A B C d* VII 64), ἀγχιστα, πλησιαιτέρω, προσωτέρω, προσωτάτω and -ωτατα, ταχύτερον and θᾶσσον. Hippokr. has ἐξωτάτω, τηλοτέρω, ἔγγιον VI 568, ἐγγιστότατα, πελαστάτω (VI 298, 340, VIII 140, 292), ταχύτερον.

μᾶλιον, a specifically Ionic form according to Choiroboskos (An. Ox. II 240<sub>2</sub>), is found Tyrt. 12<sub>6</sub>. Cf. § 163. μᾶλλον occurs in Archil. tetr. 63<sub>2</sub>, Theog. 598, &c. μαλιώτερα<sup>1</sup> is suggested by Bergk for the μαλκώτερα of Solon 27<sub>15</sub>.

### Personal Pronouns.

In his treatment of the Ionic pronouns Apollonios Dyskolos draws upon Homer with but few exceptions. On the Herodoteian forms, see Ekedahl, *De usu pron. pers. et refl. Herodoteo*, 1885. Dual forms do not occur in post-Homeric Ionic.

#### 557.] First Person.

1. ἐγὼ Hippon. 63, Anan. 4<sub>2</sub>, Anakr. 8<sub>1</sub>, 74<sub>1</sub>, Solon 2<sub>1</sub>, Xenoph. 7<sub>4</sub>, Theog. 878, 1226, &c., Hdt., &c. ἐγών occurs in Theognis in only three places (253, 527, 968) though possible elsewhere, except in 27. This form is found in all dialects except New Ionic and Attic. In Theognis ἐγών occurs only before vowels as in Homer, and with the second syllable in the arsis of the second foot.

2. ἐμέο<sup>2</sup> in Homer (K 124), in Demokritos, and Pherekydes according to Apoll. 82 C, Hdt., epist. Hippokr. 27<sub>39</sub>.

ἐμεῦ<sup>3</sup> Hom., Archil. epod. 92, Mimn. 14<sub>2</sub>, Theog. 957, 1101, 1235, Pherekydes, and Demokritos (Apoll. 82 C), Hdt., and also in late Doric texts.

ἐμείω<sup>4</sup> is found in Homeric Ionic, not in prose.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Hesychios' μάλιον μᾶλλον, and μαλιώτερα προσφιλεστέρα.

<sup>2</sup> An. Par. III 317<sub>19</sub>, Et. Gud. 436<sub>2</sub> cf. 169<sub>7</sub>, An. Ox. I 143<sub>10</sub>, 322<sub>10</sub>, An. Bachm. Max. Plan. II 66<sub>37</sub>. ἐμέο is called Attic An. Ox. I 156<sub>2</sub>.

<sup>3</sup> Hdn. I 474<sub>10</sub> = II 330<sub>2</sub> = Joh. Alex. 23<sub>10</sub>, An. Ox. I 399<sub>1</sub>; Ionic and Doric, Apoll. 82 C and Adr. 185<sub>6</sub> (Schn.); Doric, An. Ox. I 156<sub>2</sub> and An. Par. III 317<sub>19</sub>.

<sup>4</sup> An. Ox. I 131<sub>1</sub>, 156<sub>2</sub>, ποιητικῶς Choirub. Orithogr. in An. Ox. II 202<sub>10</sub>.

The Attic ἐμοῦ<sup>1</sup> appears sometimes in the MSS., *e.g.* Archil. ep. 111, Theog. 100, 262, 697, 1203, 1240, 1340, 1342, in Hdt. occasionally, and in Herakl. 1. In the spurious portions of Theognis ἐμοῦ is probably correct, as -ου in other words (Ἀϊδου).

μευ<sup>2</sup> Hipponax 62 (tr.), Anakr. 76, 81, Homer, Hdt., Herodas (about ten times).

μον is incorrect in Hippon. 83 tetr. It is found in Theognis' second book (1366).

3. ἐμοί Mimn. 8<sub>2</sub>, Theog. 14, Hippon. 19<sub>1</sub>, 20<sub>1</sub>, Sim. Amorg. 1<sub>22</sub> (*vulgo* δέ μοι), Anakr. 24 (ἐμοιγε 7), Hdt., &c.

μοι Mimn. 1<sub>2</sub>, Theog. 787, &c., Hippon. 19<sub>4</sub>, Anakr. 50<sub>1</sub>, Hdt., &c.

4. ἐμέ Anakr. 45, Sol. 19<sub>3</sub>, Hdt., &c. με Hipponax 78, Anakr. 25, 47, Solon 4<sub>31</sub>, Naxos 23, 24, Theog. 88, Hdt., &c.

5. ἡμεῖς Mimn. 2<sub>1</sub>, Solon 15<sub>2</sub>, Theog. 513, &c. (Theognis does not use the Doric ἀμές), Hdt., Hippokr., Lukian (*Syr. ideā* 2, *Astr.* 4), Arrian *Ind.* 34<sub>12</sub>, 35<sub>6</sub>, &c. Hyper-Ionism overreaches itself with its ἡμέες, which Mullach has adopted in Demokritos, *Phys.* 1, despite the statement of Apollonios<sup>3</sup> and the testimony of the MSS. of Sextus Empiricus who quotes the fragment. ἡμέες appears in the supposititious letters of Hippokrates twice, and Thales (α)<sup>4</sup>. See below on ὑμεῖς.

6. ἡμέων<sup>5</sup> Hdt., Hippokr. (in II 316 *A* has ἡμῶν), Herakl. 114, Philip of Pergamum (*B.C.H.* II 273), &c.

ἡμέων Theog. 353 (thus *A*, ἡμῶν *reliqui*), Solon 13<sub>72</sub>, Herodas 1<sub>2</sub> and often, Phoinix of Kolophon II 20 (Schneid.).

ἡμῶν Theog. 228, a verse of Solon (13<sub>72</sub>). In the MSS. of the latter we find ἡμέων, not ἡμῶν, as we might expect. In the MSS. of Hdt. ἡμῶν is unusual (*d* in I 112), as it is in Hrd. (1<sub>48</sub>).

ἡμέλων<sup>6</sup>, a molossus, Hrd. 1<sub>40</sub>. In the same line we have ἡμέων. Crusius gives the form a place in his edition, though even in Homer it occurs but four times.

7. ἡμῶν<sup>7</sup> Theog. 345, 467, 833, 1213, 1215, Archil. 39, (trim.), Sim. Amorg. 3<sub>1</sub>, 13<sub>1</sub>, Anakr. 2<sub>7</sub>, Herodas 2<sub>44</sub>. ἡμῶν is both Old and New Ionic, and is the only form in Ionic prose.

<sup>1</sup> Called Ionic by Tzetzes *Ex.* II 93<sub>33</sub>, and on Hsd. *W. D.* 225 (Gaisf.). In the first passage μεῦ and ἐμοῦ are called Doric and Aiolic.

<sup>2</sup> *An. Ox.* I 143<sub>2</sub>.

<sup>3</sup> *Apoll. Pronom.* 118 B.

<sup>4</sup> In some MSS. of Hdt. we find the open form, II 6 (*P*), IV 139 *2*, VI 11 *CP*, VIII 29 *R*, 144 *R* &c. Aldus regarded this form as a mark of Ionism, and adopted it when it was without MS. authority, VIII 141, IX 87.

<sup>5</sup> *Apoll. Pronom.* 120 C, Joh. Gramm. 242.

<sup>6</sup> Joh. Gramm. 242 B.

<sup>7</sup> *An. Ox.* I 51, ἡμῶν (ἡμῶν? II 216<sub>13</sub> (Choir.), Apollonios 123 A.

ἡμιν<sup>1</sup> occurs in Homer and Attic<sup>2</sup>, but does not occur in post-Homeric poetry or prose composed by an Ionian. Whether ὑμῶν or ὑμιν should be read in Theognis 235 with cod. O is doubtful. Most of the MSS. have ἡμῶν. Among them is A, which alone presents the correct reading of the following verse.

ἡμίν Anakr. 43<sub>1</sub>, 63<sub>1</sub>, Hrd. 7<sub>15</sub>. Why Bergk should adopt this form in Anakr. 62<sub>2</sub> in preference to ἡμῶν, is not clear.

Aiolic (epic) ἄμμιν occurs in Theog. 418.

8. ἡμέας<sup>3</sup> is the inscriptional form (Miletos 96, of the fifth century, where the smooth breathing is correct), and that adopted by Hdt., who is followed by Lukian, Abydenos, Euseb. Mynd., Arrian 34<sub>10, 12</sub> (but cf. σφᾶς). The letters of Hippokrates have fourteen cases of ἡμέας, one (X) of ἡμᾶς, Aretaios fifteen cases of ἡμέας to one (267) of ἡμᾶς. Philip of Pergamum has ἡμέας, *B. C. H.* II 273.

ἡμέας Arch. 9<sub>7</sub>, at the end of the pentameter, Herodas 1<sub>9</sub>, 2<sub>9</sub>, 7<sub>66</sub>. In Homer ἡμέας may always be read.

ἡμᾶς<sup>4</sup> Theog. 1215 and in Herodas frag. (6), *Class. Rev.* V 481.

Aiolic (epic) ἄμμε occurs in Theog. 1273.

### 558.] Second Person.

1. σύ Archil. 88<sub>2</sub>, Hipponax 32, Anakr. 2<sub>6</sub>, Hrd. 4<sub>18</sub>, Theog. 696, 781, though the Doric form is τυ. Herodotos and the other Ionic prosaists have σύ.

2. σέο in Herodotos; and twenty-three times in Homer.

σεῦ<sup>5</sup> Sol. 20<sub>2</sub>, Theog. 253, 516 (thirty-four times in Homer). The Solonian form shows that the poet did not write in his native dialect.

σευ Theog. 377 Hrd. 1<sub>28</sub>, 2<sub>81</sub>, 521<sub>39</sub>, 7<sub>83</sub>.

σοῦ<sup>6</sup>, the Attic form, Theog. 414, 1239, Hrd. 1<sub>85</sub>.

σου in Hippon. tr. 76 cannot be Ionic. It occurs also in Theog. 969.

σεῖο in Theog. 1 and σέθεν 1232 are epic.

<sup>1</sup> Apoll. 123 A says τὸ ἐγκλινόμενον παρ' Ἰωσι συστέλλει τὸ ι' σημειῶδες, καθὼ αἱ ἐγκλινόμεναι τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον φυλάττουσι ταῖς ὀρθοτονουμέναις, and then cites Doric ἄμιν and ἄμιν. The Et. M. 84<sub>2</sub> wrongly calls ἡμίν Doric, but is correct about an Ionic ἡμιν. Cf. also Hdn. II 517<sub>20</sub>, An. Ox. II 216<sub>12</sub> (ἡμιν), Eust. 1112<sub>1-7</sub>, cf. 1611<sub>3</sub>, 1670<sub>4</sub>, 1690<sub>13</sub>; Bekk. An. III 1150<sub>10</sub>; An. Ox. I 188<sub>2</sub> states that the ι is found in Ionic, Doric, and Aiolic. In An. Ox. I 188<sub>1</sub>, the Homeric forms ἡμιν A 147 (where a long ultima had to be assumed on account of the following ἐκέρχον) and ἡμιν P 415 are referred to.

<sup>2</sup> ἡμιν is almost a characteristic of Sophokles' style in contrast with that of Aischylos and Euripides.

<sup>3</sup> Apoll. 126 C, Schol. Ven. A on Θ 352.

<sup>4</sup> ἡμᾶς if enclitic, Apoll. 127 A citing π 372, the only example in Homer. In Sophocles some prefer to write ἡμᾶς.

<sup>5</sup> An. Bachm. (Max. Plan.) II 66<sub>22</sub>; Doric and Ionic *ibid.* II 367<sub>22</sub> (= Gram. Par. 678).

<sup>6</sup> Tzet. on Hrd. W. D. 225 (Gaist.).



3. σοί<sup>1</sup> Mimn. 8<sub>2</sub>, Theog. 14, 27, Archil. 88<sub>3</sub>, Theog. 655 (see below on τοι), Paros 60 (epigr.), and in Ionic prose.

τοι Kall. 2<sub>2</sub>, Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>108</sub>, Hippon. 16<sub>2</sub> tr., Archil. 79, Anakr. 75<sub>3</sub>, 95 (eleg.), Theog. 95, 465 τοι in *Δ*, *vulgo* σοι, 633 (?), 634, 655 in *Δ* (Bergk σοί), 656, 1319. Doric τοί < τφοι appears nowhere in Theognis. Renner holds that for enclitic σοι in Theognis τοι (=Skt. *tē*) should be substituted (88, 407 (here Bergk reads τοι for *Δ*'s σοι), 695, 776); and also for σοι in 1238, 1283.

Sitzler opines that σοι as an enclitic should be retained in Theognis. The older elegy differentiated σοί and τοι after the Homeric fashion. σοι in Hipponax 20<sub>3</sub> is correct according to Bergk. The MSS. have τοι, which I would adopt. Herodotos has τοι (unemphatic).

Herodoteian usage is (with but very little opposition in the MSS.) in agreement with that of Homer in its differentiation of σοί and τοι. Both Homer and Herodotos agree in differing herein from Attic and the other dialects.

4. σε Mimn. 7<sub>4</sub>, Hippon. 28, 31 (σ' and σέ), 64<sub>2</sub>, Anan. 4<sub>1</sub>, Anakr. 2<sub>6</sub>, 40 (σέ), 72 B, 95, Theog. 5, 93, 103, 559, 873, &c. (Theognis does not use σέ), Herodas 4<sub>3</sub>; and in Ionic prose.

5. ὑμεῖς Theog. 493 (Theognis does not use the Doric form ὑμέσ), Herodas 2<sub>35</sub>, 7<sub>21</sub>. The proper form in Ionic prose is ὑμεῖς, never ὑμέες, though the latter form appears in *PR* 2, in Hdt. VIII 22, and in Lukian's *Vit. auct.* § 13, where it is adopted in Sommerbrodt's critical edition (Ω Γ have ὑμεῖς). Apollonios *Pronom.* 118 B expressly warns against the adoption of the open form<sup>2</sup>.

6. ὑμέων<sup>3</sup> Herodotos, Hippokrates, and other Ionic prosaists, e.g. Lukian *Vit. auct.* § 13. Herodas has one (2<sub>21</sub>) distinct case of ὑμέων (-ων), the only occurrence of such an open genitive in poetry.

ὑμέων Solon 11<sub>8</sub> according to Diogenes Laert., while Plutarch, Clemens, and Diodoros have the Attic ὑμῶν. ὑμέων appears

<sup>1</sup> Apoll. 104 C.

<sup>2</sup> ἡμεῖς, ὑμεῖς, σφεῖς. ἔστι πιστώσασθαι καὶ τὸ ἀδιαίρετον τῆς εὐθείας παρ' ἰωσιν ἐκ τῶν περὶ Δημόκριτον, Φερεκύδην, Ἐκταίων. τὸ γὰρ ἐν Εἰδωλοφανεὶ "ὑμέες Αἰόλιον περιχεύετε" παρὰ Παρθενίῳ ὑπὸ ποιητικῆς ἀδείας παραληφθὲν οὐ καταφεύσεται διαλεκτοῦ πιστομένης ἐλλογίμοις συγγραφεύσιν. The mention of Parthenios' innovation may be regarded as evidencing a desire on the part of Apollonios to counteract current views as to the nature of Ionic in respect of vowel-openness. Cf. § 113 ff. The appearance of such an hyper-Ionic form in a poet who was a teacher of Vergil is specially noteworthy. Tzetzes, *περὶ μέτρων* An. Ox. III 333<sub>n</sub>, has ὑμέες in an hexameter.

<sup>3</sup> Apoll. 112 A, who also cites the form from a Doric source (Sophron 79), though ὑμῶν is the genitive in that dialect. Apoll. also mentions the Homeric ἡμέων (v 7). Joh. Gramm. 241 B, 242 B refers to both as Ionic.

often in Herodas. In Homer the form occurs four times; in O 494 we find ὑμεων.

ὑμῶν in Archil. tetram. 74, I would emend to ὑμέων.

The epic ὑμέων (four times) is not employed in post-Homeric Ionic.

7. ὑμῶν<sup>1</sup> Archil. 89<sub>1</sub>, Sol. 11<sub>8</sub>, Theog. 825, Hrd. 1<sub>19</sub>, 2<sub>100</sub>, and in Ionic prose. ὑμῶν occurs in Hrd. 4<sub>79</sub>. On ὑμῶν, Bergk's reading of Theog. 235, see under ἡμῶν.

8. ὑμέας Herodotos, Hippokrates, &c. The fictitious letters of the latter have this form seven times, ὑμᾶς in 27<sub>39</sub> (in 27<sub>39</sub> the MSS. vary). ὑμᾶς is found in the *Vita Homeri* § 19, Hrd. 7<sub>118</sub>.

ὑμέας is everywhere possible in Homer, and is so read in Hrd. 2<sub>60</sub>, 7<sub>65</sub>; in 7<sub>118</sub> read ὑμέας.

ὑμῶν (epic) Theog. 1104 in A, other MSS. ὑμᾶς or ὑμῶν. Bergk conjectures ὑμᾶς or ἡμᾶς. But the latter form occurs only once in Homer (π 372), and the former is quite unknown to the epos.

### 559.] Third Person.

The original usage of this pronoun has not been restricted in Ionic as in Attic.

1. εἰ<sup>2</sup> in Herodotos occurs only in the enclitic form (III 135); Ion 'Επιδ. 1 (*Frag. Hist. Gr.* II 46).

2. οἱ<sup>3</sup> always appears in the enclitic form in the lyric poets: Xenoph. 1<sub>20</sub>, 2<sub>9</sub>, Theog. 178, 186, 391, 405, 519, 1256, 1376, Solon 42<sub>4</sub> (melos), Archil. 29<sub>2</sub>, 97, Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>79</sub>, Hrd. 4<sub>60</sub>.

For Rhegion 5, according to Bechtel, is Doric. In Mimn. 12, ἵνα οἱ θοόν is to be rejected for ἵνα δὴ θ. In Hdt. IV 34, VI 119 we find οἱ used of things neuter in gender. Here as elsewhere in Hdt. the form is enclitic and = αὐτῶ, αὐτῇ. See also Lukian *de domo* § 20. I do not find the orthotone οἱ.

3. εἰ < σφε as an enclitic occurs in Solon 13<sub>27</sub> by a conjecture of Hermann.

4. σφεῖς<sup>4</sup> in Hdt. (indirect reflexive IV 43, VII 168).

5. σφέων<sup>5</sup> in Hdt. (enclitic, neuter V 58) and Hippokrates II 312 but σφῶν αὐτέων II 58 in the vulgate (σφέων adopted by Littré), III 194 (σφῶν Littré).

<sup>1</sup> Apoll. *Pronom.* 124 B, who notices that ὅμων is the enclitic form. This is confined to Homer and Attic, unless we admit it in Theognis.

<sup>2</sup> An. Bachm. (Max. Plan.) II 66<sub>23</sub>; Apoll. 136 B calls εἰ Ionic.

<sup>3</sup> Apoll. *Pronom.* 105 C.

<sup>4</sup> Greg. Korinth. § 70; τὸ σφεῖς καὶ σφᾶς καὶ σφῶν διαφεύγει καὶ ὅττω προφέρεται σφέες, σφέας, σφέων. This does not apply in the case of σφεῖς, and is flatly contradicted by Apoll. *Pronom.* 118 B, who expressly attests σφεῖς as Ionic. See on ὑμέας. In no case do the MSS. of Hdt. support Gregory's statement, nor is there any such epic form. Even Aldus refrains from σφέες.

<sup>5</sup> Joh. Gr. 242, Greg. Kor. 70 σφέων.

6.  $\sigma\phi\acute{\iota}$  (=  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$ ,  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha\iota\varsigma$ ) in Herodotos is enclitic. This form is rare in Attic (*O. K.* 421, where Elmsley read  $\sigma\phi\iota\nu$ : see on *Meleas* 398).

$\sigma\phi\acute{\iota}\nu$ <sup>1</sup>, enclitic, occurs in Archil. 74<sub>8</sub> (tetr.), 125, Sim. Keos 84<sub>6</sub>, Theog. 66, 422, 732, 772. This form is also Doric and Homeric, and is used in tragedy (*Prom.* 252, 457).

$\sigma\phi\acute{\iota}\sigma\iota$  (=  $\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu\tau\alpha\iota\varsigma$ ) Hdt. In V 103, VI 105, VIII 68 ( $\beta$ ), the pronoun is not reflexive. Stein here reads  $\sigma\phi\iota$ . The MSS. vary constantly between  $\sigma\phi\acute{\iota}\sigma\iota$ ,  $\sigma\phi\iota$ , and  $\sigma\phi\iota\nu$ . When the pronoun is reflexive, read  $\sigma\phi\acute{\iota}\sigma\iota$ , otherwise  $\sigma\phi\iota$  (not  $\sigma\phi\iota\nu$ ). Aldus confuses  $\sigma\phi\iota$  with  $\omicron\iota$  in III 14.  $\sigma\phi\acute{\iota}\sigma\iota$  appears in Sim. Keos 103<sub>8</sub>, *Prom.* 481, *O. K.* 59 (indirect reflexive).

7.  $\sigma\phi\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\varsigma$ <sup>2</sup> (=  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ ,  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha\varsigma$ ), enclitic in Hdt. but  $\sigma\phi\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$   $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$  Hippokr. II 78, where Littré's  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$  is not to be preferred to the vulgate  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ . Aretaios has  $\sigma\phi\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\varsigma$  five,  $\sigma\phi\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$  seven times. The *Vita Hom.* has  $\sigma\phi\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\varsigma$  § 17, and so Lukian *V. A.* 14. In Archil. 27<sub>2</sub> (tr.)  $\sigma\phi\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\varsigma$ , and so the Homeric  $\sigma\phi\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\varsigma$  may be read as a monosyllable (see Menrad *de contractionis usu* p. 111 for  $\sigma\phi\alpha\varsigma$  in place of  $\sigma\phi\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\varsigma$ ).

8.  $\sigma\phi\acute{\epsilon}\alpha$  (=  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$ ), enclitic, Hdt. I 46, &c., also in Attic poets. Cf. the Attic (poetical) nominative  $\sigma\phi\acute{\epsilon}\alpha$ .

9.  $\sigma\phi\acute{\epsilon}$ . The epic and Doric<sup>3</sup>  $\sigma\phi\acute{\epsilon}$  (enclitic) appears in Theog. 552. In Hdt. VII 170 it is found in most of the MSS., and here, if at all, it is to be accepted. Bekker and Abicht adopt the  $\sigma\phi\epsilon\alpha\varsigma$  of the Cambridge (36, Askew) MS. In I 71 *R* confuses  $\sigma\phi\epsilon$  with  $\sigma\phi\epsilon\alpha\varsigma$ . Stein has no better authority for his  $\sigma\phi\iota$  than the Aldine edition; but finds for the construction of the dative after  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\omicron\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$  a parallel in O 258. All the MSS. in III 53 have  $\sigma\phi\epsilon$  for  $\sigma\phi\epsilon\alpha$ , which is due to Valckenaer. In III 52 Bredow emended  $\sigma\phi\epsilon$  to  $\sigma\phi\epsilon\alpha$ . *R* confuses the two in I 89, but here we have the guidance of other MSS. to show the correctness of the latter form.

10.  $\mu\acute{\iota}\nu$ <sup>4</sup> (enclitic) in the lyric poets is generally =  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu$ , sometimes =  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\eta}\nu$ : Hippon. 52 (trim.), Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>8, 10, 20</sub>, Kall. 1<sub>20</sub>, Mimn. 1<sub>7</sub>, 14<sub>2</sub>, 15, Xenoph. 6<sub>2</sub>, Tyr. 12<sub>37</sub>, Solon 13<sub>41</sub>, Theog. 195, 293, 310 in MSS., 1127, 1173, 1347, Hrd. 3<sub>1</sub>, 7<sub>102</sub>. In Hdt.  $\mu\acute{\iota}\nu$  is anaphoric in all genders<sup>5</sup> and also an equivalent of  $\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu\tau\omicron\nu$  -  $\tau\acute{\eta}\nu$  (ind. reflex.)<sup>6</sup>. It occurs in Ion's *Ἐπειδ.* 1, in

<sup>1</sup> Apoll. 125 A, B; Greg. Kor. 61 ( $\tau\acute{\omicron}\delta$   $\sigma\phi\acute{\iota}\sigma\iota$   $\sigma\phi\iota\nu$   $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\nu$ ) cannot refer to Herodotean usage.

<sup>2</sup> Apoll. 128 A  $\sigma\phi\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\varsigma$  (M 43, and  $\sigma\phi\alpha\varsigma$  § 315), Greg. Kor. 70, Hdn. II 125m (N 276  $\sigma\phi\epsilon\alpha\varsigma$  enclitic).

<sup>3</sup> Apoll. 128 A, 131 A; cf. Aiolie  $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\phi\epsilon$ .

<sup>4</sup> Apoll. 108 A, schol. Ven. A on A 201, interlinear schol. on A 399.

<sup>5</sup>  $\mu\acute{\iota}\nu$  =  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$ , e.g. in I 93, 178 cf. II 138; in  $\mu\acute{\iota}\nu$   $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\eta}\nu$  I 205  $\mu\acute{\iota}\nu$  is Kyroa.

<sup>6</sup>  $\mu\acute{\iota}\nu$  in Homer is not reflexive unless accompanied by  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\eta}\nu$ .

Protagoras, Lukian *Syr. dea* 4.  $\mu\nu$  has been expelled from *Eumenides* 631, *Choeph.* 622, 791, *Septem* 453, *Trach.* 388 in favour of  $\nu\nu$ . The MSS. of Pindar have the Ionic (Homeric)  $\mu\nu$  as well as the Doric  $\nu\nu$ <sup>1</sup>.

11.  $\nu\nu$  Theog. 364 (*eum*) is called a Doric<sup>2</sup> form of the accusative, but was used by the Attic tragic poets in trimeter for *eum*, *eam*, *id*, *eos*, *eas*, *ea*. The above case is the sole instance where Theognis seems to have adopted a Doric form in the declension of the pronouns not differentiated by gender.  $\nu\nu$  is plural in Bakkyllides 8. In Herodas  $\nu\nu$  is used more frequently than  $\mu\nu$  (333, 51, 90, 96, 621), and seems to be preferred after words ending in *s* or *v*.

560.] **Possessive Pronouns.**  $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$  Homer, Hdt., Anakr. 12 A 146, &c., Theog. 530, 540, &c.  $\sigma\acute{o}\varsigma$  Homer, Hdt., Theog. 360, 518, 598, 738, 1091, &c.  $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\acute{o}\varsigma$  (Epic, Aiolic, Doric<sup>3</sup>), Hdt.  $\delta\varsigma$  Homer (who has also  $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{o}\varsigma$ ), Sim. Amorg. 7112, Tyrt. 102, Theog. 920, Hdt. I 205 (the only occurrence).  $\acute{\alpha}$  was used by Demokritos for *idia* according to Photios.  $\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$  Homer, Hdt., Tyrt. 51.6, Solon 196, Theog. ten times,  $\eta\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon\iota\omicron\varsigma$  Anakr. 71.  $\acute{\upsilon}\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$  Homer, Hdt., Solon 111, 192.  $\sigma\phi\acute{o}\varsigma$  Hom., of one person Theog. 712 ( $\sigma\phi\eta\sigma\iota\ \mu\omicron\lambda\upsilon\phi\rho\omicron\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu\alpha\iota\varsigma$ ); cf. Hsd. *Theogony* 398. In Homer  $\sigma\phi\acute{o}\varsigma$  is always used with reference to more than one.  $\sigma\phi\acute{\epsilon}\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$  Theog. 142, Euseb. 1, Hdt. (plur.). In Homer it is used of more than one person.

### *The Demonstrative Pronouns.*

#### 561.] The Article and $\delta\delta\epsilon$ .

##### 1. The Article.

The lyric poets hold fast to a considerable extent the Homeric use of the article as a demonstrative, *e.g.* Mimn. 23, 128, 148, Tyrt. 410, 1026, Xenoph. 123, 73, Theog. 51, 104, 349, 392, 397, 398, 883, Solon 1358, 375, Archil. 745, 895, Sim. Amorg. 743. In Theognis we observe traces of the Homeric and Doric  $\tau\omicron\iota$ : 305 in *A*, 936 (Theog.?), 1062 (Mimn.). This  $\tau\omicron\iota$  even appears in the Aldine edition of Herodotos<sup>4</sup>. Ionic, Attic, Aiolic, Thes-

<sup>1</sup> Tycho Mommsen, in Fleckeisen's *Jahrbücher* 83, p. 44 ff., pronounces in favour of  $\nu\nu$ .

<sup>2</sup> The horizon of Apollonios (108 A) is limited in that he restricts  $\nu\nu$  to Doric. It was doubtless Old Attic too.

<sup>3</sup> It is noteworthy that Theognis does not use a form that Apoll. 135 A calls Doric, though it occurs in Homer. In tragedy  $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\acute{o}\varsigma$  is restricted to the melic parts.

<sup>4</sup> See Struve, *Quaest.* I 10.



salian, Arkado-Kyprian displaced the older *τοί, ταί*, and adopted *οί, αί*, which owe their origin to form-association with the singular. Herodotos preserves the use of the article as a demonstrative pronoun (e.g. I 172, II 162, III 23, V 97, VII 6, IX 25). *ὁ δέ* is common in Hdt., and indicates, as it does in Homer, not merely a change of person, but also a change of action on the part of the same person. In Hippokrates we find frequently the phrase *ἐπὶ τὰ . . . ἐπὶ τὰ* (e.g. II 296, 328). It may be noted that in inscriptions the article may or may not occur with proper names when reference is made to descent, as, for example, in *Πολυάρχτος ὁ Ἰστιαίου* Thasos 72, and below, l. 6 *Πολυάρχτων Ἰστιαίου*.

On the feminine *τῶν*, not *τέων*, see § 444, on *ταῖς*, § 450, *τοῖς*, § 473, 2, 475.

2. New Ionic has *ὅδε, ἧδε, τόδε*: plural *οἷδε*, &c. The Homeric *τοῖσδεσι, τοῖσδεσσι* have their parallels in later Ionic. In Demokr. 13 we find *τοῖσδεσι*, a form that is put into the mouth of Pythagoras by Lukian *V. A.* 5 (perhaps *-δεσσι* in  $\Psi$ ). In Hippokrates in certain adverbial phrases: *πρὸς τοῖσδεσσι* VIII 358 (*τοισδεσσι* in  $\theta$ , *τοῖσδε* *vulgo*), *σὺν τοῖσδεσσι* VIII 268 ( $\theta$ ), 372 (*τοῖς δεσσι*  $\theta$ , *τοῖς δεσιν* some other MSS.), 308 *ἐν τοῖσδεσσι* ( $\theta$ , Littré *τοῖσδεσσι*). All these forms occur in the treatise on the *Diseases of Women*.

Like forms occur in Aiolic and in Thessalian.

562.] *οὗτος*. Hdt. has *τοιούτο, τοσοούτο*, rarely the *-ν* forms, e.g. III 27, 85, VII 103 *τοιούτων*; I 107, 178, 207, IV 45, V 50, VII 153 *τοσοούτων*, but they are frequently found in Hippokrates. The difference between Old and New Ionic is noteworthy; for Homer uniformly adopts the *-ν* forms. The feminine *τούτων* in Ionic and Attic is due to the analogy of the masculine. The Dorians said *ταυτᾶν*, the Aiolians *ταύταν*. So too *οὔτοι, αὗται* are made on the lines of *οὗτος, αὗτα(η)*. Even Theognis (638, 1057) does not adopt the Doric *τούτοι, ταῦται*. On a very late inscription from Teos (*B. C. H.* IV 182) we find *τούτα* for *ταῦτα*<sup>1</sup>.

In the inflection of *οὗτος* hyper-Ionic *ε* has obtained an entrance into the MSS. of Herodotos and Hippokrates, of the authors quoting the early Ionic prosaists, into Aretaïos, Lukian, and later pseudo-Ionists. In Hdt. masculine and neuter *τουτέων* (and *αἰτέων*) are not supported by a consensus of MS. authority. In the case of Hippokrates the depravation has advanced far beyond the point reached in Herodotos. It has yielded such forms as *τουτέου, τοιουτέου, τουτέω, τοιουτέω, τοιουτέων, τουτέοις, τουτέοισι, τοιουτέοισι, τοιουτέους, τουτέους*.

<sup>1</sup> Joh. Gram. 243 B, Meerm. 659 called *τούτας* Doric for *ταύτας*. This statement is rejected by Ahrens.



In Herakleitos are read *τοιουτέων* (2), *τουτέοισι*<sup>1</sup> (126), Lukian *Vit. auct.* 4 *τουτέοισιν*, where Ψ has *τούτοισιν*. Most of these monstrous forms owe their existence to the perverse attitude of the editors towards the Ionic dialect. The MSS. have again and again the correct form *τούτων*, not *τουτέων*, *e.g.* Anaxag. 4, 9, 11, 14, Diog. Apoll. 2, Demokr. 204 (*τουτέω*). See §§ 113-116. On the feminine gender see § 447, 3.

563.] *αὐτός* (Pronoun of Identity). The oblique cases of *αὐτός* are used generally for the reflexive; though the MSS. of the lyric poets often have *αὐτοῦ*, &c., *e.g.* Theog. 480, 539, 895, 955, 1009 (Mimn. ?), 1218, Tyrt. 10<sub>3</sub>.

In the neuter Hdt. never has the *-ν* form (always *τῶντό*). *τῶντόν* appears in Parmenides 117, 118, Hippokr. III 212 (*τῶντό* in C), but *τῶντό* II 12, and so usually in Hippokrates. Diog. Apoll. 2 has *τῶντό* (Simpl. *ταῦτό*), Arrian the same form in 25<sub>8</sub>, but the Attic form six times. Lukian *Vit. auct.* 14 *τῶντό* (*-ν* in ΩΓΦ). On the crasis forms, see § 316.

The MSS. of Herodotos give only a feeble support to a masculine and neuter *αὐρέων*; but in I 133 *αὐρέω*, though well attested, is to be rejected. In Hippokrates, Aretaios, Lukian and other pseudo-Ionists, we encounter such forms as *αὐρέη*, *αὐρέης*, *αὐρέη*, *αὐτέην*, *αὐτέησι*, *αὐρέου*, *αὐρέω*, *αὐρέων* (masculine and neuter), *αὐτέοισι*, *αὐρέους*. All these are hyper-Ionic figments (§ 108). Though often well supported in the MSS. of the pseudo-Ionists, there are numerous instances where the parasitic *ε* has been foisted on the early prosaists (*e.g.* Demokr. 12, 71) without good evidence. This hyper-Ionism has not attacked the MSS. of the lyric poets. On feminine *αὐρέων* see § 447, 3.

The dialect has no example of compounds of *αὐτός* other than those found in the reflexive *ἐμῶντοῦ*, &c.; that is, Ionic has not *ἀσarf. αὐταυτον, αὐτούτα*. *αὐτός* is never petrified. The *αὐτοσσυτοῦ* of a Vienna papyrus of the fourth century B.C. (*Philol.* XLI 746) is Doric, despite the fact that the document is chiefly Ionic.

564.] *κεῖνος*. This form is stated by the grammarians<sup>2</sup> to be Ionic on the principle by which *χθές* is declared to be Ionic for *ἐχθές*, and *ὀπρή* for *ἐοπρή*.

<sup>1</sup> Gram. Paria. 681 (An. Bachm. II 370<sub>8</sub>), Eust. 1026<sub>11</sub>, attest *τουτέοισι* as Ionic, and regard it as an example of *προσχηματισμός*. This is the only case that I recall of the mention of such a form in grammatical literature. The analogy of *δρέοισιν* in part misled the grammarians.

<sup>2</sup> Apoll. 73 B, Joh. Gr. 241, Greg. Kor. pp. 447, 456, Meerm. 654, Aug. 669, Vat. 699, Birub. 678<sub>20</sub>, An. Bachm. II 365<sub>11</sub> (Ionic and Attic), Schol. Ven. A on O 94 (*ὁλος κεῖνον*), where A C D E, &c., have *κεῖνον*, Aristarchos *κεῖνον*. Arist. often adopted forms which the scholiast takes pains to call Ionic. Cf. La Roche, *H. T. K.* p. 247.

*χθές* occurs in Hdt. in but one passage (II 53 *πρόην τε καὶ χθές*). In Attic comedy this form appears in the phrase *χθές τε καὶ πρόην*, and occasionally, according to Rutherford *Phryn.* p. 372., in cases where it lends itself to the aid of the metre (*Clouds* 353, *Wasps* 142). *ἐχθές* was the regular Attic form. *ἐορτή* occurs upon an Oropian inscription 18<sub>14</sub>, see § 287, 1, note. On *ἐέλω* in relation to *θέλω*, see § 588. In Hipponax 63 Hdn. I 116<sub>24</sub>, II 924<sub>1</sub>, we find *ῥωδῖος*, of which the common form was *ῥωδῖός*, occurring in Hipponax 76 and Sim. Am. 9. The spelling with iota subscript seems to be due to the supposed connexion with *ῥωδίζω*. Hrd. 8<sub>3</sub>, Crus. has *ῥωδῖ[ων]*.

*ἐ-κεῖνος* may be compared with the Oscan *e-tanto=tanta*. The loss of the *ε* in other words may be due to the parallelism of *ἐκεῖνος*, *κεῖνος*; and at the same time furthered by the laws of sentence phonetics.

Homer has *ἐκεῖνος* and *κεῖνος*, *ἐκεῖσε* and *κεῖσε*, *κεῖθεν*, *κεῖθι* and *κεῖνῃ*. For *ὄφρ' ἂν ἐκεῖθι* ρ 10 (the only occurrence of *ἐκεῖθι*), we may read *ὄφρα κε κεῖθι*: cf. *ὄφρα κε κεῖνῃ* β 124. In Parmenides 118 *καῖκεῖνο* is read. The Aiolic form is *κῆνος*, Doric *κῆνος* (*κεῖνος*) with *τῆνος* as a by-form from a different stem.

1. *κεῖνος* is found in all inscriptions (§ 224, 15) free from the suspicion of containing an admixture of Atticism.

2. Of the Ionic poets, the *elegists* use *κεῖνος* more frequently than *ἐκεῖνος*. The shorter form is found in Archil. 3<sub>4</sub>, 12<sub>1</sub>, Mimn. 14<sub>1</sub>, 9<sub>1</sub>, Theog. 47, 223, 308, 479 (Athen., *ἐκεῖνος* Stob.); cf. *κεῖθεν* Mimn. 9<sub>8</sub>, Theog. 711 (sic Bekker, *καῖκεῖθεν libri*). The longer form appears in Archil. 6<sub>3</sub>, Theog. 787, 1205. In the *iambographic* poets *κεῖνος* is the correct form: Archil. tetr. 51, Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>51</sub>, 84; *ἐστ' ἐκεῖνος* Archil. 87 (epode) may easily be read *ἐστιν κεῖνος* (*ἐστιν* has MS. authority); in 92, also an epode, *ἐμεῦ δ' ἐκεῖνος οὐ καταπροίξεται*, Schneidewin emended δὲ *κεῖνος*, correctly, as I think, though Hdt. III 36 has *Καμβύσης . . . ἐφη ἐκέλευς . . . οὐ καταπροίξεσθαι*. Archil. 170 has *κεῖ* (An. Ox. I 249<sub>27</sub>), of which the Aiolic equivalent is *κῆ*, and 132 *κεῖθι*. Solon 38<sub>3</sub> has the latter form. *κεῖνος* is found in Anakr. 86 (iambic tetr.). Herodas has *κεῖνος* in 1<sub>42</sub>, 4<sub>23</sub>, 27, 30, 73, 52<sub>2</sub>, 61, 6<sub>20</sub>, 7<sub>41</sub>, 7<sub>37</sub>; *ἐκεῖνος* in 4<sub>76</sub> bis, 4<sub>78</sub>, 6<sub>42</sub>, 7<sub>111</sub>.

3. Prose. In the MSS. of *Herodotus* *ἐκεῖνος* is so decidedly preferred to *κεῖνος*<sup>1</sup> that Bredow<sup>2</sup> and Dindorf<sup>3</sup> proposed to expel the latter form altogether. Kirchhoff, on the other hand, would follow the testimony of the iambic poets and the inscriptions and admit only *κεῖνος*. Stein steers a middle course in adopting

<sup>1</sup> *ἐκεῖνος* is found about 230 times without *ε* i. *κεῖνος* is not often the sole reading, e. g. I 11, 207, III 74, 140, IV 9, V 15, 87, VI 13, 69, VII 136, VIII 61, IX 90 (A B). In V 23 one inferior MS. has *ἐκ*, in V 82 *ἐκ* A B, in VII 103 *ἐκ* only B, in VIII 58 *κεῖνα* in C ? B, in IX 52, 53 *ἐκ* in B. Demokr. 205, Herakl. 47 have *ἐκεῖνος* with no case of *κεῖνος*.

<sup>2</sup> Pp. 118-120.

<sup>3</sup> De dial. Herod. xxxvi.

κεῖνος only when the MSS. pronounce in its favour. This procedure necessitates the adoption of both forms in one and the same chapter, e.g. I 207 κείνοι but ἐκεῖν- three times, III 74, VI 69, VII 136, 239 (ἐκεῖσε, but κείνον). κείθεν is found I 122 and καὶ κείθι II 122 according to Stein (*v. l.* κακέθι, &c.), κείνας I 120 (no *v. l.*), ἐκεῖσε VII 239, ἐκεῖ IX 109.

In the case of Hdt. the κει- forms are not to be abandoned. Both forms coexisted, as they did in Homer and in Attic. But the distinction which has been set up (that ἐκεῖνος is less emphatic than κείνος) is valueless.

In the MSS. of *Hippokrates* ἐκεῖνος is the preferred form, e.g. II 60, 78, 128, 226 (κείνοι in *A*), VI 368 (*dis*, in one case *θ* has κείνο), ἐκεῖ II 80, 90; κείνος IX 34, 50, κείθι and κείθεν VII 586, κείθι VIII 22. In the pseudo-Hippocratic letters the proportion is twenty to three in favour of ἐκεῖνος. Lukian adopts the longer form almost everywhere, and Arrian and Eusebios Myndios always avoid κείνος.

### *Reflexive Pronouns.*

565.] In the oldest phase of the dialect represented by the Homeric poems the compounded reflexive pronoun does not exist. Thus Homer says ἐμοὶ αὐτῷ, ἐμ' αὐτόν, ἔ αὐτήν<sup>1</sup>, ἐμέθεν αὐτῆς and the like. So in Archil. 6, αὐτόν μ' ἐξέσδωσα was a reading for αὐτὸς δ' ἐξέφυγον. In the elegists of Ionic birth there occur two passages which would seem to show that the compound form had become a part of the apparatus of the dialect in the early post-Homeric period. These are Mimn. 7, = Theog. 795 (τὴν σαυτοῦ φρένα τέρπε) and Xenoph., Bergk<sup>4</sup> p. 116 (ἐμαυτόν). The objections<sup>2</sup> brought forward to these forms are less valid on the ground of the presence of the compound than on that of their failure to display the proper Ionic vocalization. If in Herakleitos, Herodotos, and other prose writers the compounded forms have obtained sole possession, it is not incredible that by the time of Xenophanes they should have gained an entrance into the dialect. ἐαυτῇ is as old as Hesiod<sup>3</sup>. Alkaios

<sup>1</sup> Such spellings as ἐαυτήν in some MSS. may be referred to Ionic editions. ἐμαυτόν also occurs; La Roche, *Hom. Textkritik*, 252 ff.

<sup>2</sup> In Minnemos Ahrens read αὐτοῦ or σαυτοῦ, Bekker ε' αὐτοῦ, Renner εὖ αὐτοῦ as Hymn to Hermes 565). The last named reading was once suggested by Bergk, who in his latest edition clings to σαυτοῦ.

<sup>3</sup> *Thesaurus* 126. ἐαυτῇ appears upon a papyrus MS. according to Wilcken, *Berichte d. Berl. Akad.* 1887 p. 812. Most of the MSS. have ἐαυτῇ (*ἴσα αὖ αὐτῇ* Göttl., *ἴσον ἴσῃα* Köchly). If ἐαυτ- is as old as Hesiod, which I doubt, the αὖ of σαυτοῦ and ἐμαυτόν is more difficult to defend.

has ἐμαύτω 72, ἐαύτω 78, σαύτω 87, σαύτω 101, Sappho ἐμαύτα 15<sup>1</sup>. ἐωυτῶ in Parmen. 117 is a conjecture for ἐαυτῶ. Recent editors of Pindar reject the traces of the reflexive (Gildersleeve on *Ol.* XIII 53)<sup>2</sup>. The suspicion that attaches to Anakreon's χθόριον δ' ἐμαυτεν ἦρεν (frag. 64) extends to the Xenophanic fragment containing the same form. In Anakreon δέ μ' αὐτ' may be conjectured, in Xenophanes any conjecture is otiose, since it is not even certain that the first part of the fragment is genuine. Bergk once made trimeters out of what Meineke thought pure prose. Trimeters were probably not written by the Kolophonian poet.

If the existence of the compound form may not be disputed, objection might however be raised on the score of the character of the diphthong. Apollonios (*De Pron.* 94 B) reports as Ionic the pronoun under the form ἐμωυτοῦ; and in the monuments of the prose literature which are stamped with the die of the dialect, the diphthong αυ has given way to εωυ (ωυ). Now it is possible that at the time of the first beginnings of the compound forms, the points of departure for their formation were ἐμ' αὐτόν, σ' αὐτόν, &c.; whence it follows that ἐμαυτόν and σαυτοῦ were correct, at least in poetry, up to the time when the Herodoteian system of composition came into vogue. ἐωυτῶ was then formed from ἐοῖ αὐτῶ, and ἐωυτοῦ, ἐμεωυτοῦ followed in its wake. The forms with αυ in later Ionic poetry recall the Homeric ε αὐτήν (or εῖ' αὐτήν) in *Ξ* 162, *τὲ* αὐτήν *Π* 551. Of the epigraphical examples with αυ, none is old enough to avoid the suspicion of being due to Attic influence. In inscriptions we find (1) ἐουτῶν 144 from Priene, and (2) forms with αυ: ἐαυτοῖ (dative) Oropos 18<sub>29</sub>, the oldest example (either between 411-402 or between 387-377 B. C.), ἐαορῶν (= αυ § 243) Samos 221<sub>10</sub> (after 322 B. C.), Asiatic Ionic No 263<sub>2</sub>, ἐαυτοῦ Zeleia 113<sub>13</sub> (after 334 B. C.), and in other inscriptions after 350 B. C. when Attic influence cannot be gainsaid: ἐαυτοῦ Theodosia (?) 127<sub>1</sub>, ἐαυτῆς Pantikap. 123, Chios 192<sub>2</sub>, αὐτοῦ Ephesos 147<sub>18</sub> (300 B. C.), Smyrna 153<sub>16</sub>, ἐαυτῶν Olbia 129<sub>14</sub> (period of the empire).

Two sets of forms have been handed down as peculiar to the Ionic dialect.

1. ἐμωυτοῦ Apoll. 94 B C<sup>3</sup>. This form occurs nowhere in literature (ἐμαυτόν Zenodotos A 271), and is the only instance of a pronoun reported by Apollonios which is unattested in the monuments. It owes its rise to the influence of ἐμο(ι) αὐτῶ = ἐμωυτῶ, where elision has been at work.

<sup>1</sup> Apollonios attests σαύτω, φαύτω. Between σ' αὐτῶ with elision (Abrens) and σαυτῶ the difference is trifling. On the passage in Apoll. 103 A, see Dyroff, *K. Z.* XXXII 103 ff.

<sup>2</sup> σαυτῶ fr. 47 in one MS.

<sup>3</sup> τὸ ἐμωυτοῦ παρ' Ἰωνοῖ καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν is certainly wrong as it stands.

2. ἐμεωυτοῦ, σεωυτοῦ, ἐωυτοῦ, &c. These forms are not due to the contraction of ἐμέο αὐτοῦ, σέο αὐτοῦ, ἐο αὐτοῦ; the ωυ does not stand in any shifting relation to αυ, and is to be kept apart from the ωυ which varies with αυ in θωῦμα θαῦμα (§§ 205, 258). In Ionic the force of analogy carried εωυ from the dative, where ἐωυτῶ was the direct result of the fusion of ἐοῖ αὐτῶ (as οἱ αὐτοί became ὄντοί § 316), into the genitive and accusative, where ἐμεαυτοῦ and ἐμαυτόν would have been in place. In Attic ἐμαυτοῦ owes its αυ, by a similar process, to the influence of the accusative ἐμ(ἐ) αὐτόν. So σεαυτοῦ arose from the analogy of σ' αὐτόν. σεαυτοῦ is to be explained as arising from σέ(ο) αὐτοῦ<sup>1</sup>.

Of this second type of form there is no example on any inscriptional monument. Boeckh's ἐ(ω)υτῶν<sup>2</sup> in Bechtel's No. 144, a decree of the Κοινὸν τῶν Ἰώνων from the Πανιώνιον in the neighbourhood of Priene, cannot hold ground against ἐουτῶν, on which see § 256. Nor is there any example in Ionic poetry of the form with ωυ, except in Herodas. In Ionic prose we find the following forms: ἐμεωυτοῦ Hdt. IV 97 (*A B R*), Euseb. Myndios, ep. Pythag., ep. Hippokr. ἐμεωυτῶ Hdt. III 142. ἐμεωυτόν Herakl. 80 (Plutarch), Euseb. Myndios, ep. Hippokr. XXVI 2 in *A*. σεωυτοῦ Hdt. I 45, III 155, ep. Hippokr. XVII 22. In Herodas 7<sub>90</sub> we find σεωτοῦ added in the margin, but at the top of the column (No. 40) σεωυτοῦ is written. The word forms the first foot of the trimeter. σεωυτόν Lukian *Syr. dea* 25, *Vit. auct.* 5, Euseb. Myndios; σεωυτήν Hrd. 2<sub>66</sub>. ἐωυτοῦ Hdt. I 45 *bis*, Herakl. 17, Hippokr. III 200, 204, 208, 210, VI 114 (with lenis? *M* has here μετεωῦτοῦ, *A* μεθ' ἐωυτοῦ), Demokr. 92, 100, 188, Lukian *Syr. dea* 12, 18, 19 *bis*, 20, 55 *ter*, *Astr.* 14, Arrian *Ind.* 4<sub>7</sub>, 8<sub>10</sub>, 9<sub>2</sub>, and 20<sub>6</sub> (ἐαυ- MSS.), 42<sub>3</sub>, Abyd. 1, Euseb. Mynd., ep. Hippokr. often, Aretaios nine times, ὄντοῦ twice, *Vita Hom.* thirteen times; ἐωυτῆς Hdt. V 28, Hippokr. III 208, *Syr. dea* 14, Arrian *Ind.* 10<sub>6</sub>. Hrd. 6<sub>84</sub> has ὄντῆς. ἐωυτῶ Hdt. III 142, Hippokr. III 188, Demokr. 205, Herakl. 45, Arrian *Ind.* 9<sub>2</sub> (MSS. ἐαυ-), 20<sub>4</sub>, Eusebios; ἐωυτῇ Hdt. I 11, Lukian *Astr.* 2. ἐωυτόν Hdt. I 45, Hrd. 5<sub>78</sub>, Hippokr. I 630 (ἐωυτό *A*), Demokr. 20<sub>22</sub>, 30, 100, Lukian *Syr. dea* 20, 25, 29, 51, 53, 57, Arrian *Ind.* 4<sub>3</sub>, 7<sub>8</sub>, 9<sub>4</sub> (MSS. αὐτόν and αὐτόν), Euseb. Mynd.; ἐωυτήν *Syr. dea* 22 *bis*, 27, 39 *ter*; ἐωυτό Hippokr. VI 178, 180. ἐωυτῶν Hdt. IV 11, Hippokr. III 210 vulgo (-τέων *B M N*), II 12, Herakl. 114, Demokr. 213, Lukian *Syr. dea* 49, 58, *Astr.* 12. ἐωυτοῖσι Hdt. VI 138, Hippokr. VI 354 (see below), Herakl. 5, Lukian *Astr.* 20. ἐωυτούς Hdt.

<sup>1</sup> So Brugmann, *Gram.* § 96. This is preferable to Wackernagel's explanation (*K. Z.* XXVII 279) whereby σεαυτοῦ was formed from the analogy of σεαυτόν, from τef' αὐτόν. W.'s theory presupposes that, through remembrance of σεαυτόν, τεαυτόν became σεαυτόν.

<sup>2</sup> This form is defended by Renner, *Curtius' Studien* I 2, p. 5.



IV 148 (see below), Herakl. 106 in Stobaios, Gaisford following *B man. sec.*, Bywater *ἐαυ-*, Lukian *Syr. dea* 26. 35, Arrian *Ind.* 247.

In authors quoting the Ionic prosaists the Attic forms occur very often, e.g. *ἐαυτό* Anax. 15, Melissos 5. *ἐαυτοῦ* Anax. 6 *ὅτι*, 16, Demokr. 20<sup>21</sup>, 84, Melissos 5, *Vita Hom.* twice, Ion *Ἐπιθ.* 1. *ἐαυτῷ* Parm. 117. *ἐαυτῶν* Demokr. 46, although Stobaios has preserved the *ων* forms very often. *σεαυτόν* Demokr. 98. Herodas has the Attic forms *ἐμαυτόν* 2<sup>22</sup>, *ἐμαυτήν* 3<sup>27</sup>, *σεαυτοῦ* 2<sup>22</sup>, *σεαυτῆς* 6<sup>1</sup>, *σεαυτόν* 1<sup>23</sup>, <ἐ>*αυτόν* 2<sup>24</sup>. The MSS. rarely have *ἑαυτ-* for *ἐαυτ-*, a form comparable, as it were, to Attic *αὐτ-* (Hrd. 6<sup>21</sup> *ἑαυτῆς*).

In the MSS. of Hippokrates and of the pseudo-Ionists we often find the illegitimate parasitic *ε* in *ἐωντέου* (Hippokr. III 214 *B M N*), *ἐωντέω* (Hippokr. III 214 *B M N*), *ἐωντέης*, *ἐωντέην*, *ἐωντέω* (Hippokr. II 188, 214), *ἐωντέων* (Hippokr. II 76, Lukian *Astr.* 1, Euseb.), *ἐωντέοισι* (Hippokr. II 90), *ἐωντέησιν* (Hippokr. II 90).

Hdt. rarely uses the uncompounded forms, e.g. *αὐτῷ τ' ἐμοί* III 142, *σοὶ αὐτῷ* I 108 Stein with *P* (*A B σοὶ ἐωντῶι*) *αὐτόν-μιν* I 24 (cf. *μιν - ἐωντόν* *ibid.*) is perhaps an error; *αὐτήν μιν* II 100 is an unusual (Homeric) use as direct reflexive. Herodas has *με αὐτήν* 6<sup>23</sup>, *μιν αὐτήν* 7<sup>12</sup>, not as Hdt. I 205. The strengthening of the reflexive by *αὐτός* occurs in Hippokrates VI 600 *αὐτὰ (ομιλ. vulg.) αὐτοῖσιν*, 178, 188 *αὐτὸ ἐωντοῦ*, 180 *αὐτὸ ἐωντῷ*, *αὐτὸ ἀφ' ἐωντοῦ*.

In the plural we find both *ἐωντῶν*, &c., and *σφέων αὐτῶν*, &c., e.g. Hdt. I 73. *αὐτοῖσι ἡμῖν* V 91 is an unusual turn for *ἡμῖν αὐτοῖσι*.

In Hdt. the pronoun of the third person is not used in the singular for the second or for the first, though the MSS. here and there support such a usage. Cf. I 124 (*ἐωντ- R d ε*), III 36 (*ἐωντ- H*), and IV 97 (*ἐμεωντοῦ A B R*, others *ἐωντοῖ*). In V 92 (a) *αὐτοὶ πρῶτοι τύραννον καταστησάμενοι παρὰ σφίσι αὐτοῖσι . . . δέξησθε κατιστάναι* is the only case in Hdt. Usually the plural of the first person is *ἡμέων αὐτῶν*, of the second *ὕμέων αὐτῶν*. *σφέας ἐωντοῦς* in IV 148 is a reading long abandoned for *σφέας αὐτοῦς*; *σφίσιν ἐωντοῖσι* Hippokr. VI 354 is the vulgate reading for *σφίσιν αὐτοῖσι* in *θ*.

### Relative Pronouns.

566.] In the Homeric dialect, besides *ὅς*, *ῆ*, *ὅ*, we find the demonstrative *ὁ*, *ῆ*, *τό* used as relatives<sup>1</sup>. *ὅς* is also used as a demonstrative in the epic dialect, which also uses *ὁ* for *τό*. In the language of the elegy we find occasionally the relative used

<sup>1</sup> See Joh. Gr. 240, Gram. Aug. 668, Birub. 678<sup>11</sup> (*τόν θελῶ*). The relative use of *τόν* in A 36 is called Ionic by An. Par. III 317<sup>4</sup>.

for the demonstrative:—Phokyl. 1<sub>1</sub> (cf. Demod. 2<sub>1</sub>), 3<sub>8</sub>, Tyrt. 2<sub>8</sub>, Solon 35<sub>1</sub>, Theog. 169, 800 (MSS. vary in both cases).

In the iambographic poets and elegists we find some few survivals of the use of the demonstrative as a relative. The aspirated relative has, however, evidently gained upon the r-forms from the year 700 B.C.

#### A. Iambographic Poets.

1. Demonstrative as Relative.  $\tau\acute{o}$  Sim. Am. 13<sub>2</sub>;  $\tau\eta\varsigma$  Sol. 36<sub>2</sub>, Hrd. 2<sub>64</sub>;  $\tau\hat{\omega}$  Archil. epod. 87<sub>3</sub>, Anakr. 86 (Elmsley);  $\tau\hat{\eta}$  Hrd. 3<sub>21</sub>, Sim. Am. 7<sub>3</sub>;  $\tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$  Hrd. 4<sub>17</sub>;  $\tau\hat{\omega}\nu$  Hrd. 5<sub>28</sub>;  $\tau\acute{\alpha}\iota\sigma\iota$  Hrd. 6<sub>81</sub>.

2. Pure Relative.  $\delta\varsigma$  Anan. 1<sub>1</sub>, Hrd. 4<sub>1</sub>;  $\eta$  Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>12</sub>, 27, 44, 58;  $\omicron\upsilon$  Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>117</sub> ( $\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ )<sup>1</sup>, Hrd. 6<sub>42</sub>;  $\eta\varsigma$  Hrd. 4<sub>4</sub> ( $\eta\varsigma\tau\epsilon$ ), 5<sub>30</sub>;  $\phi$  Hippon. 32, Hrd. 3<sub>69</sub>;  $\omicron\nu$  Sim. Amorg. 23<sub>2</sub>, Hippon. 45;  $\eta\nu$  Hippon. 37<sub>2</sub> (conj.), Hrd. 5<sub>82</sub>;  $\acute{\alpha}$  Sim. Amorg. 1<sub>4</sub> (where  $\omicron\iota\alpha$  is the usual Attic construction), Hrd. 5<sub>87</sub>;  $\hat{\omega}\nu$  Hrd. 5<sub>80</sub>, 7<sub>61</sub>, 8<sub>4</sub>;  $\eta\varsigma$  Archil. 94<sub>3</sub>;  $\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$  Archil. tetr. 59<sub>1</sub>, Hrd. 2<sub>67</sub>;  $\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$  Hrd. 3<sub>97</sub>;  $\acute{\alpha}$  Solon 37<sub>2, 3</sub>.

#### B. The Elegiac Poets.

1. Demonstrative as Relative.  $\tau\acute{o}$  Xenoph. 2<sub>17</sub>, Theog. 17, cf. Mimn. 11<sub>8</sub>,  $\tau\acute{o}\theta\iota$ ;  $\tau\omicron\upsilon$  Theog. 256, 451, Xenoph. 5<sub>3</sub>;  $\tau\hat{\eta}$  Theog. 216;  $\tau\acute{o}\nu$  Theog. 501, 879;  $\tau\hat{\eta}\nu$  Xenoph. 6<sub>8</sub>;  $\tau\acute{o}\iota$  Theog. 383;  $\tau\acute{\alpha}$  Theog. 481, 583-584, 1185;  $\tau\hat{\omega}\nu$  Theog. 462, 716; 1096, 1175;  $\tau\acute{o}\iota\varsigma$  Theog. 132 (but  $\Delta$  has  $\omicron\iota\varsigma$ , Bergk  $\delta\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$ ),  $\tau\acute{o}\iota\sigma\iota\nu$  Sol. 13<sub>48</sub>;  $\tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$  Theog. 880;  $\tau\acute{\alpha}$  Theog. 591.

2. Pure Relative (including  $\delta\sigma\tau\epsilon$ ).  $\delta\varsigma$  Theog. 91, Hipponax hex. 85<sub>2</sub>, Anakr. 94<sub>1</sub>;  $\delta\sigma\tau\epsilon$  Theog. 703, 1124, and Anakr. 51<sub>2</sub> (ionics);  $\eta\tau\epsilon$  Theog. 196, 386, 410, 705, 827, 1198;  $\delta$  Mimn. 4<sub>2</sub>;  $\delta\tau\epsilon$  Mimn. 5<sub>7</sub>, Theog. 466;  $\omicron\upsilon$  Theog. 152;  $\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$  Theog. 395;  $\phi$  Theog. 412, Mimn. 2<sub>16</sub>;  $\omicron\nu$  Tyrt. 5<sub>2</sub>;  $\eta\nu$  Archil. eleg. 6<sub>1</sub>;  $\eta\nu\tau\epsilon$  Theog. 336, Sol. 27<sub>8</sub>;  $\omicron\iota$  Theog. 598;  $\omicron\iota\tau\epsilon$  Theog. 737, 1069;  $\acute{\alpha}\iota\tau\epsilon$  Theog. 709;  $\acute{\alpha}$  Sol. 26<sub>2</sub>;  $\hat{\omega}\nu$  Tyrt. 10<sub>10</sub>, Theog. 34;  $\hat{\omega}\nu\tau\epsilon$  Mimn. 2<sub>13</sub>;  $\omicron\iota\varsigma$  Theog. 1312;  $\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$  Theog. 84, Tyrt. 10<sub>7</sub>.

567.] **The Relative Pronoun in Prose.** If we compare the use of the iambographic poets with that of Hdt., we observe this difference: Hdt.<sup>2</sup> uses the forms beginning with  $\tau$  in by far the greater number of oblique cases when no preposition precedes<sup>3</sup>; also when the oblique cases are preceded by prepositions which cannot suffer elision<sup>4</sup>. The exceptions are now generally brought

<sup>1</sup> Gaisford  $\omicron\upsilon\gamma\epsilon$ . But cf. the use of  $\tau\epsilon$  in Theog. 1049, Mimn. 2<sub>1</sub>, 8, 11<sub>2</sub>.

<sup>2</sup> Greg. Kor. p. 385, Struve, *Quaest.* 7 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Exceptions are  $\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$  II 81,  $\omicron\iota\sigma\iota$  V 6,  $\acute{\alpha}$  II 118,  $\eta\varsigma$  and  $\eta$  I 109,  $\hat{\omega}\nu$  I 39,  $\phi$  III 140.

<sup>4</sup> Exceptions are  $\pi\rho\delta\iota$   $\acute{\alpha}$  IV 200,  $\epsilon\nu$   $\eta$  V 16, 49, VI 97, and always when  $\epsilon\nu$   $\phi$  = *while*, e. g. I 164,  $\epsilon\varsigma$   $\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$  II 95,  $\epsilon\varsigma$   $\delta$  V 91, VIII 60 and always when  $\epsilon\varsigma$   $\delta$  = *until*, and =  $\epsilon\varsigma$   $\delta\sigma\omicron\nu$  as IV 56, 71, VII 50.  $\epsilon\varsigma$   $\omicron\iota$  generally has the v. l.  $\epsilon\varsigma$   $\acute{\alpha}$ , which is read by Struve and Stein.  $\delta\omega\iota$   $\omicron\iota$  II 143 has also been changed

into line except in the case of certain formulae, such as  $\epsilon\varsigma\delta$ . In case the relative follows upon a preposition whose final vowel may be elided<sup>1</sup>, the aspirated forms are in place in the oblique cases<sup>2</sup>; and in the nominative  $\delta\varsigma$ ,  $\eta$ ,  $\delta$  are invariably employed. What has been said above holds good in the case of  $\delta\sigma\pi\epsilon\rho$ .

It is doubtful whether so artificial a system can have found a place in the ordinary language of Herodotos' day. The language of the inscriptions as well as that of the Ionic philosophers records a usage different from that of Herodotos, and similar to that in vogue in Attika. While the speech of the iambic writers still preserves both the  $\tau$ - and the aspirated forms, it is not so complicated as that of Hdt. It is more likely that the preservation of the old forms in Hdt. should have been upheld by syntactical requirements than by so purely external a canon as that adopted with considerable uniformity in the Herodoteian MSS.

The prose inscriptions have only the pure relative, not the  $\tau$ - forms, e.g.  $\delta\varsigma$  Thasos J. H. S., VIII 402,  $\delta\nu$  Miletos 100,  $\omega\nu$  Thasos 72,  $\alpha\pi\epsilon\rho$  Miletos 100,  $\eta\iota\sigma\omega$  Teos 156 B 36.  $\eta\iota\sigma\omega$  Teos 158, deserves attention as  $\delta\sigma\sigma\omega$  is not found in Attic, nor indeed in any other dialect except Ionic;  $\delta\sigma\sigma\omega$  Amphip. 10. The demonstrative relative appears in  $\tau(\omega\nu)$  Amorg. 34 (epigram).

The fragments of the philosophers usually have the pure relative forms: Anax. 6  $\eta\nu$ , 5  $\omega\iota\sigma\iota$ , 10  $\omega\nu$ , Diogen. 6  $\phi$ ,  $\alpha\tau\epsilon$ , Herakleitos 11, 112  $\omega\nu$ , 93  $\phi$ , 115  $\omega\nu$ , Demokr. 73  $\alpha$ , 168  $\omega\iota\sigma\omega$ , but 188  $\tau\omega\nu$   $\alpha\nu$   $\delta\epsilon\eta$ , 60  $\tau\omega\nu$ . 47  $\tau\omega\iota\sigma\iota$ .

In Hippokrates traces of the demonstrative form are exceedingly rare<sup>3</sup>:  $\tau\alpha$  occurs in VI 476 (twice in  $\theta$ ), 486 ( $\tau\alpha$  *pro*  $\alpha$  *culq.*),  $\tau\eta\pi\epsilon\rho$  VI 480 (*sic*  $\theta$ , Littré  $\tau\eta$  *περί*),  $\tau\omega\iota\sigma\omega$  VII 478, IX 84,  $\tau\omega\nu$  I 586 (*A*), II 74 (Zwinger  $\alpha\phi'$   $\omega\nu$ , perhaps  $\delta\tau\omega\nu$ ). Elsewhere we find the aspirated forms, e.g.  $\eta\varsigma$  II 12, 14;  $\phi$  II 644,  $\phi\pi\epsilon\rho$  III 196;  $\eta\pi\epsilon\rho$  II 24;  $\alpha$  II 18, III 84;  $\omega\nu$  II 256, 618, 660, 668, 676 (*περί*), as III 84;  $\omega\iota\sigma\iota$  II 250, 334, 372, 608, 612 *bis*, 626, 642, 662, III 74, VI 610;  $\eta\sigma\omega$  III 196 (v. l.  $\delta\sigma\eta\sigma\omega$ ), II 648, 658 *bis*;  $\omega\iota\varsigma$  II 372 *bis*, 664;  $\alpha\varsigma$  II 648.  $\alpha\tau\epsilon$  occurs often in Hdt., in Hippokr. II 26, 78, III 226, Diogen. 6,  $\omega\iota\omega\nu$   $\tau\epsilon$  Hippokr. II 38, Diogen. 6, &c.

Of the pseudo-Ionists<sup>4</sup> Lukian follows in general the lead of Herodotos. In a few passages (*Syr. dea* 18, 24, 31, 48)  $\alpha$   $\epsilon$  have

to  $\epsilon\varsigma\delta$  cf. Greg. Kor. p. 472).  $\epsilon\zeta\omega$ , &c., is found nine times, but  $\epsilon\kappa\tau\omega$ , &c., eighteen times.  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\chi\rho\iota$  and  $\alpha\rho\chi\iota\omega$  are uniformly used.  $\kappa\epsilon\rho\iota$  with  $\tau\omega$  is always in position to suffer anastrophe.

<sup>1</sup>  $\alpha\nu\tau\iota$ ,  $\alpha\pi\acute{o}$ ,  $\delta\iota\alpha$ ,  $\epsilon\pi\iota$ ,  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha$ ,  $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha$ ,  $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha$ ,  $\omega\pi\acute{o}$ .  $\alpha\mu\phi\iota$  and  $\alpha\nu\alpha$  chance not to occur with a relative.

<sup>2</sup> Exceptions are  $\epsilon\omega\iota$   $\tau\eta\nu$  IX 11 (v. l.  $\epsilon\omega\iota$   $\eta\nu$ ),  $\delta\alpha\delta$   $\tau\omega\nu$  VII 21? (v. l.  $\delta\alpha$   $\omega\nu$ ).

<sup>3</sup> Gomperz' *Apologie der Heilkunst* p. 78 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Lindemann p. 86.

the aspirate forms, the other MSS. those with τ-. In 25 only *A* has δ. When a preposition precedes there is considerable variation in the MSS. We find ἐν οἷσι *Astr.* 10, ἐν τοῖσι *Astr.* 24, *Syr. dea* 2, 10, 21, 47; ἐπὶ τοῦ *Syr.* 12; ἐπὶ τῆς 30; ἀντ' ὧν 12; ἀπὸ τέω (so Jacobitz) *Astr.* 7, 12. The examples that are Attic rather than Ionic may safely be corrected. Eusebios has τά, τάνεπ, τῶν, ἀπ' ὧν, but ἐν τῷ. The other imitators of Ionic prose use the aspirated relative. Arrian has a fondness for δστις.

**568.] Interrogative and Indefinite Pronoun.** Nominative τίς, τί, τις, τι *Hom.*, *Hdt.*, *Hippokr.*, &c. Genitive: τέο<sup>1</sup> *Homer*, *Hrd.* 8<sub>1</sub>; τεο in *Homer* only π 305, *Hdt.* I 58; τεῦ *Homer*, *Hdt.* V 106, *Kall.* 1<sub>1</sub>, *Hrd.* 2<sub>98</sub>; τευ *Homer*, *Hdt.* I 19, *Archil.* 110, *Theog.* 749, 750; τέου *Archil.* 95 (MSS. τεοῦ); του *Hippokr.* II 34; τίνος *Theog.* 1299, *Hippokr.* III 214; τινος *Hippokr.* V 726. Dative: τέφ *Hymn* I 170, *Hdt.* I 11, IV 155; τῷ in *Homer* four times, *Hdt.* II 48, 124, IV 47, *Anax.* 6 *bis*; τῷ the most common form in *Homer*, *Theog.* 139; τῷ in *Homer* only ξ 96, P 68; τινι *Homer*, *Hippokr.* III 82. Accusative: τίνα *Homer*, *Hippokr.* III 214; τίνα *Homer*, *Hdt.*, *Hippokr.* Nominative: τίνες *Homer*, τίνα (?) X 450; τινες *Homer*, *Hdt.*, *Hippokr.*, τίνα *Homer*, &c. Genitive: τέων *Homer*; τεῶν *Hdt.* V 57 (*sic A B*, τέων *C P*); τίνων, τινων. Dative: τέοισι *Hdt.* I 37, VIII 113, IX 27; τοῖσι in *Homer* (κ 110) accord. to *Aristarchos*, *Hdt.*; τισι *Hippokr.* II 618, 644, III 76. Accusative: τινας *Homer*, *Hippokr.*, τίνα *Homer*.

*Note on the interrelation of the stems of this pronoun.*

The stem τε- (*I. E.* qe, cf. *Avest.* ca-hya, *Goth.* hri-s) appears in τέο (τεῦ), a more original form than τέου. τέο is formed from \*τε-σio as ἐμέο (ἐμείο) from \*ἐμε-σio. τέου is formed as if the stem were τεο-; which appears also in τέφ, τέων, τέοισι. The τ of τῷ is borrowed from that of τεῦ < τεο; and the dental of τέφ together with the ε is taken from τέο. In the dative, from \*qō we should expect \*πῷ, \*ποῖς. The forms with τιν- are built up from the lost accusative \*τι-ν which was constructed from a stem τι-. In τίνα, which replaced the old τι-ν, the stem appeared to be τιν-. The form τίσι, however, need not be explained as arising from τιν-σι; it may be the direct descendant of τι + σι. τι- appears in ἔσσα < τι-α (after a word ending in α), which is not *Herodoteian*. The *Aiolic* forms τιν *Sappho* 104, and τίσις 168 are not descendants of τέφ, τέοισι as often stated, but from the different stem τί-(qí-), found in ἔσσα < τι-α. Cf. *δρεῖς* *Gortyna* 4<sub>33</sub> and τεῖον· ποῖον. *Kphres*. This stem τι- was not originally in place in the dative. *Schmidt K. Z.* XXV 93, *Wackernagel K. Z.* XXVII 89, XXVIII 111, XXIX 149.

**569.] The Compound Relative δστις.**

1. *Nominative.* δστις *Hom.*, *Tyrt.* 12<sub>18</sub>, *Theog.* 221, 744, 1173, *Anakr.* 94<sub>3</sub> (eleg.), *Sim. Am.* 7<sub>70</sub>, &c., *Herakl.* 35, *Teos* 156 A 1,

<sup>1</sup> *An. Ox.* I 403<sub>6</sub> (cf. I 400<sub>6</sub>) τέο Ionic, τεῖο Doric.



Herodotos, Hippokrates; Arrian is fond of *δστις*, &c., in preference to the simple relative forms. *δστις*<sup>1</sup> Hom., Theog. 676; *ἤστις*<sup>2</sup> Hom., Sim. Am. 7<sub>108</sub>, Hdt., Hippokr. *c.g.* II 12. *δτι* Hom., Theog. 160, 690, Hdt., Herakl. 105, Hippokr. II 358. *δττι* Hom., Theog. 17, 818 (not Ionic).

2. *Genitive*. *οὔτινος*, *δττεο*, *δττεν* Homer; *δτεν* Hom., Hdt. The form *δτινος* might have been Ionic if analogy had had its way, as was the case in Doric. Herodas 4<sub>40</sub> has the non-Ionic *δτου*; but cf. *δτεύκε'* 5<sub>20</sub> despite *δτούκεν* 7<sub>108</sub>.

3. *Dative*. *δτεω*<sup>3</sup> Hom., Hdt., Demokr. 166, 188, Herakl. 127, Herodas 7<sub>112</sub>, but *δτφ* 2<sub>28</sub> (cf. 7<sub>17</sub>). *δτεωιούν* is found in Amphip. 10<sub>21</sub>. *δτφ* is found M 428 where Zenodotos read *δτεω*; *δτφ* occurs in Theog. 154, 416, 609<sup>4</sup>, and in Anaxag. 6 *ad fin.* according to Simplicius (Diels 157<sub>4</sub> for *δτφ*, Preller and Mullach adopt *δτεω*). In Solon el. 24<sub>1</sub> = Theog. 719, Bergk adopts *δτφ* (Renner *δτεω*), where Plutarch has *φτε*, Stobaios *δσοις*. *δτφ* is found also in Hippokr. III 238, 252, Lukian's *Syria dea* and in Arrian. *φ τιμι* Hsd., Theog. 631 (in *A*), 807 (*ω τιμι A*). In both passages this form should have been adopted by Bergk (cf. Hom. *οὔ τιμι*); *φ τιμι* Hippokr. II 664.

4. *Accusative*. *δτινα* Hom., Tyrt. 12<sub>33</sub>, Theog. 403, Hrd. 4<sub>12</sub>, Hdt.; *δτινω* Sim. Am. 7<sub>49</sub>; *δτινα* Hom.; *ἤτινα* Hom., Hdt. (not *τήτινα* as all MSS. I 90); *δτι* Hom., Hdt., Hippokr. II 12, III 228; *δττι* Hom.

5. *Nominative*. *οὔτινες* Hom., Hdt., Herakl. 114, 126, Hippokr. II 240 (*οἱ δέ τινες*); *αἵτινες* Hom., Hdt.

6. *Genitive*. *δτεων* Hom., Hdt.; *δτων* Hippokr. II 64, 74 (see § 567), a rare form in Attic (see on Xen. *Anab.* VII 6, 24).

7. *Dative*. *δτέοισι* Hom., Hdt. See Eustathios quoted under *δτεω*.

8. *Accusative*. *οὔστινας* Hom., Hdt.; *δτινας* Hom.; *δστινας* Hom., Hdt.; *δτιν'* Hom. X 450 (?).

*δσσα*<sup>5</sup> < *δ + ττα* Hom., Phokyl. 6<sub>2</sub>, Theog. 1048, Solon 38<sub>4</sub> (?), Hdt. I 47, 138, 197, Herakl. 122, Melissos 17; in Anax. 6 *δσσα* is a conjecture (Simpl. *δσα*).

570.] **Other Pronominal Forms.** On the form of the pronouns *κοῖος*, *κόσος*, *κύτερος*, &c., see § 342. *ἀμός* is not found in Ionic literature, but occurs in the Herodoteian *οὐδαμοί*, *μηδαμοί*.

<sup>1</sup> This form is totally distinct from *δστις* (from *γα-σ*) *δστις* contains the neuter \**σφοδ* of the reflexive *σφο-*, which appears in Lokrian *φοτι* (C D I. 147y A 6) and in the Homeric *φός*. The *ττ* forms in Homer are due to the assimilation of *δτ*, and are Aeolic.

<sup>2</sup> Tzetz. Ex. II 631.

<sup>3</sup> Eust. 230<sub>2</sub>, 1026<sub>42</sub>, 1036<sub>33</sub>.

<sup>4</sup> This form is neither Doric nor epic. Homer prefers *δτεω* with synizesis.

<sup>5</sup> Bekk. An. I 461<sub>1</sub> (= Bachm. An. I 161<sub>11</sub>).



The former is also Homeric. Demokritos, who gave to several of the letters of the alphabet names different from those in ordinary use, followed Alkaios 76, who divided οὐδεὶς into οὐ + δεῖς (neuter δέν). Plutarch πρὸς Κολώτην 4 (*Mor.* 1109 A) quotes a saying of Demokritos: μὴ μᾶλλον τὸ δέν ἢ τὸ μηδὲν εἶναι<sup>1</sup>. No grammarian assigns δεῖς, δέν for τις, τι to any special dialect. Dr. Jackson (*Journ. of Philol.* XXI 73) ventures to find δαμά (μή + δαμά) in Parmenides. ὁ δέῖνα is unknown to Hdt.

### Numerals.

571.] A special Ionic termination is -φασιος; -ξος in διξός, τριξός (§ 380) is specifically Ionic. 1. εἰς, &c., Hdt., ἐν and εἶνα Samos 220<sub>32</sub>, ἐν Miletos 100<sub>1</sub>, ἐνός Chios 174 D 19, cf. Keos 43, and Iasos 104<sub>41</sub>. μᾶς Olynthos 8 B 13. μίαν Miletos 100, disposes of Aldus' μίη in Hdt. *e.g.* II 100, and *R d's* μίην in II 111, and show that such forms in Anaxagoras, Hippokrates (*e.g.* VIII 274 in C), and later Ionic writers are hyper-Ionisms. See above, § 419. πρῶτον Thasos, *J. H. S.* VIII 402, 8, Keos 43<sub>16</sub> and Hdt., cf. Πρωτῆς Styra 19<sub>47</sub>. Hdt. has οὐδένες III 26, IX 58. 2. Homer, Hesiod δύο, δύο: δύο Paros 62, Samos 220<sub>21, 26, 29, 31</sub>, Ananios 3<sub>2</sub>, &c., with the noun in the plural as often in Attic. δυῶν is found in Chios 174 D 9. It occurs in the Herakleian tables and in Gortyna 1<sub>40</sub>. In the Chian document it occurs in conjunction with the Aiolic πεντηκόντων. Hdt. has δύο but not δύο, though the latter occurs as a *v. l.* in C, *e.g.* VI 57, VII 24, 28. The indeclinable δύο is often used in Hdt. as in Attic. δύο is found only in composition (see under 12). Hdt. has also δυῶν<sup>2</sup> VI 57, &c., but not δυοῖν, despite I 11, 91, where there is no *v. l.* δυοῖν is Hippokratic (VI 216, 286, 472, VII 138) cf. § 412; δυοῖσι Hdt. I 32, VII 104; δυσί is not Herodoteian. Hippokrates has δυσί (II 522 *v. l.* δύο, VII 368) as perhaps Thukydides VIII 101 (but see Phrynichos, p. 289 R) and certainly post-Aristotelian literature and inscriptions (*e.g.* C. I. A. II 467<sub>7</sub>, 471<sub>48</sub>) of the Roman period. Hdt. IV 66 has σύνδυο, cf. σύντρις 1 429. δεύτερος Hdt., Hippokr.; δευτεραῖος Hdt.; δῖς Archil. 163, Sim. Am. 7<sub>64</sub>, Hippokr. II 78; διξός § 380; διφάσιος (Greg. K. p. 527); ἀμφοῖν Hippokr. II 686 (ἀμφοτέρων A, Galen), VII 120 (ἀμφοτέροισι in θ), VIII 238, 240; cf. § 412, where δυοῖν is adduced from Lukian and Arrian. 3. τρεῖς Chios 174 A 3, Iasos 104<sub>33</sub>, Zeleia 113<sub>30</sub>, Paros 63, Oropos 18<sub>4</sub>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Zenobios in Et. Mag. 639.

<sup>2</sup> δυῶν Eust. 802<sub>24</sub> (cf. 26<sub>21</sub>); An. Par. III 88, on τῶν δέ II. K 253: Ἀττικὸν ἢ κοινόν, Ἰωνικὸν γὰρ δυῶν.

(accusative). The accusative has usually been displaced by the nominative in Ionic, *e.g.* Anakr. 42, 83, Ananios 3. The original form is *τρίπυς* (cf. *τρίπυς* Gortyna 554), from which descended *τρίς*, the reading of *θ* in Hippokr. VI 482, VIII 184, 260, 304. *τρίων* Oropos 18<sub>18</sub>, Keos 43<sub>9</sub>, Hippokr. II 636. [*τρι*]σί Keos 43<sub>2-3</sub>; *τριοῖσι* in Hipponax tr. 51<sub>1</sub> (*σὺν τριοῖσι μάρτυρσιν*) is formed on the model of *τρίων*, from a stem *τρι-*. It is doubtful whether this form is due to the satirist's residence at Klazomenai, the Aiolic city which was late in joining the Ionic league (Paus. VII 3, 5); *τρίτος* Hdt., Hippokr. II 688, Erythr. 206 A 38; *τρίς* Sim. Am. 764, Sam. 215 (epigr.), Hdt., Hippokr. II 78; *τριξός* § 380; *τριάκᾶδι* Erythr. 206 C 47; *ἡμιτρίταιος* Hippokr. II 608.

4. *τέσσερες*, *τέσσερα*. To the forms adduced, § 134, we may add *τέσσερσι* Hippokr. VI 198, VII 368, the reading of *θ* which ought to have been adopted by Littré. In VIII 200 *θ* has *τέρσεσι*. Hdt. has *τεσσέρων*, *τέσσερσι*, *τέσσερας*. Doric *τετόρων* in Phokyl. 3<sub>1</sub> is borrowed from the Hesiodic epos (*τέτορα* *W. D.* 698), cf. *τέττορες* Kinkel p. 178 (No. 248), a fragment rejected by Flach. *τέταρτος* Hdt., Hippokr. II 682, 690, Zeleia 114 F 3, Kyzik. 108 B C. Homer has also *τέταρτος* (Joh. Gr. 241 B), *τεταρταῖος* Hippokr. II 680.

5. *πέντε* Anakr. 42, Keos 43<sub>28</sub>; *πέμπτος* Mylasa 248 B 1, Halik. 238<sub>5</sub>; *Πένπτις* Styra 19<sub>22</sub>; *πεμπταῖοι* Hippokr. II 682; *πεντάκις* Hrd. 3<sub>23</sub>.

6. *ἕξ* Chios 174 A 5 is a unique form (§ 378); *ἕξ* in *δεκαῖξ* below. *ἕκτος* Thas. 71<sub>11</sub> < *έκστ-*, or from a form without the sibilant. *έκταῖος* Hippokr. II 646.

7. *ἑπτά* Samos 220<sub>21</sub>; *ἑβδομος*; *ἑβδομαῖος* Hippokr. II 682, Epidaurian *ἑβδεμ-*.

8. *ὀκτώ*; *ὀγδοος*, Erythr. 206 A 46; *ὀγδοηκοστός* Hippokr. II 626.

9. *έννέα* No. 13<sub>7</sub> (Chalkidian), *έννεα* Zeleia 113<sub>30</sub> (on the *ι* cf. § 220), *έννεοβολού* Orop. 18<sub>22</sub>. Ionic *έννατος* in Hdt. as in Homer is = Kretan *ήνατος* < *ενf-*; Attic *έννατος* Hippokr. II 704, Myl. 248 A 1; *ένναταῖοι* Hippokr. II 682.

10. *δέκα* Eretria 15<sub>13</sub>; *δέκων* Chios 174 D 14 is a loan form from Aiolic<sup>1</sup>. *δέκατος* Keos 47<sub>6</sub>, Milet. 93, Halik. 241, Phokaia 170, *ἐπιδέκατος* Amphip. 10<sub>13</sub>, Eretr. 15<sub>14</sub>.

11. *ένδεκα* Zeleia 113<sub>23</sub>, *ένδέκατος* Hdt., Hippokr.; *ένδεκαταῖος* Hippokr. II 654.

12. The later Ionic has *δυνώδεκα*, Hdt. II 145 and in some thirty other passages without any variant; so also Thasos (L.) 8 A 5. In VIII 121 Stein reads *δυνώδεκα* in opposition to *δυνωκαῖδεκα* of A B C, and also in VI 108, where all MSS. have *δώδεκα*. The latter form occurs in Hippokr. II 520 (A), where the Homeric *δυνωκαῖδεκα* is adopted by Littré. Arrian *Ind.* 19<sub>8</sub> has *δώδεκα*. This Attic form is to be expelled from the text of

<sup>1</sup> This form, like *πεντηκόντων*, *έννεηκόντων* in the same inscription, arose from the fact that the final *α* of *δέκα*, &c., was regarded as a neuter plural termination. That the dative plural of like formation does not occur is a matter of chance.

Herodotos. δωδέκατος and δυοκαιδέκατος occur in Hippokrates; δυωδέκατος Hdt. I 19, III 92 (δω- *A B C d*). In III 91 for δυοκαίδεκα (*A B*), δυωκαίδεκα (*C P d*), Stein reads δύο καὶ δέκα (μυριάδας). δεκαδύο is found in Iasos 104<sub>32</sub>, a document containing few traces of Ionic. It appears in C. I. A. II 476<sub>31</sub> (100 B.C.). 13. τρία καὶ δέκα Hdt., τρίτος καὶ δέκατος Hdt., τρισκαιδέκατος Hippokr. II 712. 14. τεσσereσκαίδεκα Hdt. VII 36, I 86 (-αρ- in all MSS.), Hippokr. VI 216 is indeclinable; τέταρτος καὶ δέκατος Hdt. III 93, τεσσereσκαιδέκατος I 84 (-αρ- in all MSS. as Hippokr. II 668); τεσσαρεσκαιδεκαταῖος Hippokr. II 148. 15. πεντεκαίδεκα Chios 174 A 19, Hdt.; πέμπτος καὶ δέκατος Hdt. 16. δεκαῖξ Iasos 104<sub>43</sub>, ἑκκαιδέκατον Hdt., ἑξκαίδεκα Hippokr.; ἕκτος καὶ δέκατος Hdt., ἑξκαιδέκατος Hippokr. 17. ἑπτακαίδεκα, ἑβδομος καὶ δέκατος Hdt., ἑπτακαιδέκατος Hippokr. 18. ὀκτωκα[ὶ]δεκα Halik. 238<sub>18</sub>, ὀγδοος καὶ δέκατος Hdt., ὀκτωκαιδέκατος Hippokr., ἐν δυοῖν δεοῦσαι εἴκοσι Hippokr. VI 216 (so θ, other MSS. δεοῦσαι), δυοῖν δεόντοι εἴκοσι VI 286. 19. ἑννεακαίδεκα, εἵνατος καὶ δέκατος Hdt. 20. εἴκοσι(ν) Paros 62, Anakr. 18, Hrd. 3<sub>91</sub>, εἴκοσταῖος Hippokr. II 654. 21. εἴκοσι(ν) ἑνός Iasos 104<sub>40</sub>, εἴκοστή πρώτη Hippokr. II 680. 22. δύο τε καὶ εἴκοσι Hdt. 30. τριήκοντα Thasos, J. H. S. VIII 402, 10, Erythr. 202<sub>17</sub>, τριηκοστός Myl. 248 A 1, Hippokr. II 680 (with Attic α), τριηκοσταῖος Hippokr. II 150, τριηκόστ[ια] Keos 43<sub>20</sub>. 35. τριήκοντα πέντε Hdt. but ἐνὶ καὶ τριηκοστῷ. 38. δυὼν δέοντα τεσσεράκοντα Hdt. I 15. 40. The Herodoteian and Homeric τεσσεράκοντα Iasos 104<sub>52</sub>, Kyzikos 111<sub>11</sub>; τεσσ[ερα]κ[ό]ντων Chios 174 C 16 as in Aiolic<sup>1</sup>; τετρωκοστῶι καὶ πέμπτῳ Myl. 248 B 1 as in Archimedes II 282, 23 = Attic τεσπαρακοστῶι, &c. Doric is τετρώκοντα (Herakl. Tablets). On the objections to referring this to the type ὀγδώκοντα (K. Z. XXV 235) see Schmidt *Neutra*, p. 192, τεσπαρακοστός Hippokr. II 678, 698 (with Attic α). 49. ἐνὸς δέοντα πεντήκοντα Hdt. I 16. 50. πεντήκοντα Olynth. 8 A 5, Iasos 104<sub>47</sub>, πεντηκόντων Chios 174 D 7 as in Aiolic. It is to be noticed that this form, δέκων, τεσσ[ερα]κόιτων, and ἐν[ε]νηκόντων stand in close proximity to inflected numbers in this inscription. 60. ἑξήκοντα Thasos (L.) 9<sub>5</sub>, ἑξηκοστός Hippokr. II 678. 70. ἑβδομήκοντα Chios 174 A 7, Delphic and Herakleian ἑβδεμήκοντα, ἑβδομηκοστός Hippokr. II 700; ἑβδομήκοντα τριῶν Iasos 104<sub>35</sub>; τεσ(σ)ερακαιεβδο[μ]ηφοιτούτης Paros 58. 80. ὀγδώκοντα Hom. and Hdt. < ὀγδοηκ-; ὀγδοηκοστός Hippokr. II 678. 90. ἐν[ε]νηκόντων Chios 174 C 26, inflected as in Aiolic. See under 40. Hom. ἐννήκοιτα τ 174, ἐνενήκοντα B 602. In Dittenb. *Syll.* 170<sub>34</sub> from Miletos (234 B.C.) we find ἐνενήκοντα. 100. ἑκατόν Anakr.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. τριηκόστων Hdt. W. D. 696 (Stobaios, Eust.).

8<sub>3</sub>, Keos 43<sub>4</sub>, Chios 174 A 13, ἑκατοστός Hippokr. II 680; cf. ἑκατοστὴν Samos 221<sub>30</sub>. 200. διηκοσίων Zeleia 114 D 5, Chios 174 D 19. 300. τριηκόσιοι Thasos (L.) 9<sub>6</sub>, Chios 174 B 23, C 16. 400. τετρακοσίων Kyzikos 111<sub>11</sub>. 500. πεντάκοσίων Mykonos 92<sub>22</sub>, Chios 174 D 7. In γ 7 Aristarchos and Herodian read πεντάκοσιοι, and so Ludwig. La Roche has πεντη-. 700. ἑπτακοσίων Chios 174 C 18, 21. 800. ὀκτακοσίων Chios 174 C 23, Aiolic ὀκτωκόσιοι. 900. ἐνα[κ]ιοσίων Chios 174 D 2, ἐνακόσια Hdt. II 145 (cf. Hom. ἐνατος). Here *R* has ἐννα- and so *Rd* in II 13. 1000, &c. χιλίους<sup>1</sup> Thas. 72<sub>14</sub>, χιλίων Chios 174 D 2, 12, C 17, 23, δισχιλίων Chios 174 C 20, τρισχιλίων Chios 174 C 25, τρισχίλια Hdt. I 50, πεντακισχιλίων Chios 174 C 15, Hdt. πεντακισχίλια II 145, &c. In Homer Aristarchos wrote ἐννεάχειλοι, δεκάχειλοι which would seem to be more in harmony with Ionic than ἐννεάχιλοι, δεκάχιλοι<sup>2</sup>. With χιλιαστὸν Ephes. 147<sub>20</sub>, Samos 221<sub>30</sub>, cf. Methymian χέλληστus. χιλιάδων in Hdt. II 28 is correct, not χιλιάδων as *Cd* 2 in VII 29. 10,000. μυριάδες Hdt. VII 29.

Hdt. uses *μηδαμὸς*, *οὐδαμὸς* in the plural only (e.g. VI 103 *οὐδαμας*). These stems are used in Attic for the construction of adverbs only. The neuter plural is used adverbially in Hdt. (as Halik 238<sub>ω</sub> and the feminine is rare, *μηδαμίας* IV 114 in good MSS. *ABC* is an instance of the tendency of the scribes to inflect according to the -*ω*- or -*ην*- declensions. See above § 454.

In composition with nouns the form of the cardinal is not preserved, Hdt. herein agreeing with Homer, e.g. *διέτης*, *τριπάλαιστα*, but *τετραέτια χρόνου* I 199. *πέντε*, *ἕξ* and *εἴκοσι* appear as *πέντα*, *ἕξα*, and *εἰκοσα*.

The conjunction in Hdt. of smaller and larger numbers may be illustrated by the following: I 32 *πεντήκοντα καὶ διηκοσίων καὶ ἑξακισχιλίων καὶ δισμυρίων*; III 95 *τάλанта μύρια καὶ τετρακισχίλια καὶ πεντακόσια καὶ ἑξήκοντα*. Hippokr. VII 138 has *τῇ πεμπτῇ καὶ ἑκτῇ ἐπὶ δέκα*.

### Patronymics.

572.] The grammarians called -ιάδης an Ionic by-form of -ῖδης, e.g. Gram. Par. p. 677 Ἀμφικρυωνιάδης, Greg. Kor. p. 487 Πηληϊάδου καὶ Λαερτιάδου (*sic*). -ῖδης is also recognized as Ionic, e.g. Greg. Kor. p. 460. Hdn. II 858<sub>25</sub>, An. Ox. IV 326<sub>15</sub><sup>7</sup>, Bekk. Aneud. II 850<sub>15</sub>, call the patronymics in -ων Ionic. It is of

<sup>1</sup> The only attempt to explain the divergence between the *ει* and *ι* forms sufficiently plausible to warrant mention, is that of Kretschmer, *K. Z.* XXI 422. The forms in *χίλοι* are derived from \**χισλοί*, *χείλοι* from \**χέσλοισι*. Aiolic *χέλλοι*, Lakon *χηλοί*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Schol. Ven. A on E 148, Schulze *K. Z.* XXIX 242.

<sup>3</sup> Here -αδῖος is called Aiolic (see under that dialect), -δης Common.

course not restricted to Ionic. The same dialect sometimes has both *-ίδης* and *-ίων*. Euboian *Ἰππώνδης* recalls the Boiotian *-ωνδας*. A unique patronymic is that in *-αδευς* occurring nowhere outside of Hipponax, who has *Ἑρμῇ Μαιαδεῦ* (frag. 16) = *Μαιάδος Ἑρμῇ* (21 A). *Εὐρυμεδοντιάδεγ* (accusative) appears in hexameters (85). It may be observed that the ending *-κλίδης* may be derived from clip-names in *-κλος*, e.g. *Ἀριστοκλίδης* Styra 19<sub>163</sub>; cf. *Ἀριστοκλείδης* 19<sub>12</sub>. *Παρμενίδης* owes its *-ίδης* to the analogy of *Παρμονίδης*. *Παρμενείδης* occurs (but not on Ionic inscriptions). For the heavier *-είδης* we not unfrequently find the lighter *-ίδης* substituted. In masculines derived from *ην*-stems we expect to find *-ηίδης*, *-είδης*, in feminines *-ηις* (*-ης*). On *Σελληίδεω* and *Βασιληίδεω* see §§ 233, 235, on *Νηφείδων* § 233.

## THE VERB.

### 573.] The Dual.

Conjecture as to whether the dual in Homer is Ionic rather than Aiolic must be barren of result. In the most ancient period of the cultivation of the epos the dual was alive in both dialects; but in early post-Homeric times in Ionic it had passed out of ordinary use. It occurs but once (No. 265) in an inscription dating from about 460 B. C.: *Κριτίος<sup>1</sup> καὶ Νησιώτης ἐποίησάντην*. Though the dedicator of the memorial, Hegelochos, was either an Euboian or an Ionian of one of the Kyklades, there is nothing to compel us to assume that the artists were also Ionians. The inscription was found near the Parthenon and the alphabet is Old Attic, though the dialect is Ionic. An indubitable example of the Ionic usage in the fifth century is the Parian inscription No. 59, in which there are two dedicators (*εὐχσάμενοι στήσαι*). In post-Homeric Ionic literature there does not occur a single example of the occurrence of the dual of a verbal form.

### *The Syllabic Augment.*

574.] This augment may be omitted in such Ionic poetry as has an epic colouring<sup>2</sup>, but not in iambic verse. To the rule

<sup>1</sup> On the accent, see Göttling in *Arch. Zeit.*, 1845, p. 96. The conjunction of Kritios and Nesiotes is attested in two other inscriptions in which *ἐποίησαν* occurs. See Brunn, *Geschichte der gr. Künstler*, p. 74.

<sup>2</sup> The examples in the grammarians of the so-called omission of the syllabic augment are either drawn from Homer outright and usually called Ionic and poetic (at least in the later grammarians), or tacitly regarded as epic. Cf.



that in prose only pluperfects and iteratives may omit the augment  $\chi\rho\eta\nu$  is but an apparent exception. It is derived from  $\chi\rho\eta + \eta\nu = \chi\rho\epsilon\omega \eta\nu^1$  and  $\epsilon\chi\rho\eta\nu$  is an analogical formation.

The omission of the augment in Homer, notwithstanding the treatises by Grashof, Poehlmann, M. Schmidt, La Roche, Koch, Skerle, and Molhem, has been generally regarded as practically subject to no rule. Latterly Mr. Arthur Platt has shown (*Journal of Philology* XIX 211) that, when the aorist is employed to denote the immediate past or in its gnomic use, the forms with the augment are much more frequent. The imperfects in narration are often devoid of the augment. M. Schmidt (*Philologus* IX 426 ff.) endeavoured to establish the procedure of Aristarchos, who, he maintains, omitted the augment of verbs beginning with  $\lambda$  and  $\tau\rho$ ; when  $\tau\epsilon\upsilon\chi\epsilon$ ,  $\tau\acute{\iota}\lambda\alpha\tau\epsilon$ ,  $\delta\omega\kappa\epsilon$  stand after the second foot; when a noun precedes whose ending is  $a$  except neut. pl. in  $-ea$ , and  $-ia$  usually; and when the verb is preceded by a preposition with anastrophe.

1. In prose inscriptions this augment is never omitted.

2. In the following metrical inscriptions this augment is omitted:  $\kappa\acute{\iota}\chi\epsilon$  Amorgos 34 (but  $\epsilon\theta\eta\kappa\epsilon$  in l. 2),  $[\epsilon]\tau\epsilon\upsilon\chi\epsilon$  Erythrai 200,  $\sigma\tau\eta\sigma\alpha\nu$  Paros 59. These inscriptions are epigrams. In Halik. 241, after a dedication in prose, we read  $\pi\acute{o}\iota\eta\sigma\epsilon\nu$   $\text{Μακεδ\omega}\nu$   $\text{Διονυσίου}$   $\text{Ἡρακλεώτης}$ . Boeckh read  $\epsilon\pi\acute{o}\iota\eta\sigma\epsilon\nu$ , but, apart from the objection to this conjecture because of the unusual position of the verb in a prose inscription, the omission of the augment in artists' signatures is not unknown, even when it does not constitute a part of an hexameter.  $\text{Μαχάρας π\acute{o}\eta\sigma\epsilon}$  in C. I. G. 17946 (cf.  $\iota$ ) precedes an epigram. We find  $\epsilon\pi\acute{o}\iota\eta\sigma\epsilon\nu$  in an hexametrical inscription containing the signature of Alxenor (no. 26).

575.] The syllabic augment is omitted in the lyric poets as follows: A. *Elegiac* (by imitation of epic models).

Kall. 1<sub>15</sub>  $\mu\acute{o}\iota\rho\alpha \kappa\acute{\iota}\chi\epsilon\nu$ , Tyrt. 5<sub>8</sub>  $\phi\epsilon\upsilon\gamma\omicron\nu$  (in the first foot), Mimn.

Apollonios de Pronom. 113 C, Ptolemy cited by Hdn. II 28, = schol. Ven. A on A 464, II 34<sub>12</sub> = schol. Ven. A on B 427, Hdn. II 1151, (from  $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota \pi\alpha\theta\omega\nu$ ) where the omission of the augment is referred to the Ionians and not merely to the poets. That Herodian maintained the view different from that of Apollonios, that the omission of the augment was poetic, not Ionic, cannot be proved. It is quite true however that he does not call the phenomenon in question either Ionic or poetic, and that most of the passages in Lentz' edition ascribing it to the Ionians do not mention Herodian's name outright. Joh. Gr. 241, 242, Greg. Kor. p. 404, Gram. Meerm 654, Aug. 669, Vat 699, Paris 675 (An. Bachm II 36<sub>2</sub>, An. Ox. I 310<sub>21</sub>, 334<sub>1</sub>, 374<sub>23</sub>, 433<sub>1</sub>, II 359<sub>13</sub>, 412<sub>21</sub>, IV 176<sub>10</sub>, 185<sub>26</sub>, An. Par. III 120<sub>1</sub>, 134<sub>16</sub>, 137<sub>19</sub>, 138<sub>2</sub>, 183<sub>31</sub>, 304<sub>21</sub>, 441<sub>7</sub>, IV 219<sub>20</sub>, 223<sub>1</sub>, Choitob. 513<sub>102</sub>, 556<sub>26</sub>, 595<sub>13</sub>, 609<sub>22</sub>, 633<sub>23</sub> = An. Ox. IV 418<sub>10</sub>, 637<sub>11</sub>, 701<sub>17</sub>, 909<sub>10</sub>, Et. M. 338<sub>7</sub>, in the scholiast Ven. A we find the remark  $\text{Ἀριστάρχου ἰαχ\omega\iota}$  or its equivalent on A 160, 374, 464, B 35, 427 (cf. A 464), 681, 751,  $\Gamma$  415,  $\Delta$  109, 517,  $\Sigma$  155, 157, 186, K 546,  $\Xi$  285, O 601,  $\Pi$  110, 207, 290, 379,  $\Sigma$  549,  $\Upsilon$  156,  $\Phi$  84,  $\Psi$  4-5,  $\Omega$  648; in the following passages no mention is made of Aristarchos: H 418, A 28, M 420,  $\Xi$  114,  $\Psi$  440 = Hdn. II 111<sub>21</sub>, schol. P, Q on  $\eta$  139 = Hdn. II 147<sub>1</sub>, &c. Cf. also Eust. 72<sub>4</sub>, 1759<sub>7</sub>, and Tzetzes Ex. II. 73<sub>1</sub>, 74<sub>10</sub>, 88<sub>21</sub>, cf. 103<sub>19</sub>, Drakon 160<sub>12</sub>, cf. 155<sub>21</sub>.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ahrens *Kleine Schriften* I 24.

14<sub>11</sub> αὐγῆσιν φέρει', Sol. 4<sub>29</sub> ὑπέρθορεν, Phok. 3<sub>1</sub> τῶνδε γέγοντο (where Stobaios' *B* has ἐγένοντο), Theog. 5 θεὰ τέκε, 10 γήθησεν (first foot), 196 τλήμονα θῆκε, 123 ποίησε, 206 ὑπεκρέμασεν (so Bergk, ὑπεκρέμασεν *O*, ἐπεκρέμασεν other MSS.), 266 φθέγγει', 463 θεοὶ δόσαν, 1101 ὅστις σοι βούλευσεν . . . καί σ' ἐκέλευσεν, 1108 γενόμην, 1319 τοι δῶκε; and in Archil. κάλλιπον 6<sub>2</sub>.

*B. Iambographic*<sup>1</sup> (including all of Archilochos).

κάλλιπον Archil. 6<sub>2</sub>. λίπε is not objectionable in Archil. epod.

114:

πεντήκοντ' ἀνδρῶν λίπε Κόρανον ἥπιος Ποσειδῶν since the verse is an ἐξάμετρον περιττοσυλλαβές. Frag. 186 consists merely of the words ὀξύη ποτᾶτο, which may be written ὀξύη 'ποτᾶτο as ἄτη 'κιχήσατο (73<sub>1</sub> tetr.) for the unaugmented form<sup>2</sup>. Even in prose inscriptions we find 's, 'λάσσονες. Archilochos elsewhere retains the augment (29<sub>1</sub>, 29<sub>3</sub>, 33, 34, 35, 52). καὶ πονήσατο in Sim. Am. 7<sub>45</sub> was cured by Ahrens' κάπονήσατο. In a fragment ascribed by some to Xenophanes, Bergk (*F. L. G.* II, p. 116) writes βληστριζόμενν contrary to the MSS. The word seems confined to Ionic (Hippokrates and Aretaios use it), but the verse is suspected; cf. § 565.

φύγον in Anacr. 29 is nothing but a conjecture for φεύγω in order to harmonize the metre of 29 with 28, i. e. choriambic dimeter + first pherecratic.

On iteratives in poetry, see § 576, 2.

576.] In prose the syllabic augment is omitted only in the case of pluperfects and iteratives<sup>3</sup>. As stated in § 574 χρῆν is not an exception. It is more frequent in literature from the time of Herodotos, and in that author occurs oftener than ἐχρῆν. The latter form should have been adopted by Stein in II 173, where it is supported by *A B R*. In III 52 ἐχρῆν is found in all MSS.

Lukian is the only pseudo-Ionist who might be thought to have attempted to omit the syllabic augment under other circumstances. In *Syria* 19 and 22 Jacobitz adopts λίσσεται (in both cases after a vowel). In § 19 *E* has the correct form ἐλίσσεται. In § 25 we find φθέγγεται, in § 45 ἀνακείτο in *A E*, ἀνακείτο in *Vatic.* 90, the reading adopted by Jacobitz, in the other MSS. the correct ἀνεκείτο. Even the pluperfects in Lukian retain the augment, and in no case may the augmentless forms be accepted as representing older Ionic prose usage, or in fact anything more than vicious theorizing on the part of a copyist.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Hdn. II 497<sub>18</sub>: παρὰ τοῖς λαμβογράφαις . . . οὐ δεῖ διὰ τοῦ ἰ γράφειν αὐτό (εἶδον), ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς εἰ διφθ. μένον.

<sup>2</sup> The form ἄτη is here the shorter form of ἄετη, which should not in § 261 have been mentioned as possible. Cf. Aesch. Suppl. 106, Agam. 730. Hesychios has κατέβασκε· κατέβλαψεν. The initial α of ἄετη is prosthetic.

<sup>3</sup> Other cases of omitted syllabic augment are errors, even when supported by all the MSS., e. g. Hdt. I 208 ἐξαναχάσσει.

1. *Pluperfect*. In Herodotos according to Lhardy's count<sup>1</sup> there are 162 cases of the presence of the augment, 31 where it is omitted. From the latter number, Stein deducts all but the following seven, which are found in all MSS.: ἀναβεβήκεε I 84, ἀναβεβήκεσαν VII 6, τετελευτήκεε I 165, καταλελοίπεε III 61, καταλέλειπτο VII 170, δέδοκτο IX 74, παρατεγάχατο VIII 95. Whether even these are correct may well be doubted. Other editors are not so rigorous as Stein in excluding the unaugmented forms.

The repugnance of the Κοινή to augmented pluperfects may explain some of the omissions in the MSS. of Attic prose literature. There is not a single example of the loss of the syllabic augment in the pluperfect in any Attic inscription.

2. *Iteratives*<sup>2</sup>. In the case of iteratives no augment was necessary. They were preterites differing from other verbal forms in having no present with a distinct iterative force and no mood form other than the (past) indicative. In the post-Homeric poetry which was composed by Ionians we find two cases of the preservation of the iterative: ἔσκειν in Mimn. 14<sub>10</sub> (also Homeric) and θύεσκει in Hipponax 37<sub>2</sub>. The presence of the latter form in trimeter is proof that the Ionians did not cast aside this peculiar formation which all the other dialects found too cumbersome, and that the forms in Ionic prose are not mere reproductions of epic diction. Doubtless the fondness of the epic dialect for the iterative aided in part its revival in the fifth century, but the forms had not died out at that period. The post-Homeric prose iterative is a strongly marked Ionism. While New Ionic did not utterly abandon the iteratives formed from the second aorist active stem, it avoided those of the sigmatic aorist and second aorist passive. The iterative in post-Homeric Ionic is confined to Ω verbs.

Examples from Herodotos, &c. (1) Imperfects: ἔσκον, ἔχεσκε (so IV 200 for ἤχεσκε), and in about twenty other verbs. χρῆσκοντο (by conjecture in III 117 for -ται) and ὀδυρέσκειτο III 119 are the only middle forms. Lukian *Syr. dea* 22 has κλαίεσκε. (2) Aorists: λάβεσκον IV 78 and 130. καταλίπεσκε is preferable to καταλείπεσκε in IV 78.

In some MSS. the augment occurs, e. g. I 100 (C P εἰσαπέμψεσκον), IV 78 (R ἐποίησκε, IV 78 (R καταλείπεσκε, A B κατελίπεσκε); in IV 130 all the MSS. have ἐλάβεσκον.

<sup>1</sup> *Quaestiones de dialecto Herod.*, chapter II.

<sup>2</sup> The grammarians regard the iterative forms as Ionic only. Cf. Hdn I 535<sub>20</sub> = II 38<sub>2</sub> = II 792<sub>10</sub>, Schol. Ven. A on B 832<sub>2</sub>, εἶπεσκον II 49<sub>11</sub> = 210<sub>11</sub>, Schol. Ven. A on E 256<sub>1</sub>, cf. 496<sub>10</sub>, Choerob. 632<sub>20</sub> (cf. An. Ox. IV 418<sub>20</sub>, An. Ox. I 309<sub>10</sub>, 376<sub>10</sub>, 385<sub>10</sub>, where it is stated that ῥίπτασκειν and ἔχεσκει are not Ionic but poetic; An. Par. IV 219<sub>20</sub>, Et. M. 284<sub>20</sub>, 295<sub>12</sub>, 381<sub>20</sub>, 614<sub>20</sub>, Et. Gud. 418<sub>20</sub>, Dracon 43<sub>2</sub>).

## 577.] The augment with η.

The forms ἡβουλόμεν, ἡδυνάμεν, ἡθελον are called Ionic<sup>1</sup> in An. Ox. II 374<sub>32</sub>. Of these forms ἡθελον occurs in Homer, where it is from ἐθέλω<sup>2</sup>, θέλω being found in ο 317, possibly in A 277, and occasionally in the hymns<sup>3</sup>. Hippokr. III 90 has ἡθελες, cf. § 588. Homer has ἔμελλον. In M 34 Zenodotos wrote ἡμελλον. In an elegy attributed to Theognis we find (v. 906) ἡμελλ', and in another probably not composed by the Megarian poet occurs (v. 259) ἡμέλλησα (so A, ἡμέλησα O, and δὴ μέλλησα in most of the MSS., a form that may be adopted). Perhaps the ἡ- forms are an echo of those appearing in Hesiod's Theogony, as Renner suggests, though it is doubtful whether they are a part of the older epic dialect. Fick (Hesiod's *Gedichte*, p. 21) endeavours to displace ἡμελλον by transposition and other means<sup>4</sup>. In a very late hexametrical poem on the death of a child, found at Smyrna (C. I. G. 3272<sub>7</sub>), we read ἡμελλεν. ἡμελλον is certainly fifth century Attic, as it appears twice in Aristophanes where the metre (anapaestic) calls for the ἡ-form. ἡ- Hippokr. In Herodotos we find ἔμελλον, ἐβουλόμεν. In the case of δύναμαι there is some evidence for the ἡ- forms. Stein and Holder adopt ἡδυνέατο IV 185, IX 70, but ἐδυνέατο IV 110 (MSS. ἡ-) and the ἐ- forms elsewhere. In at least thirteen passages there is no variant ἡ- form, which is elsewhere supported by some MSS., e.g. in I 10 (*R b d*). ἡδυνάμεν is however Hippocratic: II 686, 712, III 36, 38, 58, 120, IV 256, V 430, &c., and ἡδυνήθην appears in *Prometh.* 206; Herodotos has ἐδυνάσθην, never ἡδ-, despite *R* in VII 106. In Attic inscriptions ἡδυνάμεν and ἡβουλόμεν are posterior to 284 B.C.

In no Attic inscription do we find an example of ἡμελλον, and in Attic *poetry* there is no certain case of ἡβουλόμεν.

On the augment of verbs which once had *F*, see § 582.

*The Temporal Augment.*

The omission of this augment is regarded as Ionic by the grammarians<sup>5</sup>, who cite only Homeric forms.

<sup>1</sup> But cf. Eust. 1523<sub>α</sub>.

<sup>2</sup> The η of ἡδυνάμεν, ἡβουλόμεν, ἡμελλον is merely an analogue of that of ἡθελον. Of this verb there were three forms θέλω, ἐθέλω, ἡθέλω, in which the η is a preposition (cf. ὄφελος, ὠφέλειω). The η form was cast off except in the imperfect.

<sup>3</sup> See Eberhard's *Die Sprache der homerischen Hymnen*, I 12.

<sup>4</sup> In 478 Fick reads παίδων τέξεσθαι ἔμελλε for παίδων ἔμελλε τεκίεσθαι; 888 δὴ ἔρ' ἔμελλε for δὴ ῥ' ἔμελλε; but 898, where the verse begins ἔμελλεν τέξεσθαι, is difficult to correct. The last verse is certainly later than the genuine Hesiod.

<sup>5</sup> Joh. Gr. 240 B, 242, Greg. Kor. § 23, Hdn. II 28, = 345, (on A 464), 341, (on B 427) in Schol. Ven. A; cf. also schol. on Δ 213 and N 383 (ὄλεω),



578.] **Inscriptions.**

In prose inscriptions the temporal augment is preserved except in ἐργάσατο Ephesos 146, an inscription of the fourth century, and ἐργάσαντο No. 263, an Ionic inscription found in Lykia<sup>1</sup>. In Rhegion 54, where we find ΕΥξάμην, which may be either ηῦ- or εὔ-, the Herodoteian form with εὔ- (I 48, IV 76) may be adopted. In Attic inscriptions ηῦ- is the preferable form before 300 B.C. In the same document from Rhegion, Ελθον is ἤλθον. In Teos 1594, an inscription that has lost almost all traces of Ionic, we find ἐπωκοδομήθη. Is this an error of the stone-cutter or are we to read ἐποικ- as in Hdt. and occasionally in Attic in the perfect participle (at least in Makedonian times)? An Ephesian inscription (*Brit. Mus.* III 2, 449) has συνδιοίκησεν.

In metrical inscriptions the augment is preserved (Amorg. 35).

ἐπηνωρθώθη in an inscription from Mykonos of the Makedonian period (Ditt. *Syll.* 3731) is an interesting form since no certain example of the double augment in ἀνωρθόω occurs on Attic inscriptions. Whether this form is Ionic or Attic must be left undecided. Latyshev, *B. C. H.* XII 460, calls for ἐπηνωρθώθη.

ἀνάλωσα (Hellenistic) is found in Amorgos, *B. C. H.* VIII 45018 (third century B.C.). Cf. ἀνάλωμα Thasos 7211.

Verbs that have lost an initial σ have εἰ—e.g. Εἶχον Halik. 23820, Εἶχον 24020.

579.] **Lyric Poets.**

The temporal augment is omitted in the lyric poets as follows:

A. *Elegiac* (in imitation of Homer). Tyrt. 41 οἶκαδ' ἐνείκαν by conj. (Hdt. has ἤνείκαν &c.); Mimn. 94 ἐζόμεθ' as always in the form with no preposition, 114 καλὸν ἔκοντο, 142 οἱ μιν ἴδον (ἄ εἶδον); Solon 420 εὔρε; Theog. 16 καλὸν ἀείσατ', 208 ἔζετο, 226 ἄδον, 542 ὄλεσεν, 831 ὄλεσσα (Ὁ ὦλεσ'), 1115 μοι ὀνειδίσας Bergk (*tuilgo* μ' ὀνειδίσας with a double accus. after the verb or an elided μοι), 606 ἔθελον from ἐθέλω (see on ἐθέλω, § 588). In 951 ἀλάπαξα is the preferable form because of A 750, ρ 424, but ἐλάπαξα the reading of O is not impossible, as λαπάσσω was used by Aischylos and Hippokr. V 176, 628, Aret. 281.

Δ 329, 367, K 252, 359, T 159, Ψ 691, Aristarchos adopting the unaugmented forms; An. Ox. I 31610, 3951, Ἰωνικῶς ἢ ποιητικῶς, III 26018 (Hdn., 26620 (Hdn.), IV 17610, 17820, 18520; An. Par. III 1581, IV 21922, 2222; Choerob., 51320 Ἰων. ἢ ποιητικῶς as 5192, 59122, 59321, 52622, 63323 = An. Ox. IV 41822 cf. Choerob. 9092, 70117; Et. M. 1210, 2323 Ἰων. καὶ ποιητ., 3322, 3422, 61722; Eust. 4212, 7212, 38022, 6462, 9222, 15222, 17592; Tzetz. Ex II 732, 832, 10510, 1172 and on Hdt. Theog. 555, W. D. 79; Max Plan. in An. Bachm II 5611.

<sup>1</sup> In Attic inscriptions of the classical period ἡργαζόμεν, ἡργασόμεν are the correct forms (κατεργάσθησαν C. I. A. II 809 b, 117 from 325 B.C. and ἐπεργάσαντο in Έφημ. ἀρχ. 1884, 169-170, l. 21 from the second century A.D. are the only exceptions). This shows that the augment was η not ε. The perfect ἐργασμαι is correct in the classical period of Attic. In Oropos Έφημ. ἀρχ. 1890, 71 ff. l. 17 we find ἐξείργασμαι; Hdt. ἔργασμαι.



Elsewhere we find the augment retained: ὤχετο Mimn. 117, Theog. 1137, 1292.

B. *Iambographic*. Though we find εὔρε in Hipponax 51<sub>3</sub>, the support for Bergk's συνοίκησας in 12 and οἶκει in 47 is very weak. Codex Marc. has συνοικήσας (*sic*), the vulgate being συνήκησας, and there is no authority for οἶκει whatever. I should have no hesitation in adopting the augmented forms. In Herodas 4<sub>2</sub> we have ὤκηκας, but εὔρε 6<sub>85</sub>, οἶχωκεν 2<sub>37</sub>. In Sim. Am. 24 for Bergk's ἀφειυσα (in the text) read ἀφειῦσα.

Where two consonants follow: Archil. tetr. 67 . . . . σὺ γὰρ δὴ παρὰ φίλων ἀπάγχεο from Arist. Pol. VII 6, 3. Here  $P_4$  has ἀπάγχετο,  $P_5$  ἀπήγχεο,  $Sb Vb$  ἀπέγχεο, and  $P_1$  ἀπάγχεαι which we may adopt though the quotation is too fragmentary to permit a certain restoration<sup>1</sup>. In Sim. Am. 11<sub>8</sub> ἀψαντο is Bergk's reading though Stobaios' B has ἥψαντο, cf. Hdt. I 19. Solon tetr. 35<sub>2</sub> has ἔρδον (ἔερδον in Arist. 'Aθ. πολ. 11).

The augmented forms appear in Sim. Amorg. 17 ἡλσάμην, Archil. ep. 104<sub>1</sub> ἡθορίζετο, tetr. 73 ἡμβλακον, Hippon. 42<sub>1</sub> ἀπηναρίσθη. &c. Not even in Hdt. do all verbs with two consonants omit the temporal augment. The poets claim an equal licence. Renner thinks that Solon in his καθηψάμην tetr. 32<sub>3</sub> follows the lines of his native Attic. But it is not certain that Herodotos rejects the augment in ἀπτω (cf. I 176). Where a long syllable is necessary (παρήγαγεν Archil. tetr. 78<sub>4</sub>, ἀφείλετο Sim. Amorg. 9<sub>2</sub>, ἀνείλον Solon tr. 36<sub>4</sub>, εἶχον Hippon. tetr. 81, ἔπασεν Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>12</sub>) the temporal augment is not omitted. On κατηυλίσθη Hipponax tr. 63<sub>2</sub>, Renner remarks that the augment ηυ is an indication of the Ionic fondness for η. But in Herodotos many opportunities for ηυ- from αυ- verbs are neglected, and εὐ- is the almost universal form in the MSS. in the case of verbs beginning with ευ.

### 580.] Herodotos.

In the majority of verbs the augment is preserved, but (1) in certain cases it is never found, (2) in certain others it is omitted in isolated forms only, and (3) in others it is at times present, at times omitted. The other dialects evidence the fact that the demonstrative particle utilized to give expression to past time was recognized more and more as an integral part of the verbal form. Even in the domain of the poetry which succeeded to the epos the licence to omit the augment was restricted, and only upon certain definite occasions was its absence permissible. The latitude to be discerned in the MSS. of Herodotos is quite exceptional. A minimum variation is no doubt supported by the

<sup>1</sup> Bergk himself suggests that the imperative ἀπάγχεο is correct.

analogy of other dialects, *e.g.* Attic in its treatment of verbs beginning with a diphthong, but such laxity as the presence or absence of the augment in such verbs as ἄγω is exceedingly strange.

Various causes may have contributed to this laxity: the view that Herodotean Ionic was not radically dissimilar to Homeric Ionic, the growth of the historical present in the fifth century, which, by causing the imperfect to be assimilated in form to the present, may have fostered such forms as ἀμείβετο, and the objection to diphthongs whose first member was a long vowel. Thus αι, αυ, ευ, &c., in Hdt. may be normal developments of primitive *āi*, *āu*, *ēu*, and not augmentless forms at all. But the repugnance to these initial diphthongs, it must be confessed, is more strongly marked in non-Ionic dialects, notably North-West Greek.

For the considerable diversity of opinion between scholars<sup>1</sup> as to the freedom in the treatment of the augment by Herodotos, the confusion of his MSS. is responsible. So great is this confusion, which must have existed in the archetypal MS., that the following summary can make no pretence to reproduce the usage of fifth century Ionic, or in fact claim to do more than record the testimony of the MSS.

All verbs except iteratives (ἄγεσθον) and those mentioned below accept the temporal augment, *e.g.* εἶχον, ἦσαν, ἤλασα, ἤρήμωτο. On the augment of verbs once beginning with *f*, see § 582.

Verbs beginning with *A*. (1) Unaugmented are ἀγινέω, ἀεθλέω, ἀλυκτάζω, ἀμαυρόω, ἀμείβομαι (but ἡμείψατο in all MSS. IV 97, cf. *v.l.* VI 68, VII 109, &c.), ἀνέγω, (κατ)αργυρόω, ἀρωδέω. With but two exceptions these verbs have a liquid or a nasal after the initial vowel. (2) Variable are ἀγάλλομαι, ἀγγέλω, ἀλίζω, ἀλλάσσω, ἀνδροῦμαι, ἀντιδίζω, ἀπειλέω, ἀπτω, ἀρμάζω, ἀρτέομαι, ἀσπάζομαι. (3) Unaugmented only in certain forms are ἀγορεύω (προαγόρευε, ἄγω ἀχθη), ἀγωνίζω (ἀγωνίδαται), ἀνδραποδίζω ἀνδραποδισμένους, ἀριθμέω ἀριθμόντο), ἀρτνμαι ἀρτέαται), ἀρχω ἀργμένοι, κατάρχοντο). *E*. (1) Unaugmented are ἐσσέω, ἐσθίω, ἕζομαι, ἐῶ, ἐθελοκακίω, ἐρῶ, ἐτεροιδέω, ἐτοιμάζω, ἐλινύω, ἐξεμπολέω and the pluperfect of ἵστημι ἐργάζομαι may belong here though there is evidence in favour of the augmented form, see § 582. Hdt. has ἐῶθα, not εἶωθα. (2) Variable are ἐλευθερόω, ἐπείγομαι, ἐπίσταμαι, ἐργω, ἀνέχομαι (ἡνεσχόμεν and ἀνεσχόμεν). (3) Unaugmented only in certain forms are ἔλκω ἀνελκυσμέναι, ἔτω (περιέφθησαν, ἔψω ἀπειψημένοι)<sup>2</sup>. *O*. (1) Unaugmented are ὀδοιπορεῖω, ὀρμίζω, ὀρτάζω, and ὀφελον (but cf. the *v.l.* I 111, III 65). (2) Unaugmented only in certain forms is ὀρμάω (ὀρμημένοι, ὀρμάσται, ὀρμάτο). *Al*. Unaug-

<sup>1</sup> Abicht in *Philologus* XI 275 ff. held that in verbs beginning with αι, ει, ευ, οι omission is the rule. With this Curtius (*Verbum* I 139 Germ. ed.) agreed, while Dindorf combatted the neglect of the augment even before diphthongs.

<sup>2</sup> In Hippokrates II 254 *A* has ἡψῆσθαι; in VIII 192 ἐψημένοι is correct.

mented are *διαιτῶμαι*, *αἰνέω* (but *παρήνυε* IX 122), *αἰρέω* (but *ἐξηρέθησαν* in VII 106), *αἰτέω*, *ἐναισιμόω*, *προαιδέομαι*. The second aorist of *αἰσθάνομαι* appears once (VII 220), and with the augmented form which is not in harmony with the above. *ἐπαῖω* or rather *ἐπείω*, has *ἐπῆσε* IX 93. AY. (1) Unaugmented is *ἐναύω*. (2) Variable are *ἐξαυαίνω*<sup>1</sup>, *αὐτομελόω* (*αὐδῶ* is augmented). (3) Without the augment only in certain forms are *αὐξάνω* (*αὐξέτο*, *αὐξήται*). EI. Unaugmented are *εἰκάζω*, *εἰρύω*, *εἰρωτάω*, *εἶρομαι*. Only in the case of the genuine diphthong would *ηι-* have been possible. EY. Unaugmented all verbs except *εἶδω* which has *ἦδον* I 211 (*A B*, *ἦν- R* with *εῦ* written above, *εἶδον C*), *ἦδε* III 69 in all MSS. Homer uses only the unaugmented form. *ευ* does not appear as in Attic as the augment of *ευ* verbs. *ην* is rare in Attic, a fact that at least in part may be ascribed to the ever-growing objection to this diphthong. OY. *οὐρίζω* contains a spurious diphthong and *οὐνεμάζω* is incorrect. Ol. is always unaugmented.

### 581.] The temporal augment in other Ionic prose writers.

On verbs beginning with *F*, see § 582.

Hippokrates follows the Attic norm, e.g. *ἤρξατο* II 604, 684, 708, *ἤρξαντο* II 642, III 80, *παρήνεον* II 226, *ἡμορράγησε* II 644 (*ἡμ-* in *A C*, *αἰμ-* *vulgo*), *ἠνδρώθη* V 356, *ἦπτετο* III 98, *παρωξύνθη* II 686 (*v. l.* -οξ-), III 24, 34, 62, *ἦλγει* (-εε) II 708, III 52, *ὠνόμασεν* III 232. On *ἠδυνάμην*, see § 577. For *ἐλύτρωται* IV 190 of many MSS., the vulgate is *έλλ-*, which we may correct to *είλ-*. The unaugmented form appears to be due to association with the following *ἐλύτροισι*. Demokritos 12 has *εὐρέθη*. A noteworthy form is *ἡκηκόει* Hippokr. VII 490. From *ἀναλόω* we find in the same writer *ἀνήλωμαι* VII 514, 588, *ἠναλώθη* V 122, 126, but *ἀνάλωμαι* VII 574, *ἀνάλωτο* I 594.

Of the pseudo-Ionists Lukian alone (except Aretaios who has *έλε* 43, -*αιωρηται* 111) neglects the temporal augment. In the *Syria dea* we find *διαιτέοντο* 26 (Dindorf -*ητ-*), *αὐλίζοντο*, *έλπετο*, *άπτετο*, *ἀναίνετο* 22 (which contains *ῆδέετο* and *ὠμολόγεεν*), *ἀμείβετο* 18, *οἰκοδόμεον* 21, *άρχετο* 21, 24, *άρξατο* 17, *έχε* 17, 24 (*είχε* 45), *έχετο* 17, *όρρώδεε* 19, 21, *συννεείχθη* 27 (*ἦνεικε* 22, 25), *έσαν* 3, *αἴτεε* 25.

Artian 28, has *είων*.

### 582.] The Augment and Reduplication of verbs once beginning with Digamma.

Excluded from this list are verbs whose presents have beyond doubt accepted a fixed adulterine *ει*, e.g. *είρύω*, *είρωτάω*. In this section are included verbs from Herodotos, Hippokrates and other sources.

*ἔγνωμι*. *κατήξα* in Hippokr. V 224 recalls *ἔξε* in V 392, τ 539, for which *ἔαξε*<sup>2</sup> must be substituted; cf. *ἔξαι* with *ἔ* taken from the indicative *ἔαξα*.

<sup>1</sup> In Attic we find both *αὐαίνετο* and *ἠαυαίνετο*. Hdt. has *ἐξαυαίνθη* IV 151 but *ἐξηγήνη* IV 173. Abicht augments in each case.

<sup>2</sup> Zenodotos read *ἔηξε*, cf. ε 316.

Though *a*fa becomes *ā* in Ionic, a form *κατήγνυμαι* was invented to give a supposed Ionic colouring to *κατάγνυμαι* which was regarded as Attic only. This *κατήγνυμαι* appears in *κατάγνυται* Hippokr. III 556, *κατηγνύμενα* III 506 (v. l. *κατεπηγμένα*, an unusual form for Hippokrates, who uses *κατεπηγότα*. Elsewhere Hippokr. adopts *κατάγνυμαι*, e. g. IV 278, *ἀπάγνυμαι* III 558, or *καταγνυ* VII 530; though *κάτηγμα* III 498, 500, IV 154, 164, VI 118, 134, 150 and *κάτηγίς* III 494, IV 118, 170, and not the *ā* forms, are employed. The perfect is *ἐπηγ* found in *κατέπηγε* Hippokr. III 428, 492, 506, VI 150, *κατεπηγός* Hdt. VII 114, Hippokr. III 442, 500, IV 130, 200, 278, 282 where the MSS. often have the Attic *ā*. The feminine must have had *η* not *α*. In Phoenix of Kolophon *apud* Athen. XI 495 E = Schneidewin *Del.* 3., *κατηγυίης* (Porson for *καλ* *επηγυίης* *AB* recalls forms that occur in the MSS. of Hippokrates. Littré edits *κατεγυία* in III 426 where several MSS. have *καταγυίαν*, *MN* *-ηγυίαν*, IV 158 where *H* alone has *κατεαγυίης*, *BCE* &c. *κατηγυίης*, *O* *καταγυίης* (*κάτηγα* quoted by Veitch from Kühn 3, 75). Aor. pass. *ἐάγην*. In Homer we find *ἐαγη* or *ἔγη* except in A 559, where the MSS. have *ἀμφὶς ἐάγη*. The substitution by Bekker of *ἀμφὶ ἐάγη*, perf. subj., cf. Ahrens, *Formenlehre*, § 197, note 1) still leaves the text encumbered with an Attic (or Aiolic?) *ā* that is found in Hesiod *W* D. 534 (*ἄντα ἐάγε*, Bentley *ἄντ' ἐάγη*, though he made no further conjecture to bring this into the verse). The Ionic form would be *ἐήγη*. Confusion between perfect active and aorist passive led to the construction of such augmented forms as *κατεπηγῆ* Hippokr. III 428, *κατεαγῆ* IV 220 *-ηγῆ MN*, *-επηγῆ B*, *κατεαγῆ* IV 118 *-αγῆ CO*, *κατεαγείς* IV 132, 172 *καταγῆν C*, 324, 346 Littré), *καταγῆ* is well supported, IV 126, 168, 158 *FEJ* *-εαγῆ*), *καταγείσα* IV 164, *καταγείσης* IV 148, *καταγείσαν* IV 154 in many MSS. but rejected by Littré, *καταγείσα* IV 166 in *CKN* (Littré *-εαγείσα*), *καταγείη* IV 128 *culgo* Littré *-εαγείη* with *H*), *καταγῆ* IV 120 many MSS. Littré *-εαγῆ*, III 442 *culgo* (Littré *-ηγῆ*). *ἁλίσκομαι*. *ἡλίσκετα* Hdt. VII 181, and II 174 (MSS. *καταλ*- and *κατηλ*-; *ἥλω* I 78 'so always in Hdt., and *χ* 230, the only indicative form in Homer *ἔδλω*?). In Hdt. IV 127 *δελσάντες μὴ ἁλώη* in *ABP* *ἡ καρῆ*, the adoption of the Homeric form was aided by the following *ἡ*. Read *ἁλῶ* I 84, cf. II 93. Bekker's *ἁλῶη*, found in Aldus and perhaps in *C*, is not defensible. In Hippokr. VII 284 we find *ἔδλω*, the Attic form < *ἡἔλω*. Hipponax frag. 74) has an indisputable case of *ἁλῶναι*, the only occurrence of this form in literature. Its *ā* might have been borrowed from the indicative *ἔδλω*, though that form is not attested in Ionic sources. *ἁλῶναι* recalls *ἁλόντε* in E 487: *μὴ πως ὥς ἀψῖσι λίου ἁλόντε πανάγρου*. Here the v. l. *λίω* removes the difficulty as regards quantity, but creates the worst possible caesura<sup>1</sup>. *ἥλωκα* is better supported in Hdt. than *ἔδλωκα*: *ἥλώκοι* I 83, *ἥλώκεσαν* I 84, VIII 61, *ἥλωκές* I 78, *ἥλωκέναί* I 70, but *ἔδλωκε* I 209, *ἔλωκότων* and *-κότας* I 191 (read *ἥλ*-). Arrian 13, 4 has *ἔλωκότας ἀνάλισκω ἀναλῶ* Hippokr. II 50 where Galen has *ἀναλίσκεται*, VII 588 with *ἀναλίσκομαι* twice on the same page). In VII 514, 588 we find *ἀνῆλωται*, in V 122 *κατηναλώθη*, 126 *κατηναλώθησαν* as IX 178, 180. *ἀνάλωσα* Amorgos B. C. H. VIII 450, (third century B. C.) is an Hellenistic form often found in the MSS. of Attic writers. Attic inscriptions always have *η*. *ἀνδάνω* In Hdt. IX 5, 19 we find *ἔνδανε*, the form to be substituted for *ἔνδανε* Ω 25, γ 143; but in VII 172, VIII 28 *ἔνδανε* in almost all MSS. As both forms cannot well coexist, I should adopt *ἥδανε*

<sup>1</sup> The attempts to cure this verse are enumerated by Schulze, *K. Z.* XXIX 236.



(cf. O 674). The open form derived its existence from the belief that Herodoteian Ionic was like Homeric Ionic in its preference for open *ει*, and perhaps also to the presence of *ἔαδον*. *ἔαδε* Hdt. I 151, IV 201, VI 106, *ἔειπ* I 133, &c. Hipponax 100 has *ἔειπε* with the lenis, which is supported by *ἔειπαι* Hippokr. II 230, *ἔειπιν* Hdt. III 45 in *ds*. In Homer we find the non-Ionic *ἔειπτα* in I 173 = σ 422. With *ἔειπε*, cf. Homeric *ἔειπότες* from *ἔειπε*. *ἔειπμι*. *εἰθισμαι* Hippokr. IV 254, *εἰθιστο* II 294, *εἰθίσταται* twice in II 298 (in *A*) for *εἰθισμένοι εἰσι*. *ἔω*. *ἔωθα* Hdt. I 133, II 91, IV 134, *ἔωθός* I 34, 111, III 27, 31, *ἔωθεα* I 73, III 31, IV 127, 134, VI 107. Homer has *ἔωθα* and *ἔωθεα* each twice, but only *ἔωθός*. Hippokr. has *ἔωθα* V 610, 718, VI 242, *ἔωθός* II 300 as in Attic. *εἶδον* Hdt. I 68, II 148 (*ἴδον* in *PRs*), *εἶδονα* Hippokr. II 436, V 352, IX 230, *ῥιδεα* Hdt. II 150, *ῥιδεα* II 100, IX 94, *συνῥιδεατε* IX 58, *ῥιδεσαν* VII 175, VIII 78. In I 45 *ῥεἶδε* is supported by *Ac Ps*, but *ῥιδεα*, the conjecture of H. Stephanus, is to be adopted. The pluperfect always has the augment: *συνεῖδεν* VIII 113 in *ABC* is to be corrected (cf. VII 164). The epic *ῥεἶδης* X 280, *ῥεἶδει* 1 206 are certain cases of the augment *η*. Elsewhere Homer has *ῥδ-* as in New Ionic. *εἰκάω*. *εἰκάον* Hdt. III 133, *εἰκάσα* II 104, *εἰκάσμαι* II 182, III 28. Attic distinguished imperf. aor. (*η-*, i.e. with augment *η*<sup>1</sup>) from perf. (*ει-*). <sup>2</sup>*εἰκαω*. A sharp dividing line separates Herodotos<sup>2</sup> from other Ionic writers in respect of the perfect of this verb. *ῥοικα* is found in Sim. Amorg. 741, Theog. 391, 525, Hippokr. II 24, 52, Anax. 11. *ῥοίκασι* Hippokr. II 12, 68, Herakl. 2, 3. *ῥοικός* Anakr. 84, Hippokr. II 34, Diog. 6, *ῥοικυῖαι* Hippokr. II 58, *ῥοικυῖαν* Aret. 169. In Hdt. on the other hand, though *ῥοικα* appears in the MSS. I 39, III 71, IV 31, 99, 132, VI 64, VII 18, the testimony in favour of the unreduplicated form is so strong as to justify the substitution of *οῖκα* which is read in IV 82, III 71 (in *R*), *οῖκατε* V 20, VII 162, *οῖκασι* VII 106, *οῖκα* IV 180, *οῖκός* VI 125, I 155, &c. Eberhard adopts *οῖκός* in Arrian 1310, not *εἰκός*, as in 64, where the MSS. have *ῥοικός*. Hercher edited *εἰκός*. For *εἰκός* it is fitting, found in Hippokr. II 50, Hdt. has *οῖκός* V 97. *εἰκω* yield. *εἰκον* Hdt. VIII 3, *εἰξα* IX 63, 106. *εἶπεν* and *εἶπα*. *εἶρω* say < *φέρω*. *εἶρηκα* Hdt. I 155, *εἶρημαι* II 24, VIII 93, Hippokr. VIII 20, *εἶρεύεται* Hdt. VII 81, *εἶρητο* VIII 26, *εἶρημένους* Hippokr. VIII 20, *εἶρέθην* Hdt. IV 77, 156, and so elsewhere though the MSS. often have *ῥεῤῥέθην* or *ῥεῤῥέθην*, Hippokr. V 196 *προεῤῥέθην*; inf. *ῥηθῆναι* Hdt. III 9, *ῥηθείς* I 91, &c. fut. *ῥηθήσομαι* Hippokr. II 362. *εἶρήσομαι* is confined in Attic to the form *εἶρήσεται*, which occurs in Hdt. IV 16, Hippokr. I 596. The latter author has also the strange form *εἶρησόμενος* III 516 (where nine MSS. have *ῥηθῆ-*). *ἐλίσσω*. Traces of a form *ἐλίσσω* or rather *ἐλίσσω* appear in Hippokr. *κατελίσσεται* II 470. For *διεξελίσσουσι* Hdt. IV 67, *ἐνελίσσόμενος* II 95, the recent editors adopt the forms with *ει*. There is but little doubt that the Herodoteian form was *ἐλίσσω*. Hippokr. has *κατελίσσαι* VII 32, 42, 50, VIII 426, *εἰλίσας* VIII 166 (*θ*), *ἐνελίσσας* VIII 168 (*ἐνελίσας θ*), *ἐνελίσας* VIII 172, Littré (*ἐνελίσας θ*, *ἐνελίσσάμενη -ει- θ*) VIII 376, *εἰλίσχοντο* Hdt. VII 90; *συνελίσσόμενα* Hippokr. II 438. [*ἔλαω* has lost *σ* not *φ*, cf. *συλκα*.] *ἐλαύω*. *ἐλαύον*

<sup>1</sup> Other Attic verbs which have *ει* in imperfect and aorist according to tradition may in reality have had *η*; cf. An. Ox. IV 179, which says that some wrote *ῥθίζον*, *ῥστίων*. *ῥθίζοντο* is actually attested. *εἰθισται* is the correct form in the perfect.

<sup>2</sup> Eum. 1714, 18: τὸ δὲ εἰκνῖα οὐ κατὰ τὴν ὑστερον Ἰωνικὴν γλῶσσαν λέγεται. οἱ γὰρ μεθ' Ὀμηρον, ὡς δηλοῖ καὶ Ἡρόδοτος, εἰκός γράφουσι, καὶ ἀκολουθεῖ καὶ εἰκνῖα, Ἀττικοὶ δὲ ῥοικός καὶ ῥοικυῖα. Homer has *ῥοικός*, *εἰκός*, *εἰκνῖα*, *εἰκνῖαι*.



Hdt. VII 168, ἡλπισα VIII 24, ἡλπίζετο Hippokr. IX 320. ἡμέω. ἡμεε Hdt. VII 88, ἡμεσα Hippokr. II 696, VII 194 (not ἡμησα, ἡμημέεε V 232. ἔννομα ἡμφίεσμαι Hippokr. VII 456, ἡμφιέσθαι VI 76. ἔργάζομαι. This verb is probably unaugmented in Hdt. and inscriptions, § 578. In Hdt. I 185 *A Bpr.* have ἡργάζετο, εἰργ- the other MSS., I 93 ἐξηργάσαντο *A*, -εἰργ- the other MSS., except *Bpr.* which has -εργ-, II 15 περιεργάζοντο *d* (cf. *R*, -ηργ- *A Bt*, -εἰργ- *Bm CP*). Hippokrates does not omit the augment in κατεργάσαντο II 58, Lukian *Syr. dea* 25 ἐργάσαο, but ἐργάζοντο *Astr.* 23. ἐργασται Hdt. III 155 is better supported than ἐργασται which Stein and Holder adopt, but in II 121 (ε, IX 45 ἐργασμαι is certainly correct ἐργαστο I 179, ἐργασμένος V 53, Lukian *Syr. dea* 24 (MSS. εἰργ-), ἐξεργάσθη IV 179. It may be noted that ἐφεργάσαντο Hermione, C. D. I. 3383, does not impeach the contention that digammated verbs may have had η as their augment. This Argolic form is simply a new formation from the present. ἔργω (Attic εἰργω. The correction of a few passages, e.g. Hdt. IV 69, IX 68, where the Attic form has crept in, will reinstate ἔργω in complete possession. Homeric ἔργω is never well supported in Hdt. ἔργω is augmented in ἐξεἶργον V 22, and receives no augment in ἔργετο IV 164 according to Stein Cobet and Holder εἰργετο. In VII 197 Stein reads ἔργετο with *A B*, Holder εἰργετο with *PRca*, as I think correctly. In III 136 we read ἐρξε *CPd* ἔρξε or ἐρξε, κατεῖρξαν V 63 ἐρξαν *CPd*. The perfect is ἀπεργμένος I 154, II 99, V 64, VI 79, the aor. pass. subj. is ἐρχθῆ in Hippokr. VIII 26, 36, according to Littré, where ἐρχθῆ is well supported in 26 by *C θ*. ἔρδω. ἔρδον not ἔρδον Hdt. IX 103, ἔρξαν V 65, ἔοργε III 127, ἔόργεε I 127 not ἔώργεε with *Rd*. οἶγνυμι. Hdt. ἀνοῖξα IV 143, IX 118, and I 68, where all MSS. have ἀνῶξα, ῶῖξα in Hippokr. V 144, Littré with some MSS., vulgo ῶξε, cf. ῶῖξα Z 298, Ω 446. Hesychios cites a form ἔφξεν with which cf. -ῶξε Hippokr. VI 568. With ἀνέργες, quoted from an inscription by Hdt. I 187, cf. ἀνέργεν II 221. This is the imperfect. The second perfect is found in Hippokr. VII 558 ἀνεργάσαι; ῶικται occurs in Hrd. 425. οἰκέω. ῶκει? Hippon 47, see § 579 B, Hippokr. II 666, 684, III 24, 128, οἰκεον Hdt. I 57, οἰκησα II 154, IV 105; ῶκηκας Hrd. 42; οἰκημαι Hdt. VII 22, 122; οἰκέσται Hdt. I 142, οἰκημένος I 27, V 73, οἰκητο Hdt. I 193 ῶφκεον appears in Littré's edition of the letters of Hippokrates, IX 406, where ῶκειον is correct. Arrian has ῶκει 18,10. οἰκίλω. οἰκισα Hdt. III 91, V 42; οἰκισμαι IV 12, ἐνοικίσθη I 68. Arrian has συνῶκισε 1, ῶκισμαι 12, ῶκισμένος 12, 511, 101, 22,0. οἰκοδομέω. οἰκοδόμει Hdt. I 186, οἰκοδόμεον VIII 71, οἰκοδόμησε II 127, οἰκοδόμηται I 181, οἰκοδομήσαντο III 10. οἰκοφθόρῶ. οἰκοφθόρησθε Hdt. VIII 142; cf. 144, V 29, I 196. οἰνοχοέω. ῶνοχδει Anakr. 32. οἰνώ. οἰνωμένοι Hdt. V 18, ὀρέω<sup>1</sup> (ὀρέω). See § 582 end. ῶρα III 72 and often in Hdt., κατόρα VII 108, ἐπόρα I 48. Sometimes there is a variation between ῶρα and ἑώρα, e.g. I 12, 123, III 53, where the former form is to be adopted. Hippokrates' use of ἑώρα is undisputed cf. II 708; *Vita Hom.* ἑωρᾶτο §. ῶρῶμεν is read by Stein when the MSS. have ὀρέαμεν, ὀρῶμεν, ὀρέομεν, ἑωρῶμεν. For ἑωρῶμεν I 120 (v.l. ἑορ- in *C*) Lhardy conjectured ἐωρῶμεν. ῶρε VII 8. In the third plural the form is ὀρ- not ἑορ- cf. v.l. V 91) whatever the termination see under Contract verbs). In later Attic according to Photios ῶρεν was used.

<sup>1</sup> Homer has no trace of *Forpda*. *F* disappeared before an *o* sound at an earlier period than it did before other vowels. Ahrens *Philol.* XXXV 50, L. Meyer, *K. Z.* XXIII 49). Cf. the early loss of *F* in -*Fat* of the perfect participle.

*Perfect.* *δρηκα* Hrd. 41, and *δρόρηκα* 61, *ἐωράκη* Hippokr. V 720. In Doric we find *ἐρακνῖαν* C. D. I. 3340, (Epidauros). *δράζω* (*ἐοράζω*). *δραζον* Hdt. IX 7. *οὔρεω*. *οὔρει* Hippokr. II 686, *οὔρεον* II 692, *οὔρησα* II 686, 696, V 354, *οὔρηκει* V 354, *οὔρηθην* V 716. This verb is placed in this list because of *προσεύρου* Demosth. 54, 4, *ἐνεούρησεν* in Eupolis (Koch frag. 45), though the *ou* is probably not proethnic. *ᾠθέω*<sup>1</sup>. *ᾠθέτε* Hdt. VI 86, *ᾠσα* III 78, VII 167, *ᾠσάμην* IX 25, *ἄπωσμένος* V 69, *ἄπεσθησαν*, a singular form, occurs in the MSS. of Hippokr. IX 242 (Littre *ἄπεσ-*). Hippokr. has the noteworthy form *πρώσας* for *προσώσας* VII 314. *ὠνέομαι*. *ὠνέομην* Hdt. I 69, III 139. A singular form is *ὠνησάμενος* Hippokr. IX 362.

That *η* may be the augment of verbs whose initial sound was *F* may be inferred from Skt. *ārar*, *āvidhyat*, and Homeric *ἡείδης*<sup>2</sup> &c. *ἡείδης* is not the preterite of *ἐφείδ-*, i. e. *φείδ-* with a prosthetic vowel (*ἐεισάμενος*) which was lengthened as the *ε* of *ἔρχομαι* was lengthened to *η* in *ἡρχόμην*. Other examples of *η* that are tolerably certain are *ἦκειν*, *ἦκαζον*, *ἦκασα*, less certain is *ἡργαζόμην* which may have been formed from *ἐργαζομαι*, not from *φεργάζομαι*, i. e. it is only apparently identical with the old *ἡργαζόμην* from *ἡφεργ-*. The imperfect and aorist were the tenses where *η* appeared, not the perfect.

It has been widely held, since Wackernagel's<sup>3</sup> discovery of the existence of *η* as an augment of *F* verbs, that the form *ἑώρων* was to be explained as resulting from *ἡλόραον*. From the point of view of Attic or Ionic, dialects which permit *metathesis quantitatis*, there is no difficulty in the way of such an explanation; the movement which in Ionic produced *η* from *ᾱ* having ceased. In Doric however a shifting of *ηο* to *εω* (at least in verbal forms)<sup>4</sup> is unknown, and yet we have *ἑώρη* on Epidaurian inscriptions, C. D. I. 3339<sub>as</sub>, 3340<sub>as</sub>. *ἑώρων* will therefore have to be explained as Attic *ἑώραζον*<sup>5</sup>: instead of *ἑόραον*, *ἑώραον* was constructed, since the former form did not seem augmented at all<sup>6</sup>. In the pluperfect we find *ἑωράκη*, *-εω*, but in the perfect *ἑόρακα* (such is the better form) as *ἑάλακα*. The Homeric *ᾠίγνυντο*, *ᾠίξε*, for which Wackernagel<sup>7</sup> proposed to substitute *ἡοίγ-*, *ἡοίξε*, are genuine forms from *ὀφίγνυμι* (cf.

<sup>1</sup> *ᾠθέουσι*, quoted by Gram. Paria. 675 = An. Bachm. II 364<sub>m</sub> as the Herodoteian form of *ᾠθεύουσιν*, is due to the supposed fondness of Ionic for *εω*.

<sup>2</sup> An. Ox. II 374<sub>31</sub>.

<sup>3</sup> K. Z. XXVII 272. The idea was first suggested by Hartel *Hom. Stud.* I<sup>2</sup> 120, but later abandoned by its author. Wackernagel cites An. Ox. IV 179, where it is stated that some wrote *ἡργαζόμην*, *ἡθίζον*.

<sup>4</sup> *λεπρωσύναν* Kos 40 A 11 (Paton and Hicks) from *λεπρῆσύναν*; cf. *λεπρῆ* 37<sub>10</sub>. 42 B (Πολιτῆ 38<sub>12</sub>, 13, Μαχαρῆ 38<sub>10</sub>).

<sup>5</sup> It is not probable that *ἑώρη* is a new formation from *ἑρη*.

<sup>6</sup> The rough breathing is due to the influence of *ἑράω* rather than to the lost spirant.

<sup>7</sup> B. B. IV 304.

Aiolic δείλην). Hippokrates has ὦξα. Attic ἀνέφξα looks as if it was assimilated to ἀνέφγα from Φόλγνυμι or it has a double augment.

#### 582 A.] *Varia.*

1. *Augment before the Preposition* occurs in μεμετιμένος Hdt. V 108, VI 1, VII 229; elsewhere the augment of this verb keeps its usual place, notwithstanding ἐμετίετο I 12 in  $d^1 C^1$  (ἐμετείθη I 114 in  $d z$ ). See also below on 2. κατέατο is now written in III 144, VIII 73 against the augmented form of the MSS. ἀμφιέννυμι augments the preposition only: ἡμφιεσμένη Hipponax 3, ἡμφιέσθαι Hippokr. VI 76, VII 456. Hippokr. has ἐκάθευδον V 252. ἐμπολημένος Hdt. I 1 may be noted here.

2. *Double Augment.* Anakreon used the form ἐξυνῆκεν (146) according to the Et. M. 385<sub>9</sub>, which states that ἐσυνῆκε occurred in Alkaios. Hdt. has ἠνέσχετο V 48, VII 159, VIII 26, but ἀνέσχοντο V 89, VI 112, VII 139. Hippokr. III 94 has ἠνώχλεον, V 702 ἠνωχλήθην, ἠνίει V 414, ἠφίει V 228 (ἐώκειν IX 406 is incorrect). On ἐπηνωρθώθη, see § 578, note. On ἐώρων, see § 582 end.

3. *Augment of some compound verbs.* ὠδοιπόρησε Hippokr. VI 276, cf. Hdt. VIII 129 διοδοιπορήκεσαν. οἰκοδομέω and οἰκοφθόρεω are unaugmented in Hdt. ἐδυστύχεε Hdt. VIII 105, εὐδοκίμει VII 227, εὐδοκίμησα III 131, εὐνομήθη I 66, εὐτύχησα VII 233. ἐπαλλογῆτο Hdt. I 118 in the perfect without reduplication. Hdt. has παρενόμησα VII 238 not παρηνόμησα.

#### *Reduplication.*

583.] 1. *On the absence of reduplication in οἶκα, ἤλωκα, cf. § 582, where the digammated verbs are enumerated.* On ὤρηκα and ὀρώρηκα see the same section. On the syllabic augment of the reduplicated pluperfect in Herodotos, see § 576, 1. The temporal augment does not appear in 'Attic' reduplicated forms. ἐπαλλογῆτο Hdt. I 118 is due to a desire to avoid a cumbersome form. Reduplication in the second aorist is chiefly Homeric<sup>1</sup>. In Herodotos we find ἤγαγον, ἐσπόμην, εἶπον. Reduplication in the present presents no noteworthy features except in the case

<sup>1</sup> The grammarians often call Ionic such forms as λελάχουσι, κέκλυθι, κεπέμαρ, Aristarchos κε κέμαρ, τετύκοντο, πεπαλόν. Cf. Joh. Gr. 240, Greg. Kor. 433 (also Doric), 461, Vat. 696, Paris. 676 = An. Bachm. II 365<sub>21</sub>, Et. M. 26<sub>11</sub>, B. rub. 677<sub>10</sub>, An. Ox. I 36<sub>13</sub>, An. Par. III. 183<sub>31</sub> (cf. 30<sub>21</sub>, 34<sub>12</sub>), Eust. 136<sub>21</sub>, 157<sub>12</sub>, 502<sub>21</sub>, 1225<sub>40</sub>, 1267<sub>30</sub>, 1629<sub>17</sub>, 1722<sub>02</sub>, 1774<sub>33</sub>, 1969<sub>1</sub>, Diakonos on Hesiod *Ag.* 245 (ἐμέμαρπον. By a reverse process the absence of reduplication is called Ionic in βλήμενος Greg. Kor. 461, Paris. 676 = An. Bachm. II 365<sub>31</sub> (also δέχθαι, τύχθαι Drakon 160<sub>21</sub>, cf. 156<sub>1</sub>).

of the pseudo-Hippokratic διδίσσομαι VIII 66 (Littre with *C D K*). Here, however, *θ* has δειδίσσεται (intransitive), whereas B 190 is transitive. Elsewhere both Hippokrates and Aretaios use δεδίσσομαι in the sense of 'feel afraid.'

From αἰρέω we find in Thasos 71<sub>8, 11</sub> ἀναιρερημένος, in l. 2, 3 - -ραιρημένος, which was read by Bergmann ἀναι-, by Blass ἀνε-. Neither of these forms occurs. The reading of Blass (*Ausspr.*<sup>3</sup> 62) rests upon the view that αι could become ε in the fourth century; a change unattested for this period of Greek<sup>1</sup>. Since Herodotos has ἀραίρηκα, ἀραιρήκεε, ἀραίρημαι, ἀραιρήμην, ἀναραιρημένος has been read by Bechtel. If this restoration is correct, as seems probable, the perfect of αἰρέω was formed in Ionic in two different ways (1) ἀραίρημαι, a kind of perfect often used in Hdt. in other verbs, (2) αἰρέρημαι by inner reduplication, as in ἡνίπαπον, ἡρύκακον. In Samos 221<sub>36</sub> ἡιρημένος shows that by about the year 322 B. C. in an official document the specifically Ionic reduplication had been abandoned.

## 2. So-called Attic reduplication<sup>1</sup>.

Epic are ἀλάλημαι, ἀγηγέρμην, ἀλαλύκτημαι, ἀνήνοθεν, ἐδήδομαι, ἐρήρισται, ἐρήριπτο, ἐρήριπα, συνοκωχότε, ὀδώδυσται, ὀδωδα<sup>2</sup>, ὀρέρεγμαι (ἔρεγμαι Hippokr. I 520, ὄρωρα<sup>3</sup> (Theog. 909), and ὀρέρειν, ὀρόρομαι.

ἀκήκοα Hdt. I 37, VIII 109, ἀκηκόειν II 52, VII 208 while Hippokr. VII 490 has the Attic ἡκηκόειν. In Herodas 5<sub>40</sub> occurs the interesting form ἀκήκουκα<sup>3</sup>. ἀλήλεσμαι Hdt. VII 23, καταληλεσμένους (?) Hippokr. VIII 456, where the MSS. have -εληλα-, -εληλασ-, and -εληλεσ- (so Littre). Aretaios 195 has ἀληλεσμένη. From ἀραρίσκω Homer has ἀρήρη, ἀρηρώς, ἡρήρεα; in Archil. 94 the MSS. have ἡρήρεισθα which Bergk thought fit to change to -ησθα. ἀρηρομένος Homer, Hdt. IV 97. ἐγήγεμαι Hippokr. IX 340 (ep.), cf. ἐγρήγορα, V 310, 694, Homer. ἐληλάκειν Hdt. V 90, ἐλήλαμαι Homer, Tyrt. 12<sub>26</sub>, Hdt. I. 180, IX 9, ἐλήλασμαι Hippokr. VIII 290, 426; ἡληλάμην Homer, ἐληλάμην Hdt. VII 205. ἐλήλυθα Hdt. VIII 68, Hippokr. II 266, ἐληλύθεε Hdt. V 98, VIII 114 (epic ἐλήλουθα, εἰλήλουθα, εἰληλούθει). ἐμημέκει Hippokr. V 232. ἐξενήνειγμαι Hdt. VIII 37, IX 72. ἐρήρεισμαι Hdt. IX. 152, Hippokr. III 294, IV 220, 312, 152 (but συνήρεικα VI 372). In VIII 272 for ξυνερήρεισται in *D*, *θ* has συνερηρέδαται (cf. Ψ 284). In VIII 270 συνηρεισμένος is attested by *θ* and the other MSS. Homer has also ἡρήρειστο, ἐρηρέδατο. Hippokr. VIII 292 has ἐρηρείσεται in *θ*. ἐρήριγμαι Hippokr.

<sup>1</sup> In Attic the change occurred in the second century A.D.

<sup>2</sup> Ionic: Eust. 1523<sub>18</sub>.

<sup>3</sup> This form recalls in a measure the Syrakusan inflection of the perfect as a present. Cf. also Knidian τετιμέκει.



VII 416 (ἐρείγμαi in *D*), VIII 506. οἶχσκε, not ῥῆχκε, was called Ionic by Dorotheos *apud* Schol. Ven. A on O 252, and this spelling was adopted by Apollonios. Aristonikos and Trypho (frag. 99) probably received παρῳχκεν. Hdt. VIII 108 has οἰχωκύλας, οἰχωκότας IX 98, διοίχηται IV 136 (διοίχονται?), οἰχώκεε IV 128. The vulgate παρῳχημένος is rightly rejected by Littré for παροισχόμενος in Hippokr. VI 16. The form with the 'Attic' reduplication but with ω for φ also appears in οἰχῶκεν Herodas 2<sub>37</sub> and this, and not the form from the stem οἶχε, must be regarded as Ionic. ἀπολώλεκα Hdt. I 45 ἀπόλωλα Hom., Hdt. II 181 ἀπολώλειν Hom., Hdt. III 119 ὄπωπα Homer, Hdt. III 37, 63, Hippokr. IV 78, VIII 606, pluperf. Homer, Hdt. V 92, Arrian 15<sub>0</sub>. ὀρώρυγμαi Hdt. III 60, IV 195, and so II 158 (not ὤρυγμαi), ὀρωρύγην Hdt. I 185 (not ὤρυκτο), 186 (not ὤρώρυκτο). ὀρώρηκα § 582.

### 3. Mute followed by a Liquid.

βέβλαμμαi Hippokr. VIII 418, 494, 498 but ἐβλαμμένοις Ephesos, Dittenberger Syll. 344<sub>4</sub> (first century B. C.), γέγλυμμαi Hdt. II 106 etc., Hippokr. IV 386.

### 4. Other verbs beginning with a double Consonant.

κτάομαι: In an inscription from Mylasa 248 B 11 (360-61 B.C.) we find ἐκτῆσθαι<sup>1</sup>, the form found Iliad I 402 and usually in the MSS. of Herodotus, whether a vowel or a consonant precedes. κέκτησο VII 29, ἐκτημέιος II 173, 174, VII 27 (after a vowel) are to be rejected though occurring in all MSS.<sup>2</sup> κεκτημένος appears in Zeleia 113<sub>20-21</sub> (shortly after 334 B.C.) but κατέκτεται in the same inscription l. 6 makes for the conclusion that the former form is an Attic interloper. In Sim. Am. 13<sub>2</sub> Bekker read ἐκτεται for κέκτηται of the Schol. Σ 407 who quotes the verse. Aischylos has only one case of the Ionic form and that by metrical constraint (*Prometh.* 797). It was preferred by Plato when it followed upon a consonant (plup. ἐκεκτήμην). The pluperfect in Hdt. is ἐκτήμην II 108. κρίζω yields ἐκτισται Hippokr. IV 194.

ἐσμυρισμένος Archil. 30 (cf. Hesych. ἐσμυριγμέται) from σμυρίζω, whereas in Hdt. we have μεμυρισμένος from μυρίζω. The lyric poets have the ordinary forms in ἐσκιασμένος Sim. Am. 7<sub>66</sub>, &c.

### 5. Verbs beginning with ρ.

There are in Ionic some noteworthy forms of these verbs which in Attic refuse to reduplicate. The reduplicated forms in Ionic

<sup>1</sup> An. Par. III 65<sub>20</sub> (Attic and Ionic), Gram. Paris. 676 = An. Bachm. II 365, καθαρῶς Ἰωνική.

<sup>2</sup> κεκτῆσθαι is however as old as Hesiod, *W. D.* 437.



represent a newer method of reduplication, since they have followed the analogy of verbs whose initial sound had not originally been preceded by a spirant.

ῥερυπωμένος in Hippokr. IV 374, VIII 140, 236, 368 is the same form that occurs in § 59; ῥεραπισμένος is quoted from Anakreon (166) by Choirob. II 555<sub>24</sub>, cf. Bekk. An. III 1287 (where the Pindaric ῥερίφθαι is compared), An. Ox. IV 185<sub>π</sub>, 415<sub>6</sub>, An. Par. IV 226<sub>17</sub>. ῥερυθμῶσθαι was used, according to some, by Demokritos. Cf. ῥυθμός Demokr. 205 according to Stobaios (§ 358). In Hdt. IV 71 for συνερραμμένην of the editors (*A* συνερα-), *B* and *C* have συρρερ-. The *spiritus asper* in the above forms should doubtless be changed to the *lenis*.

#### 6. Verbs beginning with λ.

λαμβάνω: Archil. (143) is reported by Lukian (*Pseudolog.* 1) to have said τέττιγα τοῦ πτεροῦ συνείληφας, out of which Bergk made the dimeter τέττιγα δ' εἴληφας πτεροῦ. The form is interesting because Hdt. has λελάβηκα III 42<sup>1</sup>, IV 79, VIII 122 (and in the mouth of an Ionian in Eupolis<sup>2</sup> according to Meineke II 570), λέλαμμαι III 117, IX 51. Hippokrates however has εἴληφε VIII 584, εἴλημμέναι VII 490, ἀπειλημμένος V 616 but on the same page ἀπολελαμμένος, and ἀναλελάβθαι<sup>3</sup> III 308 (*vulgo* -λελάμ-φθαι). λελήφαται is called Ionic by An. Ox. I 268<sub>28</sub>. εἴληφα Ionic-Attic, Et. M. 298<sub>82</sub>.

λαγχάνω yields λελόγχασι Hdt. VII 53 (not εἴληχα<sup>4</sup>) as in Homer. λέγω *collect* has -λέλεγμαι in Hdt. VII 26; cf. Arrian I 511. λέγω *say* has λέλεγμαι in Hdt. II 21, &c.

### *Personal Endings.*

The following is a summary of the specially noteworthy endings of the Later Ionic. See also under the various tenses where fuller reference is made to the thematic and modal vowels.

#### 584.] Endings of the Active.

##### 1. First Person.

μι: Analogues of the Homeric ἐθέλωμι, ἴδωμι, ἀγάγωμι, &c. do not appear in the New Ionic.

<sup>1</sup> According to PRz and Bekk. Anecd.; other MSS. have the pluperfect, which Veitch adopts. λελάβηκα in Doric (Archimedes II 290 Heiberg) as well as εἴλεφα.

<sup>2</sup> Eupolis' (II 533) ὠνήσατο may occur in an Ionic proverb; cf. Hippokr. IX 361.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Archimedes' λελάβηκα.

<sup>4</sup> Ionic-Attic, Et. M. 298<sub>12</sub>.

**a :** The imperfect of εἰμί is ξα < ῆα in Homer and Herodotos ; of εἶμι, ῆα, of τίθημι, ἐτίθεα in Hdt. In the aorist we find, besides εἶπον, also εἶπα which is rare in Attic. The pluperfect has ε-α, an ending which shows the aoristic connexion of this tense.

### 2. Second Person.

**-θα :** This original perfect ending occurs in οἶσθα < οἶδ + θα and in ῥήρυσθα (§ 619). ῆσθα in Theog. 1314 = ξας in Hdt. is strictly a perfect, ῆς an imperfect. The abandonment of the perfect of εἰμί brought with it the confusion between -ς and -σθα ; whence followed the creation of such forms as ἔχεισθα in Theog. 1316 (MSS. ἔχοισθα) and Sappho, εἴησθα Theog. 715. Cf. Homeric τίθησθα from τίθης, εἴσθα, ἐθέλησθα, βάλοισθα.

**ς** has been added in εἰς *thou art* (Hdt. and Archilochos) to εἰ for primitive ξσι. In Syrakusan ἐσσί was the regular form, which indeed may be read in all passages in Homer except ρ 388. On εἰ in Hdt. see § 705. To οἶσθα, -ς was also added, thus producing οἶσθας found in Herodas 2<sub>55</sub> and adopted by Zenodotos in his recension of the Homeric text (cf. Eust. 1773<sub>π</sub>). οἶσθας also appears in comedy, and was 'Hellenic' as well as οἶσθα according to Ailius Dionysios. εα-ς in the pluperfect happens not to occur in Hdt.<sup>1</sup>, but in the plural we find συνηδέετε. In the optative aorist Hdt. has -ε-ια-ς (never -αις)<sup>2</sup>. In the plural of the second aorist we find ο-ιη-τε not -ο-ι-τε, e.g. δοίητε in Hdt. VII 135 ; so -αιητε not -αιτε. -οιης except in Hom. σχοίης (?), and in Aiolic, occurs only in εὐροίης, Hippokr. I 590, where εὐροίς is a *v. l.* The pluperfect has -εας, not -εες, as the Et. M. 386<sub>23</sub> states.

### 3. Third Person.

**σι < -τι** in the singular, Ionic being an assibilating dialect. -ονσι < -οντι, -ωσι < -ωντι. The sporadic cases of -οισι and -ωισι in Chios are due to Aiolic influence. The instances of -ησι in the subjunctive are rare in the elegy (Theog. 139). -ησι never occurs in iambic poetry or in prose, though *A B C* have ἐλαύνησι Hdt. I 188. Theognis has elsewhere -η. On primitive -αι in the subjunctive, and on -ει < -ηι in Euboian Ionic, see § 239. In the perfect we find -ᾶσι, except in a few instances where the poetical -ᾷσι comes to light (§ 595) by imitation of Homer. In the pluperfect we find -εε in Hdt. with no case of -ει or -ειν as in Homer and in Attic. The inscriptions have -ει. In the plural -εσαν in Hdt. with no case of -εισαν. The imperative has -τω, -των,

<sup>1</sup> ἐτεθήπας α 90 is an unmetrical variant for θηήσας.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. ποιήσεις Hippokr. VII 260 in θ against other MSS.

and *-ντων*. *ἔστων* occurs on inscriptions, *ἔστωσαν* is found in Hdt. I 147, and *-τωσαν* in Teos 158<sub>11, 25, 26</sub>, a late document composed under Attic influence. In Attika by 300 B.C. *-τωσαν* had almost entirely displaced the older form.

In the present optative of *-εω* verbs we find *-οιη* in Teos 156 A 10 and *-οιη* in line 4, elsewhere *-οι*, as in Hdt., with but few, if any, exceptions. Hippokrates has however many well-attested instances of *-οιη*. In *-αω* verbs Hdt. prefers the ending *-ψη* (and *-φεν*). Both *εἴησαν* and *εἴεν* occur, and *παρεξίοιεν* is found in IV 120, VII 103.

In the aorist Herodotos adopts *-εie* (*-αι* twice only: II 100, III 156, and these are doubtful), and *-εiαν* (*-αιεν* only VI 101, VII 152 (?), VIII 35). In inscriptions we find *-εiαν*. In the second aorist we find *δοίεν* in Hdt. The perfect optative has *-οι* not *-οιη*. In the aorist passive optative we find both *-ειησαν* and *-ειεν*.

### 585.] Endings of the Middle.

#### 1. First Person.

*-μεσθα*, in Homer, appears once in Theog. 671 (cf. 183, 888, 983, 1047, 1056, &c. *-μεθα*), Hrd. 3<sub>21</sub>, never in Ionic prose.

#### 2. Second Person.

*-σαι* preceded by the thematic *ε*, becomes either *-εαι* or *-η* in Ionic.

*-η-σαι* yields *-ηαι* and *-η* in the subjunctive, which also admits of *-εαι* for *-ηαι*, by retention of the short thematic vowel.

*-α-σο* becomes *-αο*; *-εσο* becomes *εο* or *ευ*.

In the imperative we have *-σο*, *-σθω*.

3. Third Person. The perfect and pluperfect endings are *-νται*, *-ντο*, and *-αται*, *-ατο*. The terminations *-αται*, *-ατο*<sup>1</sup> are not the exclusive property of the Ionic race, though retained by Ionic and Attic with greater tenacity than by other dialects. Two examples of the ancient form in *-αται* < *ῃται* occur in Doric: Kretan *κιάται* and Herakleian *γεγραψάται*.

*-ατο* in the optative for *-ντο* is one of the best attested forms of Herodoteian Ionic. This ending is here more ancient than *-ντο*, since it is derived from *ἔντο*.

The terminations *-αται*, *-ατο* have in Herodotos been transferred from their home in the indicative perfect and pluperfect, after stems ending in a consonant, to the present and imperfect of *μι* verbs. On *δύνα-μαι*, *ἐπίστα-μαι*, whose *α* apparently passes into *ε* before the endings *-αται*, *-ατο*, see § 688, 1, note 2.

(a) Present. *προτιθέται* Hdt. I 133 (IV 26 in C), *ἀπιστεύεται* II 113, *ὑπαιστέεται* II 80, *ἐξαιστέεται* V 61, *δυνέεται* II 142,

<sup>1</sup> See Abicht, *Philologus* XI 275 ff., and § 612.

IV 30, ἐπιστέαται<sup>1</sup> III 2, 103, IV 174. (For ἐκδιδοάται of C in II 47 read -ονται.) These forms do not occur in Homer. In Ω verbs these forms are incorrect, e.g. ἀγέαται II 47, κηδέαται I 209 (both in C). -νται<sup>2</sup> is preserved in the following forms: ἐπίστανται Solon 40, δύνανται Hippokr. II 290, cf. ἀπόλλυνται III 254, V 624 bis, 680 bis, ῥήγνυνται III 200.

(b) *Imperfect.* -ατο, introduced from the pluperfect (cf. -αται in the present) in ἐπανιστέατο Hdt. IV 80, ἐδυνέατο VII 211, ἠπιστέατο II 53, where α apparently changes to ε; and also in παρετιθέατο I 119, ἐναπεδεικνύατο IX 58. The -ντο form may also occur in the imperfect, as witness ἀπεδείκνυντο VII 223, IX 40.

Improper are all such forms in Ω verbs (1) in imperfects: προαιδέατο I 61 with -εατο in all MSS. is nevertheless to be rejected<sup>3</sup>, as are all other such forms no matter how well they are supported by MS. evidence: as ἐβουλέατο I 4 (ἐβούλοντο Plutarch), ἐναπενιζέατο II 172 (in all MSS.), ἐγυνέατο I 67 (b d z), ἀπεγραφέατο V 29 (in all MSS.), ὑπεδεκέατο IV 167 (P R z), ἐσινέατο VII 147 (in all MSS.), ἐμηχανέατο V 63 (in all MSS.). ὀρμέατο I 83 is regarded by Stein as pluperfect<sup>4</sup>. Bredow's (p. 330) ὠρμέατο is incorrect. (2) Second aorists: ἐγενέατο II 66 where Stein suggests ἐγεγενέατο, περιεγενέατο I 214 (R -εγενοίτο), ἀπικέατο often, ἐπυθέατο VII 172 (P R z). The inscriptions have -ντο invariably.

The imperfect of μι verbs, where -ατο was in place, was the source of this error, which seems to have been inserted by copyists into no other text than that of Herodotos. The forms in -εαται and -εατο in the imperfect and aorist of Ω verbs do not occur in the MSS. of the logographers or of Hippokrates<sup>5</sup>. The latter does not adopt, even in μι verbs, the ending -ατο; ἀπώλλυντο III 88, ἀνίσταντο II 608. The presence of the above-mentioned misshapen formations in the MSS. cannot be laid to

<sup>1</sup> ἐπίστηται II 243 (subj) was read by Zenod. ἐπιστέαται. ἐπίσταιται is the reading of A L. G. Meyer, *Gramm.* § 485, holds it to be indicative. Zenodotos' reading indicates the prevailing uncertainty as to the place of -εαται. Zenodotos is also reported to have read νεπολέαται (sing. in Homer

<sup>2</sup> Homer has -νται after α and ο invariably.

<sup>3</sup> No verb which has the short vowel in the future before sigma, and sigma in the perfect middle, has either -αται in the perfect or -ατο in the pluperfect. We must read προαιδέοντο. προαιδέατο would be a strange pluperfect (as Abicht takes it to be)

<sup>4</sup> Stein reads ὀρμέατο here, and in every other passage with MS. authority

<sup>5</sup> The pseudo-Ionic movement did not affect in an equal degree all Ionic literature. While such forms as masc, neutr. τουρέων, ἀντρέων were inserted into the texts of Hippokrates and Aretaios, these writers were spared from the irregular -εαται and -εατο. It is also noteworthy that Arrian's *Inaks* was spared the intrusion of such forms as ἐγενέατο.

the charge of the teachings of the grammarians, who make absolutely no mention of their occurrence.

1. -*νται* for -*νται* after vowels is supported only by the statement of Hera-  
kleides Milesios (Cohn, p. 77), who cites as used by some Ionians the forms  
*πεποιάνται, γεγενέανται*.

2. -*σται* is not used in the singular despite the statement to the contrary of  
the Et. M. 367<sub>10</sub>, *οίκεσται*, a poor variant in Hdt. I 151, &c., *κέσται* often in  
Lukian's *Syria dea*, *πεποιέσται* Zenodotos in Homer (above p. 480, footnote 1).

3. -*στω* in the singular is also incorrect: *παρίστω κόρη* in Kallimachos  
cited by An. Ox. I 373<sub>2</sub>, Et. M. 653<sub>2</sub>. In Hdt. IX 100: *ὅς δ' ἄρα παρσκευάζετε*  
*τοῖσι Ἕλλησι*, Reiske proposed to insert *πάντα* or to read -*αστε*.

4. -*δσται* for -*σται* and -*δστε* for -*στε* are indefensible in *κατακεχέδσται* Hdt.  
II 75 (*Ppr. Rd*) and *έστελα* or *έσταλά-δστε* VII 90 in all MSS. (*Dobree*  
*έστάλατο*).

-*σθων*. In the imperative -*σθων* is often preceded by *ε* (present  
and 2nd aor.), never by *ο*. *ο-σθων* in early Attic inscriptional  
documents is even more frequent than *ε-σθων* (e.g. *εὕρισκόσθων*).  
-*σθωσαν* in *χρήσθωσαν* Hippokr. VI 82 is suspicious.

#### 588.] Endings of the Passive.

-*θησαν*, not -*θεν*, is the form adopted in iambic poetry and  
prose. The 3rd pl. *μιάνθην* in Δ 146 is not to be rejected; cf.  
*Kretan διελέγην*, Delphic *ἀπελύθην*.

## CONJUGATION.

### *Introductory Remarks.*

587.] Many peculiarities of usage of the Ionic verb do not  
affect our estimate of the position of the dialect in respect of  
its interrelation with other idioms. Many details of verbal usage  
and even of formation belong more properly to a history of the  
Greek verb or to treatises dealing specifically with the diction of  
individual authors. Not wishing to trench upon the domain of  
the lexicographer, we have therefore in general excluded from  
the present discussion verbs of regular formation which occur in  
Ionic alone, though many points of interest are thus passed by,  
such as the appearance in Ionic prose of a large number of  
so-called epic and poetic verbs, the affinities of the dialect for  
the active in place of the middle and vice versa. Ionic forms  
not dissimilar to those in vogue in Attic have as a rule not  
been incorporated, chiefly because it may be assumed that the  
Ionic verb is inflected on the same general lines as the Attic  
verb. Sometimes, however, where Ionic and Attic are alike,



the forms in question are adduced provided their Aiolic or Doric equivalents are differently constructed. Forms of this character are treated under the special tenses in which they occur.

On  $\deltaύνω$ ,  $δυνέω$  and similar examples of the co-existence in later Ionic of such parallel forms, see under Contract Verbs. On  $\muι$  verbs inflected as  $\omega$  verbs, see § 691 ff.  $\omega$  verbs inflected like  $\muι$  verbs, and tenses of  $\iotaστημι$ ,  $τίθημι$  etc. other than present, imperfect, and second aorist, are mentioned under  $\muι$  verbs.

### 588.] Variation between $\thetaέλω$ and $\epsilonθέλω$ .

$\thetaέλω$  was regarded as Ionic by the grammarians<sup>1</sup>, and it is the only form which appears in the inscriptional monuments of the dialect<sup>2</sup>: Thasos 72, 6, Halikarn. 238, 18, 31, Milotos 100, 7.  $\thetaέλω$  occurs in the iambographs in only two passages (Sim. Amorg. 7, 13, Hipponax 21 B<sup>1</sup>, and Anakreon employs it in catalectic iambic dimeter (92). Solon 37, 1 (trim.) has  $\thetaέλων$ . In the elegists we find  $\thetaέλω$  in Phokyl. 12, Solon 27, 13. Homer adopts the fuller form with only one or two possible exceptions<sup>3</sup>, and this, too, is preferred by the elegy: Archil. 6, 1, Tyrt. 12, 40, Solon 428, 1, 33, 5 (imperfect; trochaics), in Theognis over twenty times, Bergk changing 139 ( $\Delta$   $O$   $\thetaέλῃσιν$ ) and 919 (neither  $\Delta$  nor  $O$  has  $\epsilonθέλῃ$ ). In 606 we find an imperfect  $\epsilonθέλων$  (Slob.  $\epsilonθέλουσι$ ). Anakreon uses  $\epsilonθέλω$  in choriambics (21, 7, 24, 2). In Pindar, Mommsen (on Ol. II 97) can count a few instances of  $\thetaέλω$  which he regards, in opposition to Boeckh, as certain: Ol. II 97, VIII 85, P. II 69, X 5, Isthm. VI 43, Nem X 84. It is therefore improbable that tragedy, which uses only  $\thetaέλω$  in dialogue, should have derived this form from Pindar. That its very rarity gave it a certain element of distinction adapted for the purpose of the tragic poets, is confirmed by the attitude of comedy towards the word. Here it is only in paratragic passages and in the formulae  $\etaν$   $\thetaέδς$   $\thetaέλῃ$ ,  $\epsilonι$   $\thetaέδς$   $\thetaέλῃ$  that the shorter form finds a place. So in early Attic prose, which follows tragic usage to a certain extent. May we see the influence of Gorgias' theories upon Antiphon in his use of  $\thetaέλω$ ? When  $\thetaέλω$  became the common form,  $\epsilonθέλω$  carried with it the distinction that  $\thetaέλω$  had once enjoyed<sup>4</sup>. It is to be noted that  $\thetaέλω$  is not, like  $κεῖνος$ , made by Aristophanes the mark of the 'Ioniako ἀνὴρ'.

Out of the confusion in the MSS. of Herodotos, Stein thinks to establish the principle that, while in the present both forms were employed,  $\epsilonθέλω$  was more common, but that  $\thetaέλω$  was regularly used in such collocations as  $\muαθοῦσαι$  - - -  $\tauὸ$   $\thetaέλει$   $σημαίνειν$   $\tauὸ$   $τέρας$  I 78, cf. III 65, IV 131, V 131, VI 37, VII 8, 37, 101)<sup>5</sup>. In the imperfect and future  $\epsilonθέλω$  is certainly preferred,

<sup>1</sup> Joh. Gr. 240, Gram. Aug. 668, Birnb. 678, 1, citing  $\tauὸν$   $\thetaέλω$  -  $\deltaν$   $\thetaέλω$ .  $\thetaέλω$  was also thought to be Alexandrian. See on  $κεῖνος$ , § 564.

<sup>2</sup> On Attic inscriptions  $\epsilonθέλω$  is found until 300 B. C. The shorter form appears after 250 B. C. The Κοινή adopted  $\thetaέλω$  except in augmented forms.

<sup>3</sup> Aristarchos could save  $\epsilonθέλω$  and his theory as to its universal adoption by Homer, only by having recourse to an outrageous synizesis A 277. Cf. also  $\sigma$  3:7, and A 554.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Wilamowitz, *Herakles* II 57. Contemporary preferences from the same point of view are discernible in the history of  $βούλομαι$  and  $\epsilonθέλω$  (not in Pindar).

<sup>5</sup> VII 162  $\tauὸ$   $\epsilonθέλειν$   $λέγειν$ , Stein must brand as a spurious addition. He has no objection to  $\tauὸ$   $\deltaὲ$   $\epsilonπὶ$   $\tauούτῳ$   $\epsilonθέλει$   $λέγειν$  II 13.

but in the aorist this is not so certain. At all events it will not do to follow Bredow in rooting  $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega$  out completely. Herakleitos adopts  $\theta\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega$  in 65, 86, 91,  $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega$  in 104. Demokritos has only the former form: 53, 54, 109, (Demokrates), 144, 188 ( $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega$  in  $\Delta$ ), 236.  $\theta\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega$  appears in Littré's Hippokrates I 370 ( $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega$   $\Delta$ ), II 228 ( $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega$   $C$ ), 244, 424 ( $\Delta$ ), III 234, 242, VI 46  $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega$   $\Delta$ ), 50 ( $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega$   $\Delta$   $C$ ), VI 252 twice ( $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega$  in  $\theta$  once), VII 530, 542, 562, but in 498 Littré reads  $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega$  ( $\theta\theta$  in  $C$ ),  $\theta\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega$  III 90 ( $\theta\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega$   $D$ ). This looks as if  $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega$  had a better claim to a place in the text than that assigned it by Littré, and that it was forced out in *malice prepense*.  $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega$  is certain in VII 198, VIII 416. In Aretaios we find  $\theta\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega$  26 ( $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega$   $G$   $H$ ), 107, 255, 256 twice.

### 589.] Variation between $\gamma\acute{\iota}\gamma\alpha\mu\alpha\iota$ and $\gamma\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ .

To § 196 may be added the fact that  $\gamma\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$  occurs as early as Pindar.  $\gamma\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$  of the Common dialect is the prevailing form in Arrian, while Hippokrates<sup>1</sup>, Aretaios, Lukian's *Syria des* and *Astrologia*, the *Vita Homeri* and the pseudo-Hippokratic letters have  $\gamma\acute{\iota}\gamma\alpha\mu\alpha\iota$ . Eusebios Myndios accepts now  $\gamma\acute{\iota}\gamma\alpha\mu\alpha\iota$ , now  $\gamma\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ . The latter form should be banished from all classic Attic writers.

$\gamma\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$  *degit* was used in Ionic prose only in  $\gamma\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\mu\epsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$  (Hdt.); cf.  $\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\mu\epsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$  Sim. Am. 707.

### 590.] Varia.

References may here be made to the variation between  $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega$  and  $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega$  (§ 128),  $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\mu\omega$  and  $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\mu\omega$  (§ 129),  $\kappa\alpha\lambda\upsilon\theta\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\mu\alpha\iota$ ,  $\kappa\alpha\lambda\upsilon\theta\omega$ , and  $\kappa\alpha\lambda\upsilon\theta\acute{\epsilon}\omega$  (§ 132; Hippokrates has  $\kappa\alpha\lambda\upsilon\omega$ , as well as  $\kappa\alpha\lambda\upsilon\theta\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ , Aretaios 302  $\kappa\alpha\lambda\upsilon\theta\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\mu\alpha\iota$ ),  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\omega\mu\alpha\iota$  (§ 124, 10),  $\beta\omicron\phi\acute{\epsilon}\omega$   $\beta\upsilon\phi\acute{\epsilon}\omega$  (§ 154, where Hippokr. II 306, 456, VII 60 might have been adduced in support of the former, V 370, 374 of the latter form).  $\sigma\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega$  is Hippokratic II 426, but for  $\sigma\kappa\acute{\eta}\lambda\omega$  V 191,  $\sigma\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}\lambda\omega$  should probably be read.  $\sigma\kappa\epsilon\acute{\delta}\omega$  in Hdt. and Hippokr. is from a different root from  $\sigma\kappa\acute{\iota}\delta\eta\mu\iota$  (Hdt., Hippokr., Herakleitos, Aretaios). The latter is connected with the root of  $\sigma\chi\acute{\iota}\omega$ .  $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega\mu\alpha\iota$  occurs frequently in Hippokr. (VI 276, 330, VIII 48, 108, 242), who also uses  $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega\mu\alpha\iota$  (VII 110, VIII 42, 274). The latter is chiefly Attic.  $\tau\epsilon\tau\acute{\rho}\eta\omega$  in  $\tau\epsilon\tau\acute{\rho}\eta\epsilon\tau\omicron\iota$  Hippokr. VII 498 is a doubtful form alongside of  $\tau\epsilon\tau\acute{\rho}\alpha\iota\omega$  (Hdt., Hipponax, Aretaios).  $C$  and  $\xi$  have  $\tau\epsilon\tau\acute{\rho}\alpha\iota\epsilon\tau\omicron\iota$ .  $\delta\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega\mu\alpha\iota$ , not the poetic  $\delta\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega\mu\alpha\iota$ , is the correct form in Hdt., Demokritos and Lukian, *Syria des*, § 22.

## ACTIVE VOICE.

### 591.]

#### *Indicative Present.*

1. Verbs in  $-\acute{\iota}\omega$ . It is well-known that the Dorians, notably those of Sicily, evinced a fondness for verbs in  $-\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$  parallel to those in  $-\acute{\alpha}\omega$ , e.g.  $\sigma\iota\gamma\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$ ,  $\gamma\epsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$ ,  $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\upsilon\acute{\rho}\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega\mu\alpha\iota$ . Analogous cases from Ionic are rare:  $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\upsilon\acute{\rho}\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega\mu\alpha\iota$  Hippokr. VII 70 (Littré);  $\pi\epsilon\iota\acute{\rho}\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$   $\psi$  114,  $\pi\epsilon\iota\acute{\rho}\alpha\zeta\omicron\mu\epsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$ , the vulgate reading Hippokr. VII 546 (Littré  $\pi\epsilon\iota\acute{\rho}\alpha\sigma\alpha\mu\epsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$ ).  $\pi\epsilon\iota\acute{\rho}\eta\tau\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$  is also epic M 257, O 615.

<sup>1</sup> In the treatises of the younger school of Hippokrates,  $\gamma\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$  is frequent, e.g. IV 120, VII 198, 332, 478, 542, VIII 94, 98, 408; also in I 574.

<sup>2</sup> See Moulton in *Class. Rev.* III 45.

Verbs in -ζω are frequent in Ionic. The following are examples of such as do not occur in classic Attic prose: ἀγλαίζω Hippokr VIII 368, ἀκονάζω VII 94, ἀλυκτάζω Hdt. IX 70, ἀληθίζομαι III 72, ἀρμόζω Hippokr. I 580, II 368, but ἀρμόσσω III 558<sup>1</sup>, ἀρμόζομαι Aretaios 214, ἀτρεμίζω Hdt., Hippokr (rare in Attic) by the side of ἀτρεμέω, λακχάζω Hdt. VIII 65, μινυθίζω Hippokr. VI 118 (*A* -εω) transitive, συνρίζω Hippokr. V 378, VII 190, φώζω VI 566, χατίζω VII 558.

Herodotos uses σφάζω. σφάρτω did not come into use in Attic until ττ had supplanted σσ.

2. The presence of ἴκω in Ionic prose is open to suspicion. It is retained by Litré in Hippokrates III 238 (*ἦκω MN*), 242 (*sic MN*), V 224, but in VI 32, where the vulgate has ἀφίκει, *A* has ἀφήκει, *H* ἐφήκει. Here Litré reads ἐφήκει. Herodotos uses ἦκω only, with which ἴκω is connected in meaning but not in etymology<sup>2</sup>. As regards the objection to ἴκω in Hippokrates based upon his adoption of a verb (not employed by Herodotos) which is poetical, it may be said that in Korinthian we find ἴρομεν, C. D. I. 3119<sup>1</sup>, in the Xuthias inscription (Lakonian?) ποθίκες, Cauer 10, B 9, and in Delian ἴκον (*B. C. H.* II 579 ff.) ἀφικόμην occurs in many dialects.

3. χύω for χέω is doubtful in Aretaios 299, where *Par.* has χέον. ἀποχύσαντα from χύνω Hippokr. VIII 200 is not found in *θ* or in *C*, which have ἀποχέαι.

For some reason Eust. 154<sub>15</sub> (cf. 621<sub>48</sub>, 718<sub>80</sub>) regards as Doric δύνω for δύω, and θύνω for θύω. That the Dorians used δύνω for δύω not for δύομαι is, we believe, unvouched. So far as the form δύνω is concerned, it is frequent in Ionic, rare in Attic, prose; and Homer as well as Pindar has θύνω.

4. Examples of -ισκ added to roots ending in a vowel are χρητίζομαι Hdt., κυτίζομαι Hdt. (κυτίζω Hippokr.), ρυτίζομαι, perhaps, Archil. 142. Hdt. was probably the first to use ἀρέσκω, the only old verb in -εσκω.

## 592.]

### Future.

1. Liquid Verbs were probably inflected in the dialect of the fifth century as follows:—

μενέω (-έω)	μενέομεν (-εὔμεν)
μενεῖς	μενεῖτε
μενεῖ	μενέουσι (-εὔσι)

<sup>1</sup> Hippokr has λατράσσω.

<sup>2</sup> The most recent discussion of the relation of the two verbs will be found in Johansson's *Beiträge zur gr. Sprachkunde*, p. 62 ff.

The adoption of the liquid future form in the active does not of course necessitate the appearance of the liquid stem in the middle forms. Thus Herodotos has κερδανέω, but κερδήσομαι (the only future middle form of this verb, and that not found in Attic).

The following examples may serve to illustrate the paradigms given above:—

A. ἐρέω<sup>1</sup> Hdt. II 38, IV 129, VI 43, IX 42, Hippokr. II 52, 58, VII 490, VII 550 (but ἐρῶ VII 530)<sup>2</sup>, Lukian *Syr. dea* 27, 36, cf. ἐρέω Archil. 79<sub>2</sub>, 89<sub>1</sub>, Hipponax 21 A, ἐρῶ Theog. 1236; ὀνομανέω Hdt. IV 47, σημανέω I 75, 209, IV 127, VI 39, περανέω Hippokr. VII 496, ἀποφανέω VII 542, 548, VIII 408, τέμνω IV 630 (the future of τέμνω is unusual).

B. In Hdt. we usually find -έεις, e.g. ἀπολέεις VIII 60 (ἀπολείς Theog. 36, 245), κερδανέεις I 35, ἀποβαλέεις I 71, διατετρανέεις III 12. ἐρεῖς occurs in all the MSS. VIII 100.

C. ἐρεῖ Mimn. 7<sub>4</sub>, Theog. 22, 492, ὀλεῖ Tyrt. 3, ἀπολεῖ Theog. 1104, 'πιαλεῖ is a conjecture of Bergk, Hipponax 21 B, κατανανεῖ Archil. 61 (or -έει?)<sup>3</sup>. In the MSS. of Herodotos the open forms prevail, e.g. ἀπολέει I 34, διαφθερέει V 51. Hippokrates has ἐρέει VII 478, but ὑγιανεῖ VI 662 (θ), πταρεῖ VIII 484. In Herakl. 26 Hippolytos has κρινεῖ (Bywater κρινέει), in Melissos 10 Simplicius has περανεῖ (Mullach -έει). From the pseudo-Ionists we note ἐκφανέει Lukian, *Syr. dea* 32, εὐφρανέει *Astr.* 29, προφανέει, ἐρέει Euseb. Mynd. 63. Compare -ιέει in -ίζω verbs with -έει in liquid verbs.

D. ἐρέομεν Hdt. IV 118, μενέομεν IV 119, VII 141, κερδανέομεν VIII 60.

E. ὑπομενέουσιν Hdt. IV 4 (Attic -οῦσιν *Cd*), VII 101, ἐρέουσιν Hippokr. VII 440; ἀμυννεῦσιν Hdt. IX 6.

2. Verbs in -ίζω. From verbs in -ίζω of more than two syllables we find numerous instances of the forms devoid of the sigma, e.g. in Hdt. κατακοντιέει IX 17, κοιμιέει II 121 (γ), νομιεῦμεν II 17 (not -οῦμεν, the Attic form which Stein has adopted from the MSS.); in Hippokr. ἀφανιεῖ VI 360, ἐρεθιεῖ IV 346, παρακαθιεῖ VII 608 (cf. Hdt. IV 190 κατίσουσιν), φροντιεῖς Epist. IX 334 (φροντίζης *vulgo*). ἐμφανίσει, on an inscription from Priene (Brit. Mus. III 1, no. 421<sub>19</sub>), is Hellenistic.

The future in -ίω has driven out the older form in -ίω (cf. *διδάω*). -ίω, which was extremely common in liquid verbs, was substituted for the -ω of -ίω.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Tzetzes *Ex. II.* 118<sub>9</sub>.

<sup>2</sup> The unique *ἐρῶ* may be correct VII 448.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Hephaist. p. 88. The active form of this verb does not occur in the best Attic prose; in fact the verb is poetic and Ionic.



3. 'Attic Futures.' διασκεδᾷς Hdt. VIII 68 (β), cf. σκεδάσεις Theog. 883; ἀποδοκιμᾷ I 199 may possibly be present, but is probably future; δικᾶν I 97 but δικασόμενοι I 96, as always in Attic. δοκιμᾷ, δικᾶν are analogues of ὀλέσ(σ)ω: ὀλέω, &c. On ἐλᾷς, ἐλῶσι, see under the next section.

4. Short stem vowels in the Future. In the first of the following lists are given only those cases (active and middle) from post-Homeric Ionic in which *sigma* was the final consonant of the stem. No verb with a dental stem is here included. In the second list are enumerated the analogues of the first class. See under the Aorist.

*Sigmatic Stems.* ἀρκέω Hippokr. IV 282; θλάω Hippokr. VII 276 (ἐνθλάσσει in θ); κορέω Hdt. I 212, 214 (ἐπὶ κορέω); πτόω Hippokr. IX 70, πτύσσομαι II 396, VI 198, VIII 98, 100; σπῶω Hdt. VII 136, Hippokr. VI 534 σπάσσομαι).

For φλάσει the reading adopted in Hippokrates by Kühn (III 358), we read with Littré the present φλάῃ (III 218 L).

From analogy with the above verbs we find the following with short vowel before *sigma*, where the stem ending was originally vocalic.

*Non-Sigmatic Stems.* ἐπαινέω Sim. Am. 7111, -ήσω Theog. 93, v. L. -εσσ-; but βήσσομαι Hippokr. II 334; ἐλαύνω: ἐλάσει Hippokr. VI 342, VII 348, 428, Hdt. I 207 (ἐλᾷς, ἐλῶσι), V 52 (διεξελεῖς); ἐμέω Hippokr. VII 28, VIII 16 ἐμίσω, II 184, VI 42 (ἐμέομαι, cf. ὀμέομαι &c.); [εἰρύσει adopted by Ermerins in Hippokr. VI 198 (Littré) is not supported by θ]. καλέω Hdt. III 74 has καλέσειν, Bredow, Veitch, with R, other MSS. -λέσειν, which is adopted by Stein and Holder. Where the participle occurs after πέμπω it may be present (cf. VII 15 and 152). καλῶ in Attic is better than καλέσω, which in inscriptions does not appear till the second century. Cf. καλέων § 532. [μάχομαι yields μαχήσσομαι Hdt. IV 125, 127 bis, VII 102, R v, -εσ- A B 82, 103 (A B P C R, -εσ- d 2), 209 bis (-εσ- z), VIII 26; epic μαχέομαι, and μαχήσσομαι as Solon 2, Attic μαχοῦμαι. See on the aorist]; ὀλλυμι Hdt. I 34, VI 91 bis, VIII 60, IX 18 (ὀλέω), VII 209, VIII 57, 69, IX 42 (ὀλέομαι). ὀλῶ is called Ionic in Anecd. Par. IV 6711; ὀξω Hippokr. VIII 424, 488 (Attic -ήσω,; πορεύω Hippokr. IV 512 (?); but πορήσω is certain in I 598, VIII 16, 30, without regard to the grammatical distinction that πορεύω expresses bodily pain; φθάνω Hippokr. VII 134 (φθάσω) may be mentioned on account of epic φθίσσομαι; χαλάω Hippokr. II 36, V 436.

5. *Varia.* Hdt. and Hippokr. have both σχήσω and ῥέω. The former has not yet appeared on any Ionic or Attic inscription. Cf. § 607, 6. ἀνέξω in Archil. 82 may be noted as being the only case of this form of ἀνέχω in early Greek. For τίσσωντες Hdt. III 14 we should write τείσωντες, cf. § 214. Hdt. has δέξω, e. g. VIII 80, and the poetical δοκήσω only once (IV 74). On δέξω, see § 142. Rare forms are ᾤδήσω Hdt. V 39; ἐξαμαρτήσω Hippokr. II 420, 81- IX 264 (late); ἀποπατήσω Hippokr. VII 100; Foes and Ermerins read ἀπαντήσαι for ἀπαντήσθαι of the MSS. IV 264, though usually Hippokr. uses the future after ὅπως (ἀπαντήσω is otherwise late); κρήσει V 686 is doubtful, but εἰρήσω VII 448, probably correct. A future γνώσω may not be defended on



the score of the vulgate VIII 416 (read γνέσθ). θαυμάσω, VII 530, is unusual in Attic; so too the uncompounded χαρήσω in Hdt. and Hippokr. (χαρήσομαι is not found in Homer or Ionic prose). On ἐσάσει in Hippokr., see § 593, 2.

## 598.]

*First Aorist.*

## 1. Verbs in -αίνω, -αίρω.

Verbs in -αίνω form their aorists in -ηνα.

Examples are ἰσχυρήνα Hdt. III 24, Hippokr. III 316 (-άνα Galen), ἐκέρδηνα Hdt. VIII 5 (ἐκέρδανεν in R), ἐκοίληνα II 73, to mention only those in which Attic regularly adopts -άνα from the analogy of the -ραίνω class. σημαίνω yields ἐσήμηνα<sup>1</sup> in Ionic, and this is the proper form in Attic, though ἐσήμανα appears several times in Xenophon. ἐφαίνω yields ἔφηνα, not ἔφανα, which is the reading of R d in Hdt. II 122.

From -αίνω we have ἐχλίηνα Hippokr. VII 388, but Attic χλιδάνα VII 150, ἐμίηνα VI 112. From λε(ι)αίνω, ἐλείηνα Hippokr. VIII 360, ἐλέηνα Hdt. I 200, VIII 142. Verbs in -ραίνω. From ξηραίνω we have ἐξήρηνα in Hdt. VII 109 (-ανε R d), Hippokr. V 476. The -άνα forms are, however, more usual: ἀνξήρην<sup>2</sup> φ 347 (thus Aristarchos, ἐξαναίρη Aristoph.), ἐξήρανα Hdt. II 99 (in all MSS.), Hippokr. V 104, τετραρίνω yields τετρήρας in Hipponax 56, Aretaïos 131; ῥαίνω, ἔρρηνα in Hippokrates VI 128, III 486. The -άνα forms above mentioned, so far from representing (as J. Schmidt K. Z. XXVII 322 thinks) an original -άνα (in contradistinction to -ηνα from -άνα), are merely Atticisms. -ηνα is original in Ionic and the direct descendant of -άνα in all cases. In later times in Attic -άνα forced an entrance into verbs which did not have ε, ι, or ρ in the stem. This extension of -άνα is not so much a Dorism (as Curtius suggested), as due to the operations of analogy in Attic itself. The proper Ionic form is ἐκάθηρα, which is found in Hdt. I 41, 44, Hippokr. II 644, VI 212, VII 24, 242, VIII 304. The Attic by-form ἐκάθαρα appears in A B in Hdt. IV 26, where R is correct, in R b d s in I 45, and in Hippokr. II 418 (in all MSS.). The only example on inscriptions of δ for η in these aorists is ἐκάθαρα C. I. A. II 1054, 8 (347 B. C.), Delos B. C. H. V 468 (third century), *ibid.* VI 23, line 185, 24, l. 194 (second century). Attic inscriptions of 329 B. C. have ἐκάθηρα.

## 2. Apparent variation between dental and guttural stems.

As early as Homer<sup>3</sup> we encounter a confusion in -ζω verbs between these two classes of stems, which led to the adoption of σ in the future and aorist of such verbs as ἀπράζω (by analogy

<sup>1</sup> ἐσήμανα, Aldus in Hdt. III 106, R in IV 179. σημάφ[αντι] C. I. A. III 30, 4 (first century B. C.) is the only occurrence in Attic inscriptions of the aorist.

<sup>2</sup> This is the only case of an aorist in -άνα in Homer. There are 69 cases of -ηνα. The Townley scholiast on φ 347 says: θερμήν μὲν φησιν, ἀλλ' ἐδ ξηρήν διὰ τὸ κατέφωρον. See Lobeck, *Phrynichus*, p. 24 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See Caer in *Sprachwissenschaftliche Untersuchungen hervorgegangen aus G. Curtius' Grammatischer Gesellschaft*, p. 129 ff.

with δικάζω or the like). In the Doric dialects the formations from guttural stems (e.g. καθιζει, συμπαιζοῦνται, ἥρμοξα) gained the upper hand and almost entirely displaced those in σ. In post-Homeric Ionic there are a few examples of the displacement of the dental stems.

ἀρπάζω yields ἥρπαξα (cf. ἀρπαγή, ἀρπακτήρ) and ἥρπασα in Homer. In Hdt. VIII 28, IX 60, we find ἀρπάσομαι, in II 156 etc., ἥρπασα (in all fourteen times), I 1, 4, VII 191 ἥρπασθην, but ἥρπάχθην in II 90 (ἀρπασθείς *Rd*), VII 169 (ἀρπασθείσαν *R*), VIII 115 (ἀρπαχθῆναι all MSS.) There can be no doubt that the forms with σ are to be everywhere adopted. Attic, too, uniformly accepted ἀρπάσω, -ομαι, ἥρπασα, ἥρπασθην.

In the fourth book of the pseudo-Hippocratic tractate *περὶ νόσων*, and not elsewhere, we meet with the aorist forms ἐδάσειν VII 550, 552, 554, 556, ἐδάσαι 558, and the futures ἐδάσει and ἐδάσειν 568. These, the vulgate, forms were generally adopted by Kühn, and derived by him and Foes from σάσσω. See Veitch, p. 582. For the single σ an analogy was, or might be, sought in πλάσω IV 346, ἐπλάσα Sum. Amorg. 7η, Hdt. II 70; ἐδάσειν cannot, however, come from σάσσω because of the augment; and if from ἐσάσσω (which does not occur elsewhere), we encounter the difficulty of an ἐσ- put for ἐσσ- in literary monuments, examples of which abbreviation we desiderate. The forms above mentioned must be separated from σάσσω:—(1) because that verb yields ἔσαξα in VIII 440, Hdt. I 194, III 7, &c. (2) because the meaning is inappropriate. Kühn, to be sure, translates ἐδάσειν by *graverit*, Littré, who displaces the vulgate for the strange form ἐδάσειν, &c., translates by *sentir* in all passages but one (VII 558 *répétition*).

δάσειν, first suggested (but rejected) by Bredow, was adopted by Ermerina. The occurrence of Homeric words in the tractate *περὶ νόσων* is common enough (cf. χαρίζω 558, ἐπαυρίσκω 558, ἀκικυς 564), but it is difficult to see how δάσειν could have been so corrupted. It is better to read ἐδάσειν from δάω; cf. ἐσάδουσι 552 where *EK* have ἐσάδουσι. In 568 we must accept ἐσάσει for ἐδάσει, ἐσάσειν for ἐδάσειν. The original present is δάω, and δάω is an aorist (Schulze *K. Z.* XXIX 250, Hdt. IX 93 has ἐπῆσε, ἐπῆσε *ABC*).

ἐξωνείρωσε the vulgate in Hippokr. V 196, where *CDHIK* have -ασε, should be derived from ἐξωνείρω. Littré reads -ωξε. A guttural stem in the verbs in -ωσσω denoting a disease is rare; but Plato has *δρεῖρωξις*, Aristotle *δρεῖρωγμός*. Cf. ἀμβλυάσσω and ἀμβλυωγμός.

μόζω has in Homer the aorist ἐπέμυζεν Δ 20 = Θ 457. In Hippokr. V 106 the vulgate ἐμυσεν ἐμυσσεν *HIK* has been regarded as a case of the confusion of a δ with a guttural stem. But after δάβε εἴη, ἐμυξε is clearly right. On the same page, further down, *J* has ἐμυσσε, *DG* ἐμυξε, where only the imperfect is correct.

For ἐπύρεσε from πυρέσσω have a fever, which Kühn adopts, Littré accepts ἐπυρέτηνεν V 150, and the imperf. ἐπύρεσσε V 216, 230. σ forms in aorist active and passive of εἰλίσσω have been discarded by Littré.

There are not a few cases where later Ionic refuses to permit the substitution of σ, which was adopted by the post-classical (not Doric) language, e.g. στηρίξω, ἐστήριξα, -άμην in Hippokr.

ἀρμόζω has a dental stem, despite ἀρμότης.

Conversely we have the guttural where -σ- was in place. ἐπέσα occurs in Hdt. IX 63, Hippokr. III 436, IV 386 etc., but in III 434 πέξης is the vulgate reading (here C and other MSS. have πέξης, whence Littré πέξης); πεπείσμαι Hippokr. II 270, V 196, VII 520, but πεπείγμαι III 432 bis, 436, 450, 560; ἐπέσθην VI 368, Hdt. IV 11 (not πιασθέντας), but ἐπέχθην Hippokr. III 324, 434, &c. Hippokr. used πέξις for πέσις III 434, 560, IV 272.

Ktesias, *Pers.* 29, 59 has a form not Ionic in παίλασα. Hdt. has πέπαισται (cf. Eust. 1594<sub>46</sub>). παιζοῦνται Xenoph. *Symp.* 9, 2 is well put into the mouth of a Syrakusan.

ἐναρίζω forms its future and aorist in Homer in ξ; and in O. K. 1733 (ch.) we find ἐπενάριζον. ἠνάρισεν in Anakreon's (?) eleg. 100, as well as Hipponax' (42) ἀπηναρίσθη and κατηναρισμένος in *Aias* 26 point to a dental stem. ἐναρίζω, like πολεμίζω, is made from an o stem, and both have adopted ξ by analogy to στίζω, &c.

αἰδάξω would seem to have a dental stem properly (cf. αἰδάω); yet we find ἠδαξάμην Hdt. II 57, V 51, and similar forms elsewhere. The verb seems to fall into the class of those in -ξω which express sustained sounds. βάζω speak, certainly is derived from the stem βακ-, whence ἐμβιβάζοντες Hipponax 53 (ἐμβιβάζω). ἀλθέξονται (sic) Aret. 157 is from ἀλθέσσω, ἀλθεσθήναι Hippokr. IV 126 from ἄλθομαι.

νέναγμαι, Hippokr. VII 520, is probably derived from a guttural stem; cf. ἑναξα φ 122, Hdt. VII 36. νένασμαι (MSS. Ekkles. 840), if correct, has -σμαι by analogy. Dindorf has νεναγμένοι. σπαδίξας in Hdt. V 25 has the stem σπαδικ-.

3. Short stem vowels before the sigma of the aorist. The short vowel is properly in place only in those primitive or denominative verbs whose stem ended originally in σ, and whose aorist (and future) σσ has, partly even in Homer, suffered a reduction to a single σ. Thus ἔξεσα represents ἔξεσ-σα, ἠκεσάμην, ἠκεσ-σάμην. This aorist is an inheritance from proethnic times<sup>1</sup>, and thus the property of all the dialects. The later Ionic like Attic uniformly adopted the forms with a single σ, which in Homer coexist with those in σσ.

It is a matter of extreme difficulty to decide in all cases

<sup>1</sup> The σσ aorist has been compared by Bezenberger in *B. B.* III 159 with the Skt. aorist in -sisham. The original inflection was in the singular -σση, in the plural -σσην. Sanskrit (cf. *aydsisham*) extended the singular forms into the plural, while in Greek the plural gained the upper hand over the singular forms. See also Fick in *G. G. A.*, 1881, p. 1429, Mahlow *K. Z.* XXVI 584, Schulze *K. Z.* XXIX 266, and in opposition Brugmann *M. U.* III 83, who assents to the view of Leskien in Curtius' *Studien* II 67. Another view is brought forward by Fröhde, *B. B.* IX 115. See also Curtius' *Verbum* II 394. Johanson *D. V. G.* 207, Solmsen *K. Z.* XXIX 105.

whether or not a stem ended in *sigma*<sup>1</sup>. Some of the verbs arranged below as non-sigmatic stems are classed by Brugmann, *Grundr.* II § 842, with those whose sigmatic ending is beyond doubt. Thus ἀλέω, ἐμέω and καλέω are referred (though doubtfully) by Brugmann to the first class; so too στορέω and εἰρύω.

By analogy with the verbs with stems in *sigma* (or in a dental mute), σσ(σ) effected an entrance into verbs with vocalic stems<sup>2</sup>. Thus we have ἐκάλε-σσα by analogy with ἐτέλεσ-σα, and ἐκάλεσα = ἐτέλεσα, as we have ἐπέεσαι, φερόντεσαι with -εσαι borrowed from στήθεσ-σι, ἔπες-σι. Such forms as καλέ-σσαι, ὁμό-σσαι appear, so far as the literary monuments are concerned, chiefly in the Homeric poems and in the literature dependent upon Homeric diction. In the dialects they are confined entirely to that branch of the Aiolians which settled in Lesbos and the adjacent mainland; though no reason may readily be discovered for any such restriction. If it was possible for Aiolic, it was possible for all the dialects in a primitive period to have conformed the inflection of καλέω to that of τελέω.

It has been held by some scholars<sup>3</sup> that originally all verbs with vocalic stems had -σσ, whether the vowel was long or short. This hypothesis would lead to the assumption that λῦσαι was formed from \*λῦσσαι by a law operative in all the dialects in the earliest period of their existence, and that καλέσσαι became καλέσαι in earlier or later periods of the dialect life of the language. That is, that Aiolic and Homeric Greek still represent the primitive, the other dialects a later stage of development. Of these contentions the latter at least may be demonstrated to be erroneous. Dialects other than Aiolic, which uniformly retain σσ after a short vowel in verbs in dental or sigmatic stems, show no trace of σσ in vocalic stems, either in their earliest or their latest monuments. Where the preceding vowel was long, as in λῦσαι, the non-expulsion of σ is due to the analogy of \*ἐλυσ-ι, \*ἐλυστ, &c.

As in the case of sigmatic, so in that of vocalic stems, the later Ionic refuses to adopt the σσ of the Homeric dialect.

In the development of the inflection of vocalic stems on the lines of those ending in σ, we may observe that the -σσ (σ) readily found a place in such verbs as had a root or stem of two syllables, such as ὤλε-σα. Much more noteworthy are those cases in which -εσ-, not -ησ-, appears in verbs derived from nouns with ο stems and those that form some of their tenses by the addition of ε to the stem. Many of the latter verbs present considerable difficulty, unless we throw them all into the class

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Solmsen, *K. Z.* XXIX 90 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The cause of this transference by analogy has not as yet been satisfactorily explained. Between ἐτέλεσ-σα and ἐκάλε-σσα there is not absolute equality; and ἐκάλεσσα, as is shown in the note, is not original. The analogy assumed cannot have been effective until ἐτέλεσσα was reduced to ἐτέλεσα.

<sup>3</sup> Mahlow, *K. Z.* XXVI 585, Hoffmann, *G. G. A.*, 1889, p. 880.

represented by ἔλεσα; but in some cases it may easily be shown that the -εσ- forms are late, that is, formed on the lines of ἐτέλεσα (or in some cases on the analogy of verbs of like function) in the post-Homeric, but pre-Herodoteian period. Such occurrences as show earlier -ησ- for later -εσ- are noted in the two lists which are given below. Conversely we sometimes find in the later dialect the original, in the earlier the later form, *e.g.* Herodoteian ἐστέρησα, Homeric ἐστέρεσα. Herodotos does not always show short vowel + σ where Homer has short vowel + σ or σσ.

The two lists contain only such examples of aorists (active and middle) with a short vowel before σ, as we have observed in post-Homeric Ionic literature. As far as was possible, there has been included no aorist which may be ascribed to a present, actually existing or supposed, in -ζω<sup>1</sup> or -θω. A δ stem, too, has σ, not the epic σσ, in the later dialect, *e.g.* ἐκόμισαν Hdt. V 98, ἐκομίσαντο Iasos 1057.

*Sigmatic Stems.* ἀκέομαι Hdt. IV 90, Hippokr. IV 368, VI 588; ἀρέσκω Hdt. III 63 (Homer -σ- and -σσ-, Theog. 762 ἀρεσσάμενοι); ἀρτέω Hdt. II 115; γελάω Hdt. VIII 114 (ἐγέλασσε Theog. 9); (ἀμφι)έννυμι Hippokr. VII 194; ἔραμαι: Archil. 30 ἠράσσατο (cf. ἠρήσατο Lukian, *Syria dea* 17, from ἔραω). Cf. § 372. In Homer we find ἠρασάμην and ἠρᾶσάμην. ζέω Hdt. I 59, VII 13, Hippokr. VII 158, 354, VIII 434; ζώννυμι Hippokr. IV 122; κερέννυμι Theog. 1158, Solon 1373; κεράννυμι Hdt. V 124, VII 151, Hippokr. I 578, VII 348, 422 (cf. κρήσας VII 254, κέκρημαι I 600, II 270, Hdt. III 106, ἐκρήθη Hippokr. I 616, Hdt. IV 152); [το μαίομαι has been referred by some ἐσμασάμενος in Hippokr. IV 198; this would if correct be the only occurrence in prose (cf. Hom. ἐσεμᾶσσαντο). Since Erotian glossed the word with ἐμβαλόν, and Galen has ἐμβαλόμενος, it is much more probable that it is derived from ἐσμάσσω. Cf. VIII 148 where the participle occurs a second time]; μέω Hippokr. V 234 (ἐμῶσα); ξέω Hippokr. VII 276; [ποθέω: Hdt. IX 22 ἐπόθεσαν as in Homer O 219, β 375, δ 748, but III 36 ἐπόθησε and ἐπιποθήσειν V 93, with which cf. ἐπόθησα, ποθήσω in Xenophon, &c.; ποθέσομαι, ἐπόθεσα are also Attic. ποθεινός is probably not an analogical formation. ἐπόθεστος ρ 296 is ἐπό-θεστος not ἐ-πόθεστος]; πτέω Hippokr. IV 218, V 406, VI 184, VII 82 (θ); στᾶω Hdt. III 29, Hippokr. VI 210, 212. Aretaios 103 has the strange form στῆσαι; τελέω Hippokr. III 420 (the rare middle); τρέω Tyrt. 11, 11, Hdt. VII 231, a verb not often found in early prose; φλάω Hippokr. III 218, VII 158.

*Non-Sigmatic Stems.* αλέω Hdt. I 80, 90, V 113, Thasos 720. The form with η is morphologically and chronologically older. φῆνσα Homer, Theog. 969; ἀλέω Hippokr. VI 454, VII 170, 266 (Homer ἄλεσσα); ἀνέω: Hdt. I 91 φῆνεν;

<sup>1</sup> Curtius was prone to the method of defending the aorists with short vowel which referred the forms in question to supposed presents in -ζω. Thus, because it was derived from \*προκαλέζω, he regarded προκαλίσσεναι, H 218, as a more archaic form than προκαλίζεναι Γ 19. So γελάω he derived from \*γελάζω, ἐλκυσθῆναι from \*ἐλκίζω. Apart from these errors, it is, in fact, oftentimes difficult to set aside with certainty the reference to a δ or θ stem.



ἡνύσατο, Hippokr. IX 420, is now abandoned in Hdt. I 91; δαίσομαι Hdt. VIII 121, II 4, VII 121; ἐλαύνω Hdt. I 59, I 77. Sim. Am. 17 has ἡλσάμην which Veitch (p. 240, cf. p. 224) puts under the head of ἐλαύνω regarding it as a syncopated form. It rather belongs to ἔλσσω A 413; cf. Ibykos 55; ἐλκύνω Hdt. I 179, II 65, VII 167 (not ἐλκύνω, Hippokr. VI 46, IV 106; ἐμέω Hdt. I 133, Hippokr. II 696, VII 12, 28, 60, 86, 100, 110, 112, 194, 288, &c. many cases); ἐμέσεται II 494, a rare form (ἐμέσεται fut., Ermerins with A C; ἐπερήμησα occurs in VII 10, 30, 32 (rejected by Veitch); εἰρώω Hdt. I 141, II 38, 136, III 30, IV 10, VII 24, VIII 96, IX 96, Hippokr. VI 166, 172, 194, 198, VII 16 (εἰρώσωσι and ἐρώσωσι on the same page are read by Littré. For the latter H has ἐρώσωσι), VII 552, VIII 108. Hdt. IV 8 and Arrian, *Ind.* 38, have εἰρσάμενος. (Leskien, Curtius, and Brugmann regard the stem of ἐρώω as ἐρσ-); ἰλδοσκομαι Hdt. I 67, VIII 112; καλέω Hdt. II 107, VI 67; κρεμάννυμι (late) Hdt. V 77, IX 120, Hippokr. IV 86 (IV 290 not κρεμάσεται with Galen, but κρέμνεται). This may be from the stem κρεμασ-. μάχομαι in the future has μαχήσομαι in Hdt. The aorist form is, however, ἐμαχεσάμην, e.g. I 18, 82 and in about ten other passages. διαμαχεσώμεθα IX 48 is the only example of the aor. subj., μεθύσκω Hdt. I 106; ὄζω Hippokr. VIII 488 Attic ὄζησα represents the original form); δαλνυμι, Hdt. II 121 (δ) where προσπολίειν, not -έσει, is correct, III 36; δμνυμι Hdt. I 165, Zeleia 113<sub>10</sub>; πετάννυμι Hdt. III 146; πατέω Hippokr. V 696 (A D), VI 146 (-η- in θ), 164 (-η- in E other hand, 176 -η- in θ), 184 (-η- vulgo), but ἐπόνησα II 322 (-ε- vulgo), VI 290; πατήσατο Sim. Am. 713; ἐπόνησα is morphologically and chronologically (Homer older than ἐπόνησα; σπορέννυμι (late) Hdt. VIII 99, IX 69; ταύω Hdt. V 25, Hippokr. VIII 458 (rare in prose). The present ταρνύω cannot be defended (see Veitch). φθάω, cf. § 592, 4; χαλέω Hippokr. V 258, 390.

4. *Varia.* On ἔδεξα, see § 142, on ἔτεισα, § 214, where it might have been noted that the present in the inscription from Zeleia is ἐκτίσω (113<sub>11</sub>, 11). With this variation between present and aorist, we may compare that in Kretan: τίρω, τίνομαι, but τεισεῖ, &c. τεινύτω occurs in B. C. H. IX 11. The Hippocratic διέρσαι is difficult of defence; see §§ 224, 6, and 382.

Aorists in -α. From καίω we have ἔκαυσα Hdt. VIII 33 ἔκαυσάμην I 202, VIII 19, a form found here only; cf. epic ἐκηάμην), Hippokr. VII 242, 424. The epic ἔκην in Hippokr. V 216 (vulgo ἔκυν is noteworthy, both on account of its appearance in prose (in the sense of κατακαίει III 258), and because of the retention of the η. ἔκαα < ἔκαη occurs in an Attic prose inscription (C. I. A. I 324, A I 43, C II 13) of the year 408 B. C.<sup>1</sup>; and is the Old Attic literary form (tragedy and in a chorus in Aristoph.) ἔκαυσα appears in a later Attic inscription, and in Thukydidea, Plato, &c. In connexion with the use of the first aorist in Ionic literary prose, it may be noted that ἐκάην was adopted by Ionic (Hdt. II 107, 180, IV 79, Hippokr. V 214, VI 330, VIII 200), but not by Attic.

χέω yields ἔχεα Hdt. VIII 57, Hippokr. VII 422. The epic ἔχεεν appears in Archil. 103, (epod.), which Fick wrongly attempted to displace by ἔχευσεν, a form that does not occur till the Anthology ἔχευσα in Homer has long been abandoned (cf. v. l. H 86, Ψ 45): so too ἐποχύσας Hippokr. VIII 200. Hdt. and Hippokr. have ἐχέαμην, which is a rare form in early prose. Other -α aorists are ἤνεκα, on which see § 608, and εἶπα.

δ should be noted in the following: Attic ἐξέρδω; Hippokr. VII 96, from

<sup>1</sup> ἐγκέ[αρι], not ἐγκή[αρι], as G. Meyer, *Gram.* § 527, writes.

*ἐξέρπει pour out.* In *ἐγέρπει* Hdt. II 146, VII 114, *γεγέρπει* Hrd. 6<sub>34</sub> we observe an *ε* which recurs in *γηράσμεν* Sim. Keos 85, (eleg.), for which Bergk regarded *γηρησέμεν* as the proper Ionic form. But *ρη* never appears in this verb. May we assume that the Ionic *ρᾶ* is due to the influence of *ἐγέρᾶ* in Hom. and Hdt. VI 72 and the *ρᾶ* of *γῆρας*, *γηράσκω*? *ἐγέρᾶ* is an imperfect in form rather than an aorist (=Skt. *ajārti*), though *γηράω* in the present is not attested before Xenophon. If an aorist we should expect \**ἐγέρη* (cf. *ἔβρη*). We may assume as the present *γέρᾶμι* (*γηράς* P 197) which in the imperfect (*ἐγέρᾶ*) was inflected as a contract-verb. *ἐγέρᾶ* became an aorist because of the disappearance of *γέρᾶμι*, and the general use of *γηράσκω* (Hom., Sim. Am. 7<sub>33</sub>, Hdt.). In H 148, P 197, § 67, Hdt. II 146 *ἐγέρᾶ* has the aoristic function. We are unable to observe the shade of difference in use between *γηράω* (*γῆρας*) and *γηράσκω* (*γῆραςις*) noted by Ammonios. On *γηρεῖς*, see § 636, 2.

It is generally believed that in *παλήσειε* VIII 21, Herodotos has preserved the only<sup>1</sup> occurrence of a verb *παλέω* = *παλαίω*. *ἐκπαλήσειν* Hippokr. III 552, *ἐκπαλήση* IV 240, which were formerly referred to this present, are, we believe, now regarded by most scholars as derived from an *ἐκπαλέω* < *ἐκπαλῆς*, which is to be connected with *πάλ-λω*. If *παλήσειε* is from *παλέω*, the latter must be held to be an 'Ionic' form, and placed in the same category as *έρειν*, *τολμέω*, &c. But nothing prevents us from deriving *παλήσειε* from *παλάω* and regarding the latter as the denominative of *πάλη*. *παλαίω* is not a denominative from *πάλη*, as Curtius, *Verbum* I 340, held, because of the retention of *ε* as *ι* before *ω*. Whether Aiolic *πάλαιμι* (Hdn. II 930<sub>3</sub>) is anything more than the equivalent of *παλάω* may well be doubted. That this Aiolic form is the *πάλαιμι* which is set up by some as the original form, which was changed to *παλαίω* from the analogy of \**κραῖμι*, *κραίω*, is out of the question. The source of verbs in *-αίω*, some of which have parallels in *-άω*, e. g. *χαλαίω*, *σταλαίω*, is still under dispute. Cf. Johansson, *D. V. G.* 176, who maintains that *παλαίω* has followed the lines of development of such primitives as *κραίω*, *φαίω*; and latterly, Solmsen in *K. Z.* XXIX 98, who thinks *παλαίω* is from \**παλαίω-ω*, *παλήσειε* from *παλήω*. These two forms are, Solmsen contends, amplifications of the root *παλ* by *-αις* and *-η*.

The first aorist *ἀνέγνωσα* is found only in Ionic prose, and only in the sense *persuaded*<sup>2</sup>, e. g. Hdt. I 68, &c., Hippokr. IV 80. The present *ἀναγνώσκω* is also employed as the present of *ἀνέγνωσα* (cf. Hdt. VII 10 (θ)), but is not, like that aorist, confined to Ionic. *ἀναγνωσμένοι ἦσαν*, Hdt. VIII 110, occurs in the meaning *had been persuaded*, *ἀναγνωσθεῖς* = *ἀναπεισθεῖς*, IV 154.

*συνάξαντες* Hdt. VII 60, if from *ἔγω*, is the only example in the Ionic of Hdt. of the first aorist. The preferable reading is *συνάξαντες* from *συνάδωμι*.

<sup>1</sup> Hesychios has, looking to the passage in Hdt., *παλήσειε διαφθορεῖη*; and also *ἐπάλλησεν ἐφθάρη* (where *ἐπάλλησεν* is to be read), *πεπαλημένοι ἐκπεσῶ* (in Photios = *ἐκπίπτειν τὰ πλοῖα*), *πεπαλημένοι βεβλαμμένοι*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Greg. Kor. § 95. The schol. on Dionys. Thrax in Villosion's *Anecd. Graec.* II 179 erroneously states that *ἀνέγνωσεν* means *persuaded*, in Hdt. I 87, where *ἀνέγνω* is wrongly cited for *ἀνέγνωσε*. Bast quotes from the Et. Leidens. *ἀνάγνωσις . . . παρὰ δὲ Θουκυδίδῃ ἡ ἀναπεισις, καὶ ἀναγνώσκω τὸ ἀνατεῖθαι* (!). Suidas' remark (s. v. *ἀνάγνωσις*): *ἀναγινώσκειν παρὰ ῥήτορι ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀνατεῖθαι* refers to Andokides. M. Schmidt refers the Hesychian gloss *ἀναγνῶναι ἀναπειῖν* to Hippokrates IV 80, where we read *ἀναγνῶσαι*. Erotian and Galen have *ἀναγνῶναι μεταπειῖν, μεταδιδέξαι*. Hesychios has also *ἀναγινώσκω πείθειν*.

Instances of aorists formed from a stem with the increment *e* or otherwise noteworthy are:—*ἐφθίγησα* Hippokr. V 468, *ἐκέρθησα* Hdt. IV 152, *καθενδῆσαι* Hippokr. VII 198, a verb rarely employed in prose. An unusual form in early Greek is *ἔζησα* Hippokr. II 112; *ῆσα*, Anakt. 148, is rare (Pollux III 98: *ῆδω* Ἴωνικόν καὶ τὸ ῆσε (vulgo ῆδε) σπάνιον μὲν παρ' ἡμῖν, Ἀνακρέων δ' αὐτὸ εἰρηκεν, Ἴων καὶ ποιητὴς ἀνὴρ). From *ἀφάσσω* we have *ῆφασα* (*ἄφασον* Hdt. III 69. Littré's emendation *ἀφασσῆσθαι*, Hippokr. VII 326, would imply a confusion with *ἀφάω* (or a verb *ἀφασσάω*). *θ* has *σαφάσση*, Vat. *ἐσσαφῆσση*, whence Ermerins *ἐσαφάσση*.

### 594.] Second Aorist.

*τάμνω* (§ 129) yields *ἔτεμον* in inscriptions, but Herodotos has *ἔταμον* II 162, IV 201, VII 132, &c. In III 69 the inscriptional form is well supported. Hippokrates has *ἔταμον*, e.g. VII 70, 152. *ὠφλεε*, Hdt. VIII 26 (in *R.*), is a false form, apparently due to a confusion between *ὀφλεῖν* and *ὄφλειν* which was a late present. Cf. Cobet, *Var. Lect.*, 129. *ἐνείχεε*, Hdt. I 118, it is vain to attempt to defend, though found in all MSS. Archil. 73 has *ῆμβλακον*. In Ibykos, Pindar, Simonides of Keos, and the tragic poets the form is *ῆμπλακον*. No present *ἀμπλακίσκω* is found, but in Doric we have *ἀμβλακίσκω*. From the aorist form as a point of departure, it was sought to extend the verb into other tenses, but the attempt was not successful. Bloomfield (*A. J. P.* VI 46) connects *ἀμβλακεῖν* with Skt. *mlecchati*, and suggests that the *π* of *ῆμπλακον* is due to association of the word by popular etymology with *πλέκω* or *πλάζω*.

*ἔχαδον*, poetic like *χανδάτω*, occasionally appears in Ionic prose. Hdt. has *ἔσπον*. On *ἔπεσον*, see § 607.

### 595.] Perfect.

On augment and reduplication, see §§ 578 ff., 583 ff.

1. Endings. *ᾱσι* is the regular termination of the third person plural in prose (e.g. *Ἰασος* 105<sub>s</sub>), and poetry, except Xenophanes' *πεφῆνᾱσιν* and *μεμαθήκᾱσι*<sup>1</sup>, formations similar to Homeric *λελόγχασι* λ 304, *πεφύκᾱσι* η 114, and like forms in Empedokles, Antimachos, and in the dialect of Phokis. This *-ᾱσι* is equivalent to Skt. *-ṭi* of reduplicating verbs, and has been forced into the perfect from its old and proper home in the present<sup>2</sup>.

Assimilation of the perfect to the aorist ending *(σ)-αν* occurs in *παρέλεφαν*, Smyrna, Ditt. *Syll.* 171<sub>25</sub>, 146-222 B. C.). The form is late, not specially Ionic. In late Lakonian we find *διατετέλεκαν* (Ditt. *Syll.* 255<sub>1</sub>).

2. The 'second' perfect, the older formation which preserves unaspirated a final *κ*, *γ*, *π*, *β* of the stem, appears in later Ionic as in other dialects.

<sup>1</sup> Cited by Hdn. II 16<sub>19</sub>; not in Bergk.

<sup>2</sup> Schmidt, *K. Z.* XXVII 394, cf. Osthoff, *M. U.* I 100, Monro, *H. G.* § 7.

Examples of the unaspirated forms are *ἔργα* (see § 582), *ἔργα*, *ἔργα*<sup>1</sup> (not in Homer, but in Archil. and Hippokr.), *κέκρωγα* (with non-Ionic *κ* in Hippokr. VIII 66), *λέληκα* Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>18</sub>, *πέπρηγα* have *sared* (*πέπρηκα* have *done* is also Ionic), *οἶκα* (see § 582), *πέφευγα*, *τέθηκα*, *τέτηκα*, *τέτριγα*. *ἀνέφγα* is found only in a letter of Hippokr. (IX 394), where it has the rare active sense.

Other examples of the second perfect worthy of note for various reasons are *διέφθορα* = *am ruined* Hippokr. VIII 246, as in Homer, *δέδρομα* Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>20</sub>, whereas both Hdt. and Hippokr. have the later *κ* form *δεδρόμηκα*, *λέληθα* Sim. Amorg. 7, and Hdt., but not in Homer, *ἐλάλυθα* = *epic ἐλ-* and *ἐλάλυθα*, *πέφθηκα* (not *πέφωγα*) rare in prose, *ἔρηρα* Hippokr. IX 366; *δέδωκε* Hippokr. VIII 36, *δεδιέναι* V 414, *δεδιώς* VI 210 (rejected by Littré). *τέτρεφα* is the perfect of *τρέφω* Hippokr. VI 380. *γέγονα*, not *γεγέννημαι* (Hippokr. IX 382), is Herodoteian. On *ἔωθα*, *είωθα*, see § 582. The absence of *γέγηθα* from Ionic prose is noteworthy, as this form occurs in the epic, in Attic prose and poetry, and in Doric. *γέγραπφα*, in a late inscription from Priene (*British Museum Inscriptions*, III, 1, no. 4127) might have been mentioned under § 362.

3. The 'first,' or aspirated, perfect is foreign to the epic dialect, but appears in the later Ionic.

Forms worth special notice are *δια-* and *ἐμπέπλεχε* Hippokr. IX 190, and *ἐμπέπλεχε* 192 (*ἐμπέπλεκε* three MSS.). In the case of the forms with ablaut there are variants *-πλεχε*. Hdn. II 356<sub>21</sub> = Choirob. 548<sub>13</sub>, calls *πέπλεχα*, &c. Attic, while *πέπλεχα* (-εξα Lentz), *πέπεμφα*, *βέβρεχα* are referred to the *Κωική*. The scholiast on H 346 (*τετρηχυῖα*) says that *τέτρηχα* is the result of 'Ionic syncope' for *τετράραχα*. The later Ionic used *τετράραγμα* (Hdt., Hippokr.).

4. Whatever the origin of the *κ* perfect<sup>2</sup>, the forms that served as models for the ever increasing spread of this formation must be sought in those perfects which are derived from stems in long vowels. Even in the case of vocalic stems, the only stems which in Homer have *κ* in this tense, the epic dialect does not invariably adopt the *κ* form. The following were inherited by the later dialect from Homer.

*βέβηκα*, *βέβληκα*, *βέβρωκα*, *δεδάηκα*, *δεδείπνηκα*, *δέδωκα*, *ἔστηκα*, *μέμνηκα*, *πέφωκα*, *ῥέχωκα* or *οἶχωκα*, *τέθηκα*, *τετύχηκα* (certain only in *κ* 88; in P 748 -*χῆς* Herakl. Milea.). In Homer the *κ* forms are used in the singular number with but rare exceptions.

The perfect without *κ*, which in the participle of vocalic stems is more frequent in Homer than that with *κ*, was regarded by the ancient grammarians as a specific mark of the Ionic dialect. Homeric forms are noticed by Theognostus in An. Ox. II 151<sub>23</sub>; Choirob. 829<sub>11</sub> (cf. Hdn. II 296<sub>21</sub> ff.); An. Ox. I 99<sub>23</sub>, II 355<sub>7</sub>, Schol. L on E 698, Et. M. 193<sub>22</sub>, 501<sub>1</sub>; Et. Gud. 106<sub>23</sub>, 121<sub>7</sub>, 318<sub>19</sub>; Eust. 282<sub>22</sub>, 443<sub>22</sub> (cf. 561<sub>11</sub>, 595<sub>21</sub>), 1700<sub>12</sub> (cf. 1714<sub>19</sub>). The *ω* of *τεθνεῖωτος* was held to be Ionic, Eust. 1336<sub>22</sub>. On *πεφύζεις*, see § 377, 4, note.

<sup>1</sup> Bekker's *ἔρρηγμα* Hdt. II 12, which suggests the Herakleian *ἔρρηγα*, is not to be defended.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Johansson, *Beitrag zur gr. Sprachkunde*, for the fullest discussion of the subject.



From the analogy of the perfects with  $\kappa$  preceded by a long vowel, were formed those with  $\kappa$  after a short vowel, e.g. ἀπολώ-λεκα, ἐλήλακα, ἐμήμεκα, verbs whose future and aorist had  $\sigma$  preceded by a short vowel. In such forms as πέπλωκα, the point of departure was the perfect middle. Finally stems ending in a dental explosive (κεκόμικα) fell into line.

In the following note are given forms noteworthy for various reasons.

Hdt. uses a late formation λελάβηκε III 42, 65, &c., = Attic ἐλήφα and ἐλήφα < \*σέσληφα. With λελάβηκε, cf. λελάβηκας Euseb. Mynd. 51, λάφεται Miletos 100<sub>4</sub>, κατελάβη Zeleia 1137. Hippokrates III 308 has ἀναλελαφθε according to the MSS. In the middle Hdt. has ἀπολελαμμένοι IX 51. On νένωκα Hdt. III 6, from νενόηκα, see § 196. ἔδηκα, Hippon. 100, is the only occurrence of this tense-form in literature. δεδοίκωσι is found in Hippokr. IV 166, δεδοίκας Hdt. I 107. On πεπλώκαμεν, see § 78, on εἰσχηκα, § 216. In Ionic prose we find ἀπείρηκα, -εῖρημαι, not ἀπηγόρευκα, -ευναι. τέθνηκα appears in composition with a preposition (Hippokrates). γεγήρακα is used by Hrd. 6<sub>24</sub> (see § 593, 4). On δρώρηκα and ἀκήκουκα in Hrd., see §§ 582, 583, 2.

#### 596.] Pluperfect.

The first person ends in -εα<sup>1</sup> (ἔώθεα, ἦδεα Hdt.), the second would end in -εας<sup>2</sup> in the dialect of the fifth century, we venture to believe. κατειλήφεις<sup>3</sup> Hippokr. IX 382 contains the later -εις. In the third person -εε<sup>4</sup> makes its appearance in about twenty-five verbs in Hdt., whose MSS. reject the form in -ει<sup>5</sup>. Examples are ὀπώπее, ἐτετεύχεε (cf. τετυχήκης Hippokr. III 434), ἀκηκόεε, ἐστήκεε (-ει Hippokr. V 150).

In Hdt. VIII 79 for προαήκοε of all MSS. we read -δει (cf. VII 208). Occasionally the close association in form between imperfect and pluperfect (cf. ἐπενήνοθε, ἐγέγωνε in Homer) caused such readings as ἐλήλυθε VIII 50 (all MSS.).

The termination -εε reappears in Lukian's *Syr. dea* ἐγεγόνее 4, 25, ἐπεπόνθεε 25, ἔώθεε 35, ἀπολελοίπееν 26, Euseb. ἀπεστήκεε 9. Hippokrates differs from Herodotos in that he adopts -ει, e.g. ἐμπεφύκει II 246, ἀφωρμήκει V 122, ἐκεκράγει V 396 (with

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Apollon. Adv. 191, (Schneider), Hdn. II 326<sub>22</sub> = Choirob. 600<sub>21</sub>, cf. 564<sub>21</sub>, 860<sub>21</sub>, Hdn. II 835<sub>22</sub> = Choirob. 866<sub>21</sub>; An. Ox. IV 211<sub>20</sub>, An. Par. III 326<sub>21</sub>, IV 232<sub>20</sub>, Et. Mag. 386<sub>10</sub>, Et. Gud. 236<sub>21</sub>, Eust. 50<sub>21</sub>, 718<sub>11</sub>, 1589<sub>11</sub>, cf. 1946<sub>20</sub>; but in 881<sub>10</sub> εἰρήκη and εἰστήκη are put down as Ionic εἰστήκειν Hippokr. IX 352, is late.

<sup>2</sup> -εεε is fabricated from the later -εις by Choirob. 601<sub>21</sub> (cf. Et. Mag. 386<sub>21</sub>), who was misled by -εε for -ει.

<sup>3</sup> Thus Littré and Ermerins. καταλελαβήκεις, which occurs in four MSS., recalls Hdt. λελάβηκε III 42.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Hdn. II 193<sub>11</sub> = Choirob. 560<sub>7</sub>, cf. 601<sub>11</sub>; Et. Mag. 386<sub>21</sub>.

<sup>5</sup> Homeric -ει ἔδωδε, ἔρῳρει Eust. 1523<sub>13</sub>, who is there treating of the reduplication. As 18 4 has εἰστήκει. Homeric -ειν εἰστήκειν, βεβλήκειν, is referred to by Choirob. 560<sub>4</sub>.



Attic  $\bar{a}$ ), ἐγγόνει IX 382<sup>1</sup>. The single example from the inscriptions<sup>2</sup> is of too late a date to render certain, what on the whole seems probable enough, that in the ordinary, inartistic speech of the fifth century -εε had yielded to -ει.

Plural forms are not at hand in the case of the first person<sup>3</sup>. συνηδέετε occurs in Hdt. IX 58. -εσαν<sup>4</sup>, not -εισαν, is Ionic. Thus Hdt. has ἐώθεσαν, ἐγγόνεσαν, ἠλώκεσαν, Hippokr. μεμαθήκεσαν I 592, προηριστήκεσαν II 290, ἐξεπεφύκεσαν V 124 (Littre -εισαν).

### 597.] Subjunctive.

*Present.* -ησι appears in Theog. 139, ἐθέλῃσιν (Bergk with most MSS. -η-, but *A* has -η-), and in ἐλαύνῃσι Hdt. I 188, in such excellent MSS. as *A B C*. The form has no justification in prose.

*Aorist.* Traces in later Ionic of the original identity of the aorist subjunctive and the future indicative are given in § 239. The proper form of the aorist of τίνω is ἐτεια, as is evident from ἐκτείωσι Zeleia 113<sub>35</sub> (cf. § 214), dating shortly after 334 B.C. An earlier and Attic example of ἐκτείωσι is found in C. I. A. II 14, A 8, 13 (before 378 B.C.). Hdt. has ἐπιβέωμεν VII 50.

*Perfect.* Hippokrates, IV 166, makes use of the rare form δεδοίκωσι. δεδοικώς is rare in prose (Hdt. I 107, Hippokr. II 76). Other examples of the simple (not periphrastic) form are τετυχήκης Hippokr. III 434, βεβρώκη VIII 350, τεθήλη VI 654 (conj.), ἐξεληλύθη VII 24, ἐκπεπτώκη IV 240, VIII 148.

ἀνώγωμεν Hrd. 3<sub>31</sub> may be noted because this verb is used in Ionic prose (Hdt. VIII 104 ἀνώγη). Hrd. 7<sub>101</sub> has a present ἀνώγουσα; cf. ἀνώγει Hdt. VII 104 (ἀνωγε?). In Hdt. III 81 the imperfect ἀνωγε is probably perfect. On ἀνωγε see Mekler *Beitr. z. Bild. d. gr. Verb.* p. 48. Danielsson *Nord. tidskr. f. filol.* VII 138, refers ἀνώγω to ἀνάγω.

### 598.] Optative.

1. An occurrence of the rare future optative is ἤξοι Hdt. I 127 (ἤξει *Rd*).

2. The endings of the first aorist optative are -εας, -ειε (-αι?)<sup>5</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> These forms show that ἐλελάθη, the vulgate reading in III 418, is an error for -ει; cf. V 208. ἐγγόνει appears in Menekrates, *Βεβλ. Αρεταίας* 81.

<sup>2</sup> ἐπηγοράκει Erythr. 206 A 17.

<sup>3</sup> -ειμεν Choirob. 564<sub>22</sub>.

<sup>4</sup> Hdn. II 279, = Choirob. 606<sub>11</sub>; An. Ox. IV 193<sub>10</sub>, An. Par. IV 19<sub>11</sub>, Et. Mag. 386<sub>13</sub>.

<sup>5</sup> ῥίψαι II 100 may be read as an infinitive, συμβουλεύσαι III 156 is due to Stephanus. Both are adopted by Dindorf. ῥίψαι is generally accepted by recent editors (Baehr ῥίψαι).

-ειαν, and -αιεν. Hdt. has ποιήσειαν (cf. Teos 156 B 30), ὀρμήσειαν, etc., with -ειαν as in Homer. This ending is therefore not specifically Aiolic (cf. Hdn. II 823<sub>18</sub>, &c.). διαφυλάξαιεν Hdt. VI 101, ἀποδέξαιεν VIII 35, συνερείκαιεν VII 152 (the only cases of -αιεν) contain an ending constructed from the model -οιεν.

3. In the second aorist we may note εὔροις, adopted by Littré in Hippokr. I 590. Here there is the *r. l.* εὔροις which is adopted VIII 326; cf. Hrd. 6<sub>73</sub>. Hdt. uses εἶποι not εἶπαι.

4. Herodotos does not use the perfect active optative form in -οιην. Cf. περιεληλύθαι, βεβρώκοι, πεποιήκοι, ἡλώκοι; in the plural -οιεν in πεποιήκοιεν. τεθναίην occurs in Mimn. 1<sub>2</sub>, καθεστήκοι in Hippokr. IX 380. Hdt. has both εἰδείησαν and εἰδείεν, § 702.

#### 599.] Imperative.

In Anakr. 75 we find κλῦθι, a form occurring in Homer and tragedy; πῖθι Hrd. 182. From εἶπον we have the second aorist form εἶπέ Hdt. V 111, προειπέτω Hippokr. IV 376, but κατεπάτω B. P. W. 1889, 1194, l. 7. Hrd. 3<sub>16</sub> has εἶπα. A pure perfect optative is συμμεμυκέτω Hippokr. IX 54.

#### Infinitive.

Some of the ancients held that the occurrence of -μεν in Homer was warrant of its Ionic character. Cf. An. Ox. I 131<sub>32</sub> ἐλκέμεν. 132, εὐρέμεν. So too the Aiolic -μεναι is called Ionic and Doric in An. Par. III 145<sub>1</sub>. On the occurrences of these two forms in elegiac, not in iambic poetry, see § 700.

#### 600.] Future.

1. Liquid Verbs. -έειν is the usual traditional reading in Herodotos and Hippokrates, though contraction had ensued in the fifth century. Hdt. has ἀμυνέειν VII 168, αἰσχυρέειν IX 53 (the active is rare in prose), Hippokr. ἀποφανέειν VII 530, ἐπικρινέειν IV 630.

2. Verbs in -ίζω. After the close vowel ι, εε are merged into ει. καταγιεῖν Hdt. I 86, καταπλουτιεῖν VI 132, ἀτρεμиеῖν VIII 68 (β)<sup>1</sup>, θεσπιεῖν VIII 135<sup>2</sup>, μακαριεῖν IX 93.

3. Verbs in -άζω. From δικάζω we have the noteworthy ἀποδικᾶν Hdt. I 97. In Attic the σ was never dropped in this verb, and Hdt. has δικασόμενοι I 96. The Ionians seem to have pursued a different course from the Attics in differentiating the

<sup>1</sup> Here P R have ἀτρεμиеῖν.

<sup>2</sup> Stein adopts θεσπιεῖν, the reading of R, by a strange inconsequence.

active and middle forms. Late writers contract the future middle. *κατασκευᾶν* appears in a late document from Olbia, C.I.G. 2058 B 29, 53. Hdt. has *διασκεδᾶν* I 79 (*σκεδάζω* is late).

### 601.] First Aorist.

Hdt. has *εἶπαι* and *εἶπεῖν*, the very rare *οἶσαι* in *ἀνοῖσαι* I 157, a correction of *ἀνῶσαι* of the MSS. Cf. *ἀνοιστος* VI 66. In Homer we have *οἶσον*, in Arkadian *ἐπόλοη* (subj.).

### 602.] Second Aorist.

The infinitive in *-έειν*<sup>1</sup>, while not unknown to the MSS. of the early Ionic prosaists and the pseudo-Ionists, occurs nowhere else in the monuments of Greek prose literature. It is certain that this form did not first appear in a prose text. Whether it came into existence in a pre-Herodoteian period of the history of the Homeric text (as seems probable), or whether it must be ascribed to a later date, cannot be definitely determined. At all events the *-έειν* forms in Homer represent a misunderstanding of the old *-έεν*. They were foisted upon the epic language by false transcription of EEN through the analogy of *φιλέειν* and congeners<sup>2</sup>. That *-έειν* was substituted for EMEN, as has often been maintained, is not probable.

No Ionic inscription has any other form than *-εῖν*. In Theognis 426 one MS. has *ιδέειν*, and in 1190 one (K) has *προφυγέειν*. The genuine forms are amply attested. In the elegiac poets we find everywhere else *-εῖν*, and no iambographic poet has *-έειν*. This holds good of some sixteen verbs occurring fifty-one times (elegy 43, iambics 8).

In Herodotos by far the greater number of second aorists end in *-εῖν*. In some cases, however, all the MSS. agree in the longer form<sup>3</sup>.

That these forms are due to the activity of pseudo-Ionizing grammarians and scribes, who held that the language of Hdt. was the language of Homer, is clear from the fact that Hdt. is never made guilty of an attempt to create an *ἐλθέειν*, an *εἰπέειν*,

<sup>1</sup> Et. M. 465<sub>10</sub> (cf. 224<sub>11</sub>), Et. Gud. 270<sub>22</sub>, An. Ox. I 216, refer *ιδέειν*, *θαυδέειν* to the Ionians.

<sup>2</sup> It is but seldom that any aorist in *-έειν* is followed in Homer by a word beginning with a vowel. This makes against our assuming that *-έειν* is a genuine contamination of an aorist *-εεν* (*e-fer* or *e-see*) and the present *-έειν* (cf. Rhodian *θέμειν* by contamination of *-μεν* and *-ειν*).

<sup>3</sup> The following are only those verbs in which there is absolute consensus. *βαλέειν* II 111, III 12, 35 *bis*, *συν-* II 10, III 32, 160 (cf. IV 42), *ἀπο-* III 41 (cf. VIII 65), *ὑπερ-* VII 168; *έλέειν* I 36; *ἀποθανέειν* I 83, VII 229; *ιδέειν* V 24; *παθέειν* II 141, VII 11 (cf. VI 12, VII 17); *πυρέειν* II 141, III 53, 81, V 86, *συν-* III 120, *μετα-* V 61; *φωγέειν* II 141; *ἀποφυγέειν* I 91, *δι-* I 10, 204, VIII 88. In other passages the correct forms of each of these verbs occur, though not without the v.l. *-έειν*. All of these *-έειν* forms are Homeric, though the prepositions do not always agree.

or an ἀγαγέειν, forms which could not find admission into the hexameter save by a synizesis which had equalized them with the ordinary -εῖν. The occurrence of these (false) Homerisms in Hdt. is a signal instance of the effort to render poetical the diction of the historian. The 'sweetness' of the Ionic dialect was due, according to the rhetoricians, to its poetical nature (ἡ γὰρ ἴαs οὔσα ποιητικὴ φύσει ἐστὶν ἡδεῖα). Herodotos' ποικιλία became his perversion.

In the editions of other Ionic prosaists there are to be found many occurrences of -έειν. The MSS., however, often pronounce against their correctness.

Herakleitos 6 has εἰπεῖν, 114 καταλιπεῖν; Demokr. 188 λαβεῖν (Stob.), 70 τυχεῖν (Stob.), but 135 ἀμαρτέειν, 20<sub>14</sub> κακοπαθέειν (both in Stob.); Diogen. 2 εἰπεῖν. In Hippokrates' Κωναὶ προγνώσεις, ἐπιθ. τρίτον there are no traces of -έειν. In περὶ διαίτης ὁξέων, II 224 (cf. I 620), προκαταμαθεῖν occurs, but in II 290 ἀφελείν is adopted by Littré, and I 624 κακοπαθέειν (-εῖν is however found in A in both places); in περὶ τῶν ἐν κεφαλῇ τραυμάτων, III 258, 260, ἀφελείν is found without a variant. Elsewhere -εῖν is, we believe, in the genuine works, the only form. In the supposititious treatises, as well as in those that are genuine, we have often observed -έειν in Littré's text, e.g. IV 184. ἀγαγέειν was not foisted upon Hippokrates in IV 142, where χαλέειν occurs. Arriaios has παθέειν 12, θυγέειν 126, ἰδέειν and ἰδεῖν 126, ζυμβαλέειν 241, Lukian's *Syn. dea* παθέειν 25, Euseb. Mynd. ἀπελθεῖν 1, εὑρεῖν 13, 61, λαβεῖν 51, κατασχεῖν 53.

603.] Perfect. On the ending -ναι in the perfect of θνήσκω, see § 700. τεθηλέναι occurs in Arrian, *Ind.* 40<sub>4</sub>.

#### 604.] Participle.

1. *Future.* In verbs derived from liquid stems, -εω-, -εο- are uncontracted, e.g. ἐρέων Hdt. VII 49, ἀγγελέοντα IV 14, ἀμυνέοντες IX 60. From -ίζω verbs we have ὀπωριεῦντες IV 172, 182. οἴσω is found in II 91.

2. *First Aorist.* Greg. K. § 72 says that εἶπας, not εἰπών, is the Ionic form. In Hdt. I 27 εἰπόντα is, however, correct (εἶπαντα A<sup>2</sup>). εἶπας is very common (also in Euseb. Mynd. 1). νήσας, not νηήσας, Hdt. I 50, II 107 (νηέω is not later Ionic). On πρῶσας, see § 267, 4. Hippokr. VII 254 has κρήσας (θ κινράs) as η 164 κρήσαι. Cf. ἐκρήθην.

3. *Second Aorist.* ἀποκλάs Anakr. 17 recalls Homeric οὐτάμενος, γηράs, and is formed as if the present were ἀπόκλημι.

4. *Perfect.* The grammarians<sup>1</sup> state that the Ionians had οι, not υι, in the feminine of the perfect participle. The only support for this view to be found in the monuments is the reading of θ in the following participles in Hippokrates: ἐωθοίης

<sup>1</sup> Hdn. II 368<sub>21</sub> = Choirob. 832<sub>23</sub> (and = Bekk. An. III 1192<sub>11</sub>).

VI 200, ἐωθοῖαν 204 (-υι- *vulgo*, -ει- *K*)<sup>1</sup>, τετοκοῖη and τετοκοῖαν VIII 10, προσπεπτωκοῖαι VIII 312, with which cf. ἐκπεπτωκυῖα IV 80. Elsewhere we find only the -υι- forms, with perhaps a variant -ει-, e.g. ἀρηρυῖαι IX 394, ἀρηρυῖη IX 366 (-ει- *v.l.*), διεφθορυῖη VIII 246.

Lobeck<sup>2</sup> held that the -οι- forms represent merely the confusion between υι, οι, and υ that prevailed in later times. This is not probable. Perhaps -υια was changed to -οια under the influence of -ως of the masculine. G. Meyer (*Gram.* p. 308) cites φιάλαι πεποννηκόται from a Delian inscription (*B. C. H.* VI 51, 207), where a much more audacious assault has been made by the masculine. In Lakonian we find βῶδοι (*i.e.* *Ἰδοι*) and βῶνοι, ἰδυῖοι and ἰδυῖοι *overseer* (mentioned by Brugmann *Grundr.* II p. 412, 4).

On a late Oropian inscription (Ἐφημ. ἀρχ. 1889, 3 ff.) we meet with διεργαῖα, ἀποκαταγαῖαι. The -εια forms occur in inscriptions from Thera (ἐπιτετελεσῖα, ἐστακεῖα, συναγαγοχεῖα), from Herakleia (ἐρρηγεῖα), and from Attika (γεγενεῖα). The Oropian forms may therefore be Attic. ἐρρηγεῖα as well as Herakleian ἐρρηγεῖα retain the long vowel which is unoriginal in the feminine. We expect ἐρράγεῖα; cf. Homeric ἀρηρῶς, ἀραρυῖα. In Hippocratic ἀρηρυῖα the masculine form prevailed. The relation of the fem. -εῖα to the ordinary -υῖα is to be explained thus: the fem. nom. was -εῖα, the gen. -υῖας, whence -εῖα, -εῖας and -υῖα, -υῖας. Cf. J. Schmidt, *K. Z.* XXVI 329 ff.

Later Ionic generally adopts the forms of the first in preference to those of the second perfect.

βεβρωκός is the only κ participial form in Homer which reappears in later Ionic (Hippokr. VI 268). The perfect and pluperfect active and middle of βιβρώσκω are well represented in Ionic. The following cases of the κ form in the post-Homeric dialect may be noticed. Homer has τεθνηκός, -ηῶτες and -ηῶτος (and Theog. 1205), -ηῶτι and -εῶτι, -ηῶτα and -ηῶτα, -ηῶτων, -ηῶτας and -ηῶτας; -ηυῖης, -ηυῖαν (not -κυῖαν δ 734). In post-Homeric Ionic we find the κ form in τεθνηκυῖαν Hippon. 29, cf. τεθνηκός Theog. 1230. The prose forms in use are τεθνεός Hdt. IX 120 (τεθνεός Theog. 1192), τεθνεῶτες V 68, τεθνεῶτα Hippokr. VIII 146, τεθνεός Hdt. I 112 (-εός in *B*), Hippokr. V 212, VII 350, VIII 220 (-ιός in *θ*). Cf. ἐστηκυῖα and ἐστεός, § 701. Homer has βεβῶς, -αῶτα, βεβῶσα, and -βεβανῖα. Hippokr. III 282 has ἐπιβεβῶτα (cf. Attic βεβός), διαβεβῶτας IV 184. The κ form appears in βεβηκός Archil. 58, (tetr.), βεβηκός 56, (tetr.). πεφνῶτας, -υνῖα in Hom., πεφκυῖη Hdt. II 56, -κυῖας Hippokr. epist. 16. Homer has πεπτεῶτας and -εῶτ' from πίπτω. Hekat. 360, Hippokr. III 434 have πεπτωκός; but in Hippokr. VIII 146 we find in *θ* and four other MSS. πεπτηῶτα (Littré -ηῶτα) which recalls πεπτηῶτας in Apoll. Rhod. III 321. Is the form with -ηω- due to confusion with πηῖσσω? Attic has both πεπτωκός and πεπτός < ἄ-φός, as it has τεθνηκός and τεθνεός.

<sup>1</sup> In VI 228 *θ* has ἐωθυῖη = υῖη.

<sup>2</sup> *Pathol.* II 25, note 5. Lobeck compares ψοῖαι ψυῖαι and τρίττοιαι = τρίττοιαι. Cf. δοῖοι *Choeph.* 944 (*M*).



*Middle Voice.*

## 605.] Indicative Present.

-εαι<sup>1</sup> < -ε-σαι remains uncontracted in φαίνεαι Archil. epod. 94<sub>1</sub>, χαρίζεαι 75<sub>2</sub> troch., ἔρχεαι Theog. 1374. In Anakr. 12 B, δινέαι, or δίνεαι, has been formed from δινέεαι. Contraction has set in in προεκπόνῃ (or -έαι) Sim. Amorg. 22 and in several forms in Anakreon:—ἐπιστρέφεαι 2<sub>1</sub>, πέτεαι 9, βόσκειαι 75<sub>6</sub>, ταυταλίζῃ 78 (if Love is addressed). ἐπίστη Theog. 1085 (cf. below) occurs at the end of the hexameter. Cf. ἀρχῇ I 102, ἔλκῃ σ 10, &c. ἐνεύχῃ 6<sub>47</sub> and βούλει (?) 5<sub>6</sub> appear in the Herodas papyrus.

In Homer, whenever -ῃ occurs it is almost always followed by a vowel: hence we may read ε'(αι). Most of the instances of εαι before a consonant occur in *Il* and the *Odyssey*.

In the Ionic prose of Hdt. -εαι is preserved after a consonant and after diphthongs (e.g. διακελεύεαι I 42, VIII 80, βούλειαι I 206, βουλεύεαι VII 12, συμ- VII 235). After a vowel we find an unwarranted -εαι, as in φοβέεαι I 39 even in good MSS., δέεαι VII 161. *P* sometimes prefers the longer form, where the other MSS. adopt the form shortened by hyphaeresis, e.g. προθυμέαι I 206, ἐπαινέαι III 34, εὐφρανέαι IV 9, φοβέαι VII 52, &c. *R* has διαιρέαι VII 50 where Stein reads -έεαι, as elsewhere. Lukian, *Syr. dea* 18, has λίσσεαι. -εαι is not Herodoteian, at least in the present (see § 607); but βούλει appears in Hippokr. II 36, in Herodas 5<sub>6</sub>, and Ion ἐπιδ. 1. In Hippokrates at least we doubt its correctness. In pseudo-Ionic literature this ending is more frequent. Cf. Hippokr. epist. 17<sub>20</sub>. The grammarians of the Roman period regarded -εαι as specifically Attic.

In verbs whose themes end in -ᾱ, Ionic has -ε(σ)αι for -α(σ)αι<sup>2</sup> (§ 688, 1, note 2). Thus Hdt. has ἐπίστεαι VII 104, 135. This -εαι is contracted in ἐπίστη Theog. 1085. In the Doric of Pindar we have ἐπίστα from -ασαι, e.g. Pyth. III 80, but ἐπίστασαι VIII 7 as usually in Attic. Aeschylus however has ἐπίστα as well as ἐπίστασαι. δύναμαι yields δύνασαι in Homer, Pindar, and classic Attic prose, but δύνα in Attic poetry (see Porson on *Hek.* 253). The Doric form is also δύνα. Ionic would be δύνεαι,

<sup>1</sup> -εαι is called Ionic in Hom. κέλεαι:—An. Ox. I 215<sub>11</sub>, 242<sub>20</sub>, An. Par. III 326<sub>23</sub>, Tzetz. Ex. II. 117<sub>1</sub>, Et. M. 502<sub>1</sub>, Et. Gud. 170<sub>20</sub>, 313<sub>28</sub>; μεμψεαι Et. Gud. 387<sub>11</sub>, An. Ox. I 270<sub>3</sub>. The ancients thought κέλε ται yielded κέλεαι.

<sup>2</sup> -εαι from -ασαι is Ionic according to Hdn. II 840<sub>3</sub> = Choirob. 87<sub>2</sub>, if we accept Lentz' reading. 'Ionic' is wrongly said of δύνασαι, ἐπίστασαι in Choirob. cf. Hdn. II 298<sub>17</sub> = Choirob. 673<sub>12</sub> for the Ionic loss of the σ. Cf. also An. Ox. IV 186<sub>11</sub>, Eust. 969<sub>11</sub>. The scholium Hesiod *W. D.* quoted by Gaisford p. 266 is corrupt.

a form that has been contracted in *δύνη*, *Anakreonteia* 29<sub>11</sub>. *δύνασαι* Hippokr. IX 342 is Attic.

*Varia.* It may be noted, in view of the objections raised to the occurrence of *καθέζομαι* in early authors, that Hippokr. VIII 392, which is cited by Veitch in support of its early existence, is not supported by *θ*; and in VII 348 for *καθεζέσθω*, *θ* has *καθίσθω*.

On *-αται*, *-εαται*, see § 585.

### 608.] Imperfect.

Hdt. has *εο < εσο*, e.g. *ἐνετέλλεο* I 117, *ἐπηγγέλεο* VII 39; Lukian *V. A.* 5 *ἐφαντάζεο*. On *ἠπιστέατο* Hdt. II 53, &c., and *-ατο*, *-εατο* generally, see § 585. Whether *ἀπάγχεο*, Archil. 67, is an imperfect is uncertain. *-ευ* seems not to occur in Hdt. (*ἠέξεν* Kallimachos' Hymn to Zeus 55).

We do not recall a case of *-ω* in the second person in the later dialect. *ἐκρέμω*<sup>1</sup> occurs O 21. In Attic we find *ἠπίστασο* and *-ω* (the latter in prose). *ἠδύνασο* occurs Hippokr. IX 344 = Attic *ἐδύνω*.

The non-Attic *ἠρχόμην* appears in Hippokr. V 426, IX 328 (uncompounded). *ἀνηρχόμην* is found V 402, *ὕπεξ* V 414. Hippokr. also used the subjunctive VII 598, *ἔξ* VIII 508, the infinitive VIII 546, IX 418, *ἀν* VIII 42, the participle *διεξ* II 138 (in a genuine treatise). Cf. Rutherford, *New Phrygicus*, p. 103 ff.

### 607.] Future.

1. First Person Singular. *-εῦμαι* is the ending in *-ίζω* verbs: *ἐναγωνιεῦμαι* Hdt. III 83, *ὀριεῦμαι* Hippokr. VI 4, IX 264.

2. The termination of the second person singular.

(a) *-εαι*<sup>2</sup>. The lyric poets generally preserve the form *-εαι*. Thus in Archil. 79<sub>2</sub> *τέρψεαι*, Ananios 1, *ἀφίξεαι*, Theog. 35 *μαθήσεαι* and in several other forms (100, 884, 991, 1161 cf. Stobaios, 1285, 1299, 1333). Of the prose writers Herodotos has *ὄψεαι* I 155 (and so MSS. *Androm.* 1225), *ἀπαιρήσεαι* I 71 (see § 633), *ἀπίξεαι* II 29 (a rare future in prose: for Aldus' *ίξεαι* in the same chapter, *ἦξεις* is read), *πλεύσεαι* II 29, *παραμείψεαι* V 52, *λάμψεαι* I 199, and in all other forms. Demokritos 20<sub>25</sub> has *διώσεαι*.

Lukian has *ἀπίξεαι* *Syr. dea* 25, *μεμνήσεαι* 30, *ἐνασκήσεαι* *V. A.* 3, *εἴσεαι* 4, 5, *γνώσεαι* 4, *ματαβήσεαι* 5, *ὄψεαι* 6; Euseb. *Mynd.* has *ἔσεαι* 63, *καταθήσεαι* 51, cf. *νομισθήσεαι* 52, *Aret.* 30 *ὄψεαι*.

In liquid verbs, *-εαι* not *-έαι* is correct, e.g. *εὐφρανέαι* Hdt.

<sup>1</sup> Hdn. II 317<sub>2</sub> = Choirob. 883<sub>1</sub> (cf. Et. Mag. 324<sub>11</sub>) calls *ἐκρέμω* Attic, *ἐκρέμας* Ionic because of the loss of *σ*; cf. An. Ox. I 171<sub>2</sub>, IV 213<sub>2</sub>, 379<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>2</sup> *-εαι* is called Ionic Et. Mag. 237<sub>15</sub>, Et. Gud. 128<sub>1</sub>, (*γνώσεαι*), Et. Mag. 381<sub>2</sub> (*ἔσεαι*), An. Par. III 335<sub>2</sub> (*λάσσεαι*).

IV 9 (-εσαι *Pz* only), ἀποθανέαι IV 163 (-εσαι *Pz* only), ἀπολαμπυνέαι I 41 (-εσαι no authority).

(β). -η. Theognis has γνώση 65 and πωτήση 238, in each case followed by a consonant. With γνώση, cf. B 367 γνώσεαι δ'¹ and 365 γνώση ἐπειθ'. Hrd. 2<sub>59</sub> has πλώση, 6<sub>61</sub> γνώση, 8<sub>1</sub> κείση.

χαριῇ should be read in Hdt. I 90, κομιῇ in II 121 (γ); cf. VII 49. Dindorf's -ιέαι, Bredow's and Stein's -ιεί are impossible: the former because of the mass of vowels (cf. -έαι from -έαι in liquid verbs), the latter because -ηι does not become -ει in Eastern Ionic. Hippokr. has γνώση VII 340.

(γ) When contracted -εαι becomes -η in Ionic. -ει is possible in Euboian Ionic, but not elsewhere. We have therefore no hesitation in branding as spurious ἐξευρήσει Herakl. 7. In Hippokr. VIII 342 θ has ὄψη: hence we read ὄψη, not ὄψει with Littré, as there is no need of assuming a retention of the later Attic ὄψει. ὄψει Ὀδυσσεῦ μ 101 is an error, as it is in Ψ 620, where *A D* have ὄψη ἐν; in both passages ὄψε' may be read. -ει in Hrd. 1<sub>1</sub>, 5<sub>23</sub>, 7<sub>91</sub> is an Atticism.

3. -εῖται is the correct termination of the third person of liquid verbs and those derived from a present in -ίζω. This ending is not generally preserved in the MSS., where it has been supplanted by -έται.

(α) -εῖται occurs as follows: ἀνανεμεῖται Hdt. I 173 (*A B*), μανέται I 109 (all MSS., the fut. middle is very rare); σημανεῖται Hippokr. II 228, θανεῖται (not ἀπο-) VIII 70 (*C θ*), 98, ἀμβλυνεῖται IV 464, ἀναχανεῖται VIII 498 (for ἀναχάνηται), τεκμαρεῖται VI 24; φανεῖται Demokr. 135 (*sic* Stob.; cf. 6). Solon 4<sub>1</sub>, Theog. 867 have ὀλεῖται. ἀνδραποδιεῖται Hdt. VI 17, καθαρεῖται Hippokr. VII 24, 330, 338, 508, διορεῖται IV 102. On πεσεῖται Hdt. VII 163 (*R*; -έται all MSS. in VII 168), V 92 (β, oracle), and on προσπεσεῖται Hippokr. VIII 34, see below.

(β) -έται is found in ἀποθανέεται Hdt. IV 190, διαφθερέεται VIII 108 (note that -φθερήσεται is not used); σημαέεται Hippokr. VII 276.

4. Plural. -εῦμεθα in κομיעῦμεθα Hdt. VIII 62 (hence νομιούμεν II 17 is wrong), ἀμυνεῦμεθα VIII 143 (-εο- Abicht), φανεῦμεθα Hippokr. IX 424. χαριεῖσθε Hdt. IV 98. φανέονται Hdt. III 35, διαφθερέονται IX 42, ἐξανδραποδιεύονται VI 9.

5. Doric Future. Ionic, like Attic of the best period (cf. Rutherford's *Phrygichus*, p. 91), usually rejects the 'Doric' forms. Thus Hdt. has πλεέσονται II 29, III 135, φεύξονται I 207, πεύσονται IX 58, Hippokr. παραπνέουσονται

¹ Barnes read γνώσεαι *ei* with asyndeton. In N 818 we find ἀρήση Διί, in I 101 ἀρχη (subj.) at the verse end. These two cases of -η and γνώσεαι above are the only occurrences in the *Iliad* of the closed forms. -η in the future always occurs before vowels, so that we may read -ε'.

VIII 284, *πέσεται* VI 440, 442, VII 224, 556, VIII 100, a form found in Theog. 448. (In VIII 596 the active *πέσει* is probably corrupt). In Homer we find *έσσειται* and *πεσέονται*, *πεσέσθαι*. *πεσειται* occurs in Attic and in Hdt. VII 168, Hippokr. VIII 34; but *έσσειται* is rejected by both Attic and Ionic. Wackernagel (*K. Z.* XXX 313) in setting up a new theory of the genesis of these two forms, regards the 'Doric' future as alien from Ionic speech. It is, however, improbable that *έσσειται* should be a contamination of *έσσειται* and *\*είται*, and that *πεσέεται* should have passed into *πεσέεται* by assimilation of *τ* before a vowel not *iota*. *στερησσειται* in Olbia, Dittenberger *Syll.* 354<sub>11</sub>, 11, is no doubt a contamination of *στερήσεται* and *στερεσειται*, but is a poor support for the above explanation of *έσσειται*.

The derivation of *πεσέεται* from *\*πεσέεται* does not carry with it that of *έπρεσεν* from *\*έπεσεν*. An *\*έπεσεν* would have yielded an *\*έπεσεν*, which would have been preserved in Homer: but of such a form there is no trace. From *\*πεσέεται* the epic forms with *εε* were necessarily limited; in fact Homer has only *πεσέονται* and *πεσέσθαι* where the single *ε* was inevitable. We must assume that *έπρεσεν* was substituted for *έπεσεν*, which is attested as Doric and Aiolic, at a time when *\*πεσέεται* had given way to *πεσέεται*. As in Sappho 42 *έμπεσέν* has been installed in the place of the earlier and genuine *τ* form, so in Homer *έπρεσεν* has usurped the place of the regular *έπεσεν*. Cf. Brugmann, *Gram.* p. 170.

The appearance of *πιούμαι* in Hippokr. VII 196 is not more surprising than its occurrence in Aristotle. It is a form used by late writers that has crept into Xenoph. *Symp.* 4, 7, but disapproved by Athen. X 446 E, Phryn. p. 91 (R.). Homer N 493 and Theognis 962 have *πίομαι*, Ion 210 *πίομαι*. On *έμπίομαι* Theog. 1129 (present), see M. Schmidt, *R. M.* XXII 186. Pindar, *Ol.* VI 86 has the present *πίομαι* < *\*πίομαι*. Cf. *τίω*, *τίω*. *πίομαι* is a subjunctive used as a future.

6. *Varia*. In Miletos 100<sub>1-2</sub> we find *λάφεται*, whereas Hdt. has *λάμψεται* I 199, IX 108. The former of these forms is built on the model of *έλαβεν* (cf. *θορόμαι έθορον*, *καύομαι έκαμον*), the latter on that of *λαμβάνω*. With *λάμψεται*, cf. *συμπεριενεγχεῖς* C. I. G. 2058 A 32, 79 B 70 (Olbia), and see § 130. A contamination of the Attic *λάφεται* (which appears in Hippokr. VII 490, VIII 16, 34) and *λάμψεται* is *λήμψεται* C. I. G. 4244<sub>1</sub>, 4247<sub>2</sub>, 4249<sub>3</sub>, 4253<sub>12</sub> (Lykia), and in the N. T. See §§ 619, 634, 4. Hdt. has *λέξεται* VII 144 with the *ε* of the present: *\*λέγεται* would have been parallel to *λάμψεται*.

*έξέξονται* Samos 221<sub>1-2</sub> recalls *έξεσθαι* Hdt. VII 8. The inscriptions have brought us as yet no example of *ήξα* or of *ήξάμεν*. Hippokr. VI 504 has *παρασχέσονται*. *έξομαι* is Homeric but not later Ionic; cf. § 592, 5. On *μαχήσομαι*, see § 592, 4.

### 608.] First Aorist.

1. *-ao* remains open in the MSS. of Hdt. in *έξεργάσας* (16 times), *κατεχρήσας*, *έμμήσας*, and in numerous other forms; in only one instance does contraction appear: *έποίησας* VIII 102. The open *-ao* < *-αςας* is noteworthy because medial *ας* became *ω* as early as the sixth century<sup>1</sup> (§ 277). Xenoph. 5<sub>1</sub> has *ήρας*,

<sup>1</sup> Homeric *-ao* is called Ionic in An. Ox. I 211<sub>11</sub>, An. Par. III 304<sub>1</sub>, 356<sub>2</sub> (*ήσας*); An. Par. III 138<sub>2</sub>, 248<sub>1</sub> (*έλσας*); cf. An. Par. III 85<sub>11</sub>.



but Archil. epod. 94, has ἐφράσω (in the seventh century it was not permitted to resolve the arsis), and ἐδέξω 101 at the end of an *Archilochium iambicon curtum*. Lukian *Syr. dea* 25 has εἰργάσας, Hippokr. IX 365 ἐμέμψω (epist.).

2. Relation between the stems *ἐνεικ-* and *ἐνεγκ-* of the first and second aorist. These stems are not etymologically akin, that of the former being derived from the preposition *ἐν* + *εἰκ* which is connected with *κα* or with Lith. *sėkiu*, *reach with the hand*. See § 214, 1. *ἐν-εγκ* is reduplicated (cf. Skt. *āndāka*). *ἐνεικ-* was soon regarded as uncompounded, conjoined with *ἐνεγ-* as an aorist of *φέρω*, and in modern times explained as a development of *ἐνεγκ-* Schmidt, *Vocalismus*, I 122). In Ionic poetry and prose (with the exception of the medical writers) *ἐνεικ-* gained the upper hand. It appears as early as Homer and is found in Pindar, but in the former author the second aorist is exceedingly rare, and its forms referred to a present *ἐνείκεν*. In Ionic inscriptions we find *ἐν*]Εἰκάρων Chios 174 B 4. *ἐνεικ-* also appears in the Attic stone records after 370 B. C., but disappears after 322 B. C. A peculiar form from the weak stem *εἰκ* (cf. *ἐταρ*, is the aorist passive *ἐ]ξεν.χθῆ*, Keos 42<sub>31</sub>, for which *ἐξενεχθῆ* has been substituted by Bechtel on the ground that the stone is not perfectly intact. With the Keian form we may compare Boiotian *ἐνεειχθῆ* C. D. I. 488<sub>130</sub>, Aiohic *ἐσένικαι* 304 B 39, *ἡνικαν* Mytilene, Arch. Zeit. 1885, p. 41, and other forms in Kalymna, B. C. H. X 242, cf. p. 143, Troizen, C. D. I. 3364, Epidauros 3339<sub>110</sub>. *συμπεριενεερχθῆ* Olbia, C. I. G. 205<sup>8</sup>, A 32, 79, B 70 recalls Delphic *ενερχθῆ* (see Curtius in *Berichte der sächs. Gesell.* 1864, 228), and the presence of the nasal in such forms as *ἀμψομαι*. The inscriptional Attic *ἡνεικα*, -ον are mixtures of the two forms. Cf. *ἡνεικαυτο* in Hesychios and Boiot. *ἡνειχα* Hdn. II 374<sub>21</sub> (and *ἐνεζαν*). In the post-Homeric Ionic poetry we observe *ἐνεικον* Anakr. 62, *ἐνεικαν* Tyrt. 41, *ἐνευκε* Herodas 7<sub>17</sub>, 11, *ἐνευκεῖν* 1<sub>33</sub> as usually in Attic, where the first aorist *ἐνέγκα* is rarely employed. Herodotos has *ἡνεικε* II 146, III 155, -αν III 30, IX 70, *ἐνέκσει* VI 61, *συνενεκασεν* VII 152, *ἐνέικαι* I 32, *ἐνέικας* II 23, IV 64; *ἡνέικατο* V 47, *ἡνέικαυτο* I 57, II 180, VII 152, *ἐνέικωνται* IV 67, *ἀνενεικόμενος* I 86, *ἐνέικασθαι* II 23, VI 103; *ἐξενεργυμένος* VIII 37, IX 72, as if from *ἐνέικε* Scutum Herc. 440. In the aorist passive Hdt. has *ἡνέχθη*, a form which is not confined to Ionic (Epidaurian *ἐξενεχθῆ* C. D. I. 3339<sub>112</sub>). In two cases all the MSS. of Hdt. unite in presenting the form in -εχθῆς VII 220, 232). Hippokrates has only *ἐνεγκ-*, e. g. *ἡνεγκεν* III 88, V 426, *ἡνεγκαν* II 606, V 388 (-ον Erm.), *ἐνέγκοι* II 294, *ἐνέγκοιεν* II 296, -ενέγκαι VI 210, VII 340, -ενεγκεῖν V 214, VIII 68, *ἐπανενέγκαντες* V 588, *ἐσενεγκάν* II 36; *ἐνέγκηται* I 592, IV 640, *ἐνέγκωνται* I 582, *προσενέγκασθαι* IV 640, *ἐσενεγκόμενος* IV 640; -ενέχθη V 516, 602, 652, 722, IX 186, 356 epist. Lukian has *ἐνεικ-*, *Syr. dea* 16, 22, 25, 27, 48, 49, 58 (*Α V -εχθέντα*), *κατηνέχθη* Astr. 15, Eusebios § 5 *ἐνεχθῆ*; Euseb. Mynd. *κατενεχθέντας* 63, *διενεχθῆς* 1; Abydenos § *ἐνέγκασθαι*, *Vita Hom.* *ἐνεγκ-* 12, 13, 15, *ἀπηνέχθη* 34; Arctaios 108, 112 *ἡνέχθη*, 173 *ἐνέχευκε*. The usage of the medical writers is sharply differentiated from that of Hdt. and his imitators.

3. *Varia*. *ἀγορεύσασθαι* Hdt. IX 26 may be noticed because of Cobet's onslaught on this tense in classic authors (*Var. Lect.* 36 ff. *ἐναύρασθαι* Hippokr. IV 632, *ἐναυράμεθα* IX 424 (epist.) are occurrences of the unusual

<sup>1</sup> Attic inscriptions have only *ἐνευκεῖν*.



first aorist; *ἔπεισάμην* Hdt. I 59, V 56, is not classic Attic. *ἐμνησάμην* Lukian *Astr.* 6, 21 is the only occurrence of this tense in prose, *ἐμνησάμην* Hdt. VII 39, *Syr. dec.* 39 is rare in prose. *ὑπονησαμένη* Hippokr. IX 192 (*ὑπονεμ-* MSS.) is to be referred to *νέομαι* (though this verb occurs only once in Attic prose) rather than to *νέω* swim or *νέω* heap up. *νέμω* would scarcely yield (the un-Attic) *ἐνεμνησάμην* in Ionic. *ἔσφραστο* Hdt. I 80 (Stein) where *ἔσφραστε* might be expected. Other forms, such as *εἴλατο*, *διείλατο* are certainly to be rejected, and we incline to the view that *ἔσφραστο* is not genuine, though the Ionians not infrequently adopt aorists that were not in good odour in Attika. *βυφήσασθαι* Hippokr. V 386 occurs here only (see § 154). Of the recent German editors of Herodotus, Abicht alone does not challenge the correctness of the derivation from *ἔγω* of the forms *ἐσάξαντο* V 34, *προεσάξαντο* I 190, VIII 20. They are to be referred to *σάσσω*. *διαφρέξασθαι* appears only in Hippokr. IX 400; *ἐφρασάμην* and *φράζομαι* are often found in Ionic, though not in Attic, prose. *ἐχεάμην* Hdt. VII 43 is rare in prose. *ὠνησάμενος* Hippokr. IX 362 recalls the fact that Meineke regarded *ὠνήσατο* in Eupolis II 533, the only occurrence in classic Attic, as savouring of Ionic origin. In Attic inscriptions of the Roman period *ὠνησάμην* is used for *ἐπεισάμην*.

### 609.] Second Aorist.

In the second person we find *-εο*<sup>1</sup> and *-ευ*. (1) *-εο* in Hdt. *εἶρεο* I 32, *ἐγένεο* I 35, *ἠγάγεο* IX 111, *ἐπῖκεο* VII 9, &c. (2) *-ευ* in *ἀπῖκευ* I 124, *εἴλευ* III 52, 119, *ἐτράπευ* VII 39. The presence of the latter form makes up for the non-diphthongal character of *-εο*. Attic *-ου* appears in *ἐγένου* Theog. 454, 1273, *ἀντελάβου* 1362. In the later parts of Theognis *-ου* is doubtless original.

On *-εατο* incorrectly transferred to the aorist, see § 585.

Ionic does not support a second aorist, active or middle, of *ἀγγέλλω*; cf. Hdt. IV 153, III 142, VII 37. Noteworthy forms in prose are *ἔρμενος* Hippokr. III 420, *ὠνήσθαι* IX 392 (*ὠνήσθαι* C and Ermerins, the only example of the perfect).

### 610.] Perfect.

After stems ending in a vowel the original ending *-νται* may remain in Ionic; after stems ending in a consonant *-νται* becomes *-αται*, with or without aspiration of a preceding tenuis. In Homeric and later Ionic the latter ending has been transferred in the perfect to stems ending in vowels. *-αται* has even found a lodgment in the present of *-μι* verbs (§ 585, 3) in the later dialect; a noteworthy mark of difference between the older and the later language.

In only one inscription do we find the third plural in a form not Attic: *εἴρηται* (*εἰρήται*?) in Oropos 18<sub>17</sub> (between 411–402 or 387–377 B.C.), a form contracted from *εἶπε* (< *εἶρη*) + *αται*. Compare the form in Hippokrates adduced below. *γεγέγηνται*

<sup>1</sup> *ἐπῖκεο* is called Ionic in An. Par. III 354m.

occurs twice: Samos 221<sub>8</sub> (shortly after 322 B.C., an inscription strongly marked by Ionic spellings) and Iasos 105<sub>2</sub> (end of the fourth century, with some traces of Attic).

611.] The Lyric Poets like Homer have -νται and -αται, which they have transferred to stems ending in a vowel. (1) -νται in the elegy occurs in πάρκεινται Xenoph. 1<sub>9</sub>, ἐπείκεινται Theog. 421. (2) -αται in elegiac and iambic poems is found in τετράφαται Theog. 42, κείαται Mimn. 11<sub>6</sub>, κέαται Archil. 169. (3) -εαται. In Anakreon 81 ἐκκεκωφέαται and in Hipponax 62 κεκινέαται, the long vowel of the perfect stem has been shortened before -αται to ε, and this ε, together with α, forms a single syllable. This shortening of the long stem vowel in the lyric poets and in prose constitutes a mark of division between the older Ionic of Homer and the later language. Homer has βεβλήαται<sup>1</sup>, -ατο, κεκλήαται<sup>1</sup>, πεποτήαται. The beginnings of the later usage appear in Homeric ξαται, ξατο.

Now if by the time of Anakreon and Hipponax -η-αται had not only become -ε-αται but even -εαται (to say nothing of Homer's ξαται), it is impossible to regard as correct the form πεπλήαται which is reported as having been used by Sim. Amorg. (31 A). The Et. M. 367<sub>40</sub>, which quotes the word, takes it to be singular number, not only on account of the subject (ξύλα), but also because of the confusion in the minds of the grammarians between the singular and plural forms in the perfect. See § 613, note at end. πεπλήαται has long ago been corrected to πεπλέαται, the η of the Et. M. being due to recollection of like Homeric forms. Cf. § 281, 3, note.

612.] In Ionic prose we find -νται and -αται, not merely after consonantal, but also after vocalic stems.

Herodotos has -αται, e.g. in the following cases:—

(1) After consonants (usually with aspiration of gutturals<sup>2</sup> and labials, but not of dentals): ἀναμεμίχαται, ἀποδεδέχαται, τετράφαται, κεχωρίδαται, ἀγωνίδαται, ἐσκενάδαται, ἐφθάραται. (2) After υ: κατακεχύαται (p. 481), ἐνιδρύαται; cf. εἰρύαται § 265. (3) After ε < η in *verba pura*, and, by analogy, in the perfect of κεῖμαι: ἡγέαται, οἰκέαται, ἐκτέαται, ὀρμέαται, εἰρέαται, κεκλέαται, ἐπικέαται, κατέαται, &c. (cf. ξαται Γ 134). The latter form is in reality derived from a consonant stem (ἦσ-νται). In ἀναπεπτέαται α has apparently been dissimilated to ε.

Herodotos has also -νται, e.g. δέδονται VII 134, ἐκδεδωρίενται VIII 73 in P (adopted by Stein; Dindorf ἐκδεδωρίδαται).

<sup>1</sup> These forms, and ξαται, are adduced by the Gram. Vat. 694, who does not mention the -εαται formation.

<sup>2</sup> Except ἀνίκαται (ἀνίκατο); see below.

In other Ionic prosaists we find *-νται* very frequently. The following cases of *-αται* occur. Hekataios *μεμετρέαται* (§ 613, 2, footnote). Demokr. 204 *μεμνέαται*. Hippokr. *διακεκόφαται* III 212 (*v. l.* *-μένοι εἰσί*), *περιβεβλέαται* IX 80 (by anacoluthon; Littré would adopt the singular, with which *-εαται* was sometimes confounded by the grammarians), *κεκρύφαται* VII 382, VIII 342, *τετεχνέαται* I 628 (not in *A*), *γεγράφαται* VII 178, *εἰθίδαται* II 298 *dis*, each time supported by *A*, but ill-advisedly rejected by Littré who adopted *εἰθισμένοι εἰσίν*, *εἰρέαται* II 226 (*εἴρηται A*), but *εἴρηνται* 278 (*εἴρηται* in *H*), IX 170. *κέονται* is frequent, *e.g.*, II 18, 22, 24, 48; *ἑστεφάνωνται* II 72. Lukian has *περικόαται* *Astr.* 3 and *κέαται* often for *κείται*, the subject being singular, *μεμιμέαται* *Astr.* 6, *ἀποδεδάχαται* *Syr. dea* 10, 42, Aretaios *γεγράφαται* 331, &c., Euseb. *Mynd.* *ἐκτέαται* 2, 34, *προκέαται* 63, *τετιμέαται* 59 (rejected by Mullach), *ἀπεστερέαται* *conj.* 23.

The only verb in Hdt., compounded of a preposition ending in a vowel and a verbal theme beginning in a vowel and ending in a guttural, that admitted of *-αται* in the perfect, is *ἀπικνέομαι*. The isolated absence of aspiration in *ἀπικάται* and *ἀπικάτο* is to be explained as due to the desire to avoid *ἀπίχαται*, *ἀπίχατο*, which had been too different from the aspirated *ἀφ-*. In compounds the Ionians did not always adopt *psilosis*. Cf. p. 326 and §§ 406, 407.

In Thukydides especially (but only in the verbs *τάσσω*, *τρέφω*, *φθείρω*) and also in Plato (*Rep.* VII 533 B) and Xenophon (*Anab.* IV 8, 5) we find these so-called Ionic forms. That they were not confined to the literary dialect is evident from *ἀναγεγράφαται* (and *ἐτετεύχετο*) upon Attic inscriptions prior to 410 B.C., after which date the periphrastic form obtains sole mastery. Thukydides indeed has both forms, sometimes in close conjunction (*διετετεύχετο* and *τεταγμένοι ἦσαν* in IV 31). In Aiolic and Boiotian also *-αται* occurs in the perfect. In late non-Ionic authors it appears very rarely, *e.g.* *νεμεύεσθαι* Dio Cass. 51, 23.

### 613.] Testimony of the Grammarians.

The grammarians quote as Ionic the following forms in (1) *-αται*, (2) *-εαται*, (3) *-ηαται*, and even (4) *-εανται*. Most are taken from Homer, others do not usually rest upon actual observation. Some are mere figments:—

(1) *-αται*: *ἀγγυγέφαται* Hdn. II 224, (An. Ox. I 396<sub>10</sub>, cf. Et. M. 9<sub>12</sub>); *ἀνυχέδαται* Hdn. II 384<sub>21</sub> (Et. M. 48<sub>1</sub>, An. Ox. I 74<sub>1</sub>, Eust. 1570<sub>1</sub>; *γγεγράφαται* Greg. Kor. § 74; *δεδέαται* Eust. 1837<sub>12</sub>; *δε-* and *δειδέχαται* Eust. 1568<sub>20</sub>, Et. M. 252<sub>17</sub>, 599<sub>27</sub>, An. Ox. I 108<sub>1</sub> (cf. I 300<sub>12</sub>, An. Par. III 162<sub>1</sub>, Hdn. II 225<sub>7</sub> = An. Ox. I 300<sub>12</sub>; *ῥαται* Hdn. II 497<sub>1</sub>, Et. M. 295<sub>1</sub>, 308<sub>1</sub>, Et. Gud. 155<sub>11</sub>, Eust. 234<sub>16</sub>, 1885<sub>14</sub>, An. Ox. I 126<sub>24</sub>, I 142<sub>22</sub>, I 255<sub>20</sub>, An. Par. IV 19<sub>12</sub> (*ῥαται*); *ῥαδαται* Hdn. II 299<sub>12</sub> = Et. M. 316<sub>22</sub>; *εῖαται* Hdn. II 497<sub>1</sub>, Et. Gud. 156<sub>12</sub>, Eust. 1885<sub>19</sub>, 1895<sub>16</sub>, An. Ox. I 127<sub>2</sub>, An. Par. IV 19<sub>12</sub>; *εἰρέαται* Hdn. II 224<sub>16</sub>, 503<sub>7</sub>, Et. M. 378<sub>12</sub>, An. Ox. I 152<sub>12</sub>, 396<sub>20</sub>, An. Par. III 342<sub>20</sub>; *ἐρσιπέδαται* An. Ox. II 198<sub>22</sub> (Choirub.); *ἐρηρέδαται* Eust. 1301<sub>1</sub>, 1895<sub>16-21</sub> (An. Ox. I 396<sub>2</sub>, 'Arrauδs because of the augment), Choirub. 698<sub>1</sub>; *ἐρπέδαται* Hdn. II 224<sub>16</sub> (An. Ox. I

396<sup>1</sup>, Et. M. 377<sup>11</sup>, An. Ox. IV 197<sup>22</sup>, Choirob. 698<sup>7</sup>, Eust. 1895<sup>12</sup>; *ἐρέσται* An. Ox. I 396<sup>25</sup>; *ἐρέσται* Et. M. 378<sup>11</sup>, An. Par. IV 70<sup>9</sup>; *ἐρχεται* Eust. 1301<sup>1</sup>, 1071<sup>23</sup>; *ἐσνάσται* Et. M. 9<sup>13</sup>, Eust. 234<sup>2</sup>; Eust. 1301<sup>3</sup>; *ἐσνάσται* Hdn. II 224<sup>6</sup> (An. Ox. I 396<sup>1</sup>), Diakonos on Hsd. *Aspis* 288, Eust. 1301<sup>3</sup>; *ἡλευσται* Greg. Kor. § 74; *ἡχάσται* Hdn. II 348<sup>23</sup> Et. M. 4<sup>8</sup>, An. Ox. I 74<sup>7</sup>; *κείσται* Et. M. 295<sup>4</sup>, 308<sup>2</sup>, Eust. 1043<sup>34</sup>, 1837<sup>12</sup>, An. Ox. I 142<sup>21</sup>, IV 198<sup>2</sup>, Choirob. 697<sup>6</sup>, 698<sup>26</sup>, Et. Gud. 155<sup>31</sup>; *κείσται* Et. Gud. 155<sup>31</sup>, An. Ox. I 142<sup>21</sup>, Et. M. 295<sup>4</sup>, 308<sup>2</sup>; *κεκέρσται* Choirob. 698<sup>17</sup>; *κεκλίσται* Hdn. II 224<sup>18</sup> (cf. An. Ox. I 396<sup>3</sup>, Et. M. 500<sup>11</sup>), Joh. Gr. 242, Meerm. 655, An. Par. IV 70<sup>10</sup>, An. Ox. I 224<sup>21</sup>, cf. 226<sup>5</sup>; *κεκλίσται* (?), Hdn. II 224<sup>6</sup>, cf. An. Ox. I 396<sup>12</sup>; *κεχρυσάσται* Choirob. 698<sup>21</sup>, -*σται* (?) An. Ox. IV 197<sup>13</sup>; *λελάσται* Choirob. 697<sup>11</sup>, Greg. Kor. § 74; *λελέσται* Greg. Kor. § 74, Theod. 57<sup>12</sup>, Eust. 234<sup>12</sup>; *λελήσται* An. Ox. I 168<sup>28</sup>; *νευέσται* Hdn. II 225<sup>4</sup> = An. Ox. I 300<sup>4</sup>, Et. M. 599<sup>21</sup>; *νευήσται* Choirob. 697<sup>20</sup>; *νευίσται* Greg. Kor. § 74, Theod. 57<sup>12</sup>; *νευόσται* An. Ox. I 287<sup>21</sup>; *νευήσται* Choirob. 697<sup>21</sup>; *πεπεύσται* An. Ox. I 396<sup>7</sup>; *πεφράσται* Eust. 1301<sup>1</sup>, An. Ox. I 74<sup>3</sup>, IV 197<sup>37</sup>, Theod. 57<sup>14</sup>, Choirob. 697<sup>23</sup>, Greg. Kor. § 74; *τετάσται* Joh. Gr. 242, Meerm. 655; *τετεύσται* An. Ox. I 395<sup>31</sup>, 411<sup>13</sup>; *τετίλσται* Choirob. 698<sup>18</sup>; *τετράσται* Hdn. II 223<sup>17</sup> (An. Ox. I 395<sup>21</sup>), Joh. Gr. 242, Et. M. 366<sup>7</sup>, An. Ox. I 127<sup>15</sup>, Meerm. 655; *τετύφσται* Choirob. 696<sup>29</sup>, Theod. 57<sup>10</sup>, Max. Plan. in Anecd. Bachm. II 53, Diakonos on Hsd. *Aspis* 288, Eust. 234<sup>14</sup>, 1301<sup>3</sup>; *ἀνομάσται* Eust. 1301<sup>3</sup>; *ῥέχσται* An. Ox. I 451<sup>16</sup>, Schol. Ven. A on A 26. (2) -*σται*: *βεβλήσται* Hdn. II 225<sup>11</sup> (An. Ox. I 288<sup>3</sup>); *βεβοήσται* Greg. Kor. § 74; *βεβολέσται* An. Ox. IV 197<sup>13</sup>, Choirob. 698<sup>28</sup>; *εἰρέσται* Eust. 234<sup>2</sup> (not specifically called Ionic); *ἐκκεκωφάσται* Hdn. II 225<sup>14</sup> An. Ox. I 288<sup>3</sup>; *κεκινέσται* Hdn. II 225<sup>13</sup> An. Ox. I 288<sup>3</sup>, An. Par. IV 70<sup>9</sup>; *κεκλέσται* Eust. 1895<sup>13</sup>; *μεμετρήσται* Hdn. II 225<sup>1</sup> = An. Ox. I 287<sup>21</sup>; *μεμνέσται* An. Par. IV 19<sup>13</sup>; *νενοήσται* Hdn. II 225<sup>3</sup> (Et. M. 601<sup>21</sup>, Choirob. 697<sup>14</sup>, 698<sup>22</sup>, An. Ox. I 287<sup>21</sup>, IV 197<sup>32</sup>, Eust. 1885<sup>14</sup>, 1895<sup>13</sup>); *πεποιέσται* Hdn. II 224<sup>17</sup> Et. M. 500<sup>13</sup>, Choirob. 698<sup>34</sup>, An. Ox. I 287<sup>29</sup>, 197<sup>32</sup>, Eust. 1885<sup>13</sup>, Greg. Kor. § 74, Theod. 57<sup>10</sup>; *πεποτέσται* Et. M. 662<sup>21</sup>; *περιβεβλήσται* An. Ox. I 288<sup>3</sup>; *δυνέσται* Eust. 234<sup>16</sup>. (3) -*σται*: *πεπλήσται* Et. M. 367<sup>10</sup>; *πεποθήσται* Et. M. 662<sup>20</sup>, An. Ox. I 97<sup>3</sup>, Eust. 234<sup>16</sup>. (4) -*σται* (!). Hyper-Ionic *πεποιέσσαι*, *γεγευέσσαι* are quoted from the *Naxiand* of Philetas or Kallinos by Herakleides Milesios in Eust. 1885<sup>13</sup>. For Philetas read Philtoas.

The grammarians derived the plural directly from the singular forms. To their doubt as to what was the singular, what the plural, may be ascribed such forms as *κεκλέσται* for *κέκληται* in late Ionic monuments (pseudo-Hippocratic letters). Perhaps such collocations as *ταῦτα . . . εἰρέσται* Hippokr. VII 484, and *ταῦτα . . . εἰρηται* VII 496, 556, Hrd. 2<sup>11</sup>, aided the confusion.

#### 614.] Perfects with σ before -μαι<sup>2</sup>.

In the following are collected from post-Homeric Ionic writers, *first* those instances of perfects and pluperfects of verbs whose

<sup>1</sup> *μεμετρήσται* is here referred to Hekataios, though the passage quoted is found in Hdt. IV 86. Evidently two citations have been fused. In Et. M. 578<sup>11</sup> the passage is ascribed to Hipponax, who is quoted in Hdn. as having used *κεκινέσται*. Another instance of confusion between Herodotus and Hekataios is Hek. 135, where a citation from Hdt. and from Hek. have been fused. Nothing is thereby proved as to the spuriousness of the *Periplus* of Hekataios.

<sup>2</sup> See Lobeck on *Asias* 704, Bredow p. 341 ff., Solmsen *K. Z.* XXIX 90 ff.

stems ended originally in *-s*, and in which *-σμαι* (though itself due to analogy) is relatively more primitive than in the verbs of the second class. Original *-σ-μαι* could not remain in the dialects: where it is apparently retained it is due to the influence of those forms before which the *sigma* could not disappear (*-σται*). Secondly, those verbs whose stems did not end in a sibilant, but which have borrowed *-σμαι* from the first class. Not all the examples in these two classes are certain, (1) because of the difficulty of determining the etymology, and (2) because of the existence of by-forms in *-ζω* or *-θω*, which might have carried *sigma* into the third person.

But few examples of *-ζω* verbs have been admitted, and such verbs as *πῖμπλημι*, *πῖμπρημι* have been excluded because of *πλήθω*, *πρήθω* which are both as early as Homer. Here the *θ* is adventitious in other stems than the present. It is noteworthy that Herodotos and Hippokrates avoid using *πέπλησμαι* and *πέπρησμαι*, though both have *ἐπλήσθην* and *ἐπρήσθην*. Stems ending in dentals are not here enumerated as they are easily recognized, e.g. *πέπυσμαι* with *-σμαι* borrowed from *πέπυσται*, *δέδασμαι* from *√δατ*, not from *δασ-*. Ionic sometimes fails to adopt the adventitious *σ* where Attic has it. Cf. *νενημένην χοῖρον* Hrd. 4<sub>16</sub> with *Clouds* 1203 *νενησμένοι* (*νενασ-*?)

#### 1. Sigmatic Stems.

*βύνέω* (cf. *διαβύνεται* Hdt. II 96), Hdt. VI 125 (pluperf.), Hippokr. VIII 12. *ἔννυμι* Hipponax 3, Hippokr. VII 456. In Homer we find *εἶμαι*, *εἶται*, and *ἔστο*. *ζέω* Hippokr. V 324. *ζώννυμι* Hdt. II 85 (P), VII 69 (in *Rs*, not adopted by Stein). *ξέω* Hippokr. VII 430. *πίσσω* Hippokr. I 600, VI 536, VIII 102. *σβέννυμι* Hippokr. VII 274. *τελέω* Hdt. VII 118. *χρῆω* Hippokr. III 430, but *κέχρημαι* Hdt. IV 189 (*-σμ- A. Eust.*), 195. *χρῆζω* Hippokr. V 390 (or is the *σ* due to the dental?).

Perhaps the stems of the following verbs once ended in *ς*: *εἶμαι*: *έίσκη[ν]* Hrd. 8<sub>16</sub>. *πρίω* Hippokr. III 242. *σπῶω* Hdt. I 59, Hippokr. VI 178. *φλέω*: *περιπεφλευσμένους* Hdt. V 77.

2. *-σμαι* is due to analogy in *ἄλέω* Hdt. VII 23; *γγινάσκω* Hdt. VIII 110, Hippokr. II 344; [*δέω* has *δέδεμαι*, but *δεδεσμένοις* appears in the vulgate of Hippokr. IV 220, where Littré with ample MS. support reads *ἐπιδεδεμένοις*; cf. IV 266, 268, 302]. [*ἐλαύνω*: *ἐλήλασμαι* Hippokr. VIII 290, 426 is a form neither Attic nor Herodoteian (on *ἠλάσθην* in Hdt. see under the Aorist passive). *ἐλήλασμαι* does not occur again until Pausanias. The stem may be regarded as *ελαδ-*; if so the *σ* is regular]. *ἐλέω* Hdt. IX 98 (*ἐλευσμένοις*), Hippokr. VIII 484 (*εἰλευσμένος*), V 178 pluperf.). *καέω* Hippokr. VII 242, but elsewhere *κέκασται* II 54, V 424, VI 174, 192, 330, 442, VII 242 (and *ἐκάσθην*, *καυθήσομαι*). *κελεύω* Hdt. VIII 93 pluperf.). *κλέω* Hippokr. III 420. *κλείω* Hippokr. V 528 has *κεκλεισμένον* (some MSS. *-ιμενον*). *κεκλήμι* is the correct form in Hdt. II 121 β (*-ειμ- A B C*, *-εισμ- P R d s*), III 117 (*-ειμ- C*, *-ηισμ- P*, *-ησμ- R*), VII 129 (*-ειμ- C*, *-ημ- A B d*, *-ησμ- P ουτ.*, *-ηῖσμ- R q s*). The Aorist passive always has *σ*. *ξύω* Hippokr. VIII 372 (cf. *ξυστός* Hdt.) *σκεδάω* Hdt. IV 14, Hippokr. VI 152. *φλέω* Hippokr. III 202, 232. *χέω* Hdt. II 138, VIII 144; see Schulze *K.Z.*



XXIX 265. *χράω* Hdt. II 147, 151, III 64, IV 164 (-*ημ*- CR s<sup>1</sup>, VII 141, 150. The variant -*ημαι* is very frequent. *χράομαι* has *πέχρημαι* Hdt. I 42. *ψάω* Hippokr. VII 556.

3. Perfects in -*σμαι* from verbs in -*νω*; which have also -*μμαι* < -*νμαι* in other dialects. Here too -*σμαι* is analogical. The aorist passive has -*νθη*. *θηλύνω* Hippokr. II 60, VI 202. *κοιλαίνω* Hippokr. IX 216 cf. *ἐκοιλανθην* V 420. *λεπτύνω* Hippokr. II 26, IV 510, VI 174 (*ἐλεπτύνθη* IV 548). *λυμαίνω* Hdt. IX 112. *ξηραίνω* Hippokr. VI 172, 322, 586, 588, Hdt. I 186, VII 109 (*ἐξηράνθη* Hdt. I 75, Hippokr. V 228, VI 174). *σημαίνω* Hdt. II 39. *ὀφαινω* Hdt. III 47 (*ὀφάνθη* I 103). In connection with these verbs we may notice *ἀπήμεβλυνται* Hdt. I 4.

### 615.] Varia.

*μένεαι* and *μένηται* (Φ 442) are called Ionic by Choirob. 673.1. *μένη* O 18 has been regarded as contracted from *μένεαι* from *μένεομαι* because -*ηαι* < -*ησαι* is usually retained in Homer. But for *μένη* we may read *μεμνη*.

Hdt. has both *δέδογμα* and *δεδόκηται*, the latter form only once (VII 167). The form *κατακεκραμμένον*, Hippokr. III 490, has now given way to the present -*κρεμάμενον*. *κεκόρηται*, not *κεκόρεσται*, is the Ionic perfect of *κορεννυμι*. In Attic we find the latter form. *Ραίκο* 1285 is an epic parody. *λαμβάνω* yields *λέλαμμαι* Hdt. IX 51, but *ἀναλελάφθαι* Hippokr. III 308 according to the MSS. (the vulgate has here -*λάμφθαι*. Cf § 130. The form *τεθηλημέναι* Hippokr. VI 654 was displaced by Littré. *νέναγμα*, not *νένασται*, Hippokr. VII 520. From *δαφ-νω* we have *δεδαυμέναι* Sim. Amorg. 30, the only certain occurrence. The perfect of *ἀλίζω* is also confined to Ionic. On *ἐκτημαι*, see §§ 583, 4.

### 616.] Pluperfect.

-*ατο* is the ending in Hdt., though -*ντο* occurs, e.g. *ἐπέπανντο* I 83, *κατέστρωντο* VIII 53. We find -*ατο*

(1) after consonants (generally with aspiration): *ἐτετάχατο* and in compounds of *τάσσω* (*διά*, *παρά*, *πρός*), *εἰλίχατο*, *κατεστράφατο*, *διεφθάρατο*, *ἐσκευάδατο*, *ἀπίκατο* (without aspiration, § 612, note). For *ἐσταλάδατο* or *ἐστελ-* VII 89, which was constructed on the analogy of *ἐηλάδατο*, we accept Dobree's *ἐστάλατο*.

(2) after *ν*: *ἰδρύατο*.

(3) after *ε*, with shortening of *η* to *ε* in -*εω* verbs: *ἐκεκοσμέατο*, *περιβεβλέατο*, *ἐδεδέατο*, *ὄρμέατο* (not *ὠρμέατο*), *ἐμεμνέατο*, *ἀναραιρέατο*, *ἐτετιμέατο*, *πεπειρέατο*, *κατέατο* (cf. *ἔατ'* II 414, i.e. *ἦσαντο*), and by analogy in *ἐκέατο*; *ἀπεκεκλέατο*, or *ἀποκεκλέατο*, in IX 50 has now given way to *ἀπεκεκληρίατο*. It is to be noticed that Homer, in contradistinction to Herodotos, always uses -*ντο* after *ε* (present and aorist) and either -*ηατο* or -*ηντο* in the pluperfect.

The Homeric -*ηατο* appears in the MSS. of Hdt. in *περιβεβλήατο* VI 24 in A B C d, *περιβαλέατο* *veliqui*, whence we restore -*εβεβλέατο*. Here *βεβλήατο* E 28 was the cause of the mistake.

*διεφθαρέατο* Hdt. VIII 90 in all MSS. except P, which has -*φθειρέατο*, should be changed to *διεφθάρατο* (plup.).

In other Ionic prosaists these forms are very rare. Eusebios, § 8, has *προσεκατέατο*. -ντο is adopted, e.g. in *κατέκειντο* Hippokr. II 660, *ἐγεγένηντο* V 184.

With the occurrence of -σαι, -ατο in Hdt. and the lyric poets, compare the Homeric usage throughout: (1) after consonants and : these forms are necessary, (2) after ν, η, and ω they are possible, but (3) not after α<sup>1</sup>, ε<sup>2</sup>, and ε. The lyric poets and Hippokrates, if his text has not been Atticized in this regard, stand nearer to Homer than to Herodotos in the admission of the forms with ν.

Testimony of the grammarians. The following forms in -ατο, -εατο, and -ηατο are called Ionic in grammatical treatises:—(1) -ατο: ἀγγέλατο Et. M. 912, An. Ox. I 396<sub>10</sub>; δειδέχατο Eust. 234<sub>12</sub>, 436<sub>22</sub>, 782<sub>33</sub>; ἔατο Hdn. II 92<sub>10</sub> (Schol. Ven. A on O 10), An. Ox. I 174<sub>10</sub> (ἐλάτο ποιητικώς, ἔατο ἰακώς as An. Par. IV 19<sub>11</sub>, where the smooth breathing is found), 256<sub>2</sub>; ελάχατο Eust. 234<sub>12</sub>; ἐρράδατο An. Par. III 261<sub>1</sub>, ἐσεσάχατο Eust. 234<sub>12</sub>; ἐσώφατο Et. M. 927; ἐφθίλατο An. Ox. I 124<sub>21</sub>, An. Par. III 343<sub>10</sub>, τετεύχατο An. Ox. I 411<sub>11</sub>, τετέφατο Theod. 58<sub>11</sub>, Choirob. 697<sub>2</sub>, 701<sub>10</sub>. (2) -εατο: ἀκαχέατο Et. M. 46<sub>11</sub>, cf. An. Ox. I 97<sub>2</sub>; δεδμέατο Et. M. 252<sub>24</sub>, Et. Gud. 135<sub>1</sub>; ελάχατο Eust. 234<sub>10</sub>; ἐκτέατο Eust. 234<sub>11</sub>; ξυνεδεδέατο Et. M. 252<sub>24</sub>, Et. Gud. 416<sub>10</sub>, cf. 160<sub>2</sub>. (3) -ηατο: δεδμήατο Et. M. 252<sub>24</sub>, Et. Gud. 135<sub>2</sub>, An. Ox. I 96<sub>21</sub>, 112<sub>22</sub> (cf. Schol. Ven. A. on Γ 183, I 3); ἐβεβολήατο Et. M. 193<sub>21</sub>, An. Par. III 47<sub>11</sub>, βεβολήατο An. Ox. I 94<sub>12</sub>, cf. 96<sub>27</sub>.

### 617.] *Varia.*

ἡρήρεισθαι Archil. ep. 94<sub>3</sub> is the MS. reading of the second person, which we adopt with the change to -θα, the original perfect ending. We should expect either ἡρηρέασθα or at least ἡρήρησθα (cf. ἡδησθα τ 93 and in the drama) which Bergk accepts. If the εἰ be correct, it is due to the desire to bring the form into line with ἡρήρειστο. A direct interchange of εἰ and η is out of the question.

On ἔωρτο see § 289, 1; on ἐνένωτο § 296.

## *Subjunctive.*

### 618.] *Present.*

1. From Herodotos we are able to discover traces of a double inflection of δύναμαι.

(a) Forms similar to those of the Ω conjugation: δύν-η-ται VI 125 (cf. κρέμηται Hippokr. IV 290), δυν-ώ-μεθα VII 143, δύν-ω-ιται IX 11 as Samos 221<sub>25</sub> (cf. κέρωνται Δ 260). In δύν-

<sup>1</sup> When -σαι would follow α in Herodotos, we have ε-σαι.

<sup>2</sup> With the apparent exceptions ἔαται, ἔατο. Homer has even ἔντο as well as ἦατο. The former is due to the analogy of ἤμεθα, &c. < \*ἤσμεθα.

η-ται the long modal vowel of the subjunctive, instead of appearing after the final vowel of the stem (δύνᾱ-ται Thasos 72<sub>3</sub>), actually takes its place. δύνηται (cf. ἐπί-στ-η-ται from ἐπί-στᾱ-ται, and Skt. *da-dh-ā-tāi* from indic. *dā-dhā-ti*) is constructed as if the present were δύνομαι, a form which, we may incidentally remark, chances to have been used in a very late period of the language (*Papyr. du Louvre* 39<sub>10</sub>, 161 B.C.) and in Modern Greek. With δυνώμεθα cf. μαρνώμεσθα in Hesiod, μαρνώμεθα in the Odyssey. A different formation is represented by Kretan δυνάμαι<sup>1</sup> and the Hipponaktian ῥήγνυται 19<sub>4</sub> (cf. ῥήγνυνται Hesiod, ζώννυνται Homer). Here a subj. like Messenian προτίθηντι seems to have been the model, or we have a very old formation by vowel lengthening in the subjunctive.

If Kretan δυνάμαι represents the primitive type of this inflection, the Ionic form would have been δύνημαι, which became δυνώμαι through influence of λήγται, λύωμαι. This may be possible, even though δυνάμαι does not contain a pre-Hellenic contraction of *a + o*, as Osthoff held, *M. U.* II 116. ῥήγνυται is certainly an analogical formation.

(δ) δύναμαι actually passes into the Ω inflection in δυνεώμεθα Hdt. IV 97 (*A B C*, δυνώμεθα *R*), δυνέωνται VII 163 (*R*), which forms are not mere blunders made through recollection of δυνέαται<sup>2</sup>. Cf. Thessalian δυνάεται or δυνάηται (as Delphic πριάηται) *B. B.* XIV 301. So too in the case of ἐπίσταμαι: for ἐπίστωνται we have ἐπιστέωνται III 134 and in the decree in Demosth. *De Corona* § 91. δυνέωνται has another parallel in βουλέωνται Teos (*Mith.* XVI 292, l. 19), βούλομαι and δύραμαι going hand in hand in post-Homeric. Cf. βουλήσομαι, δυνήσομαι, ἐβουλήθην, ἐδυνήθην. The εω of δυνέωνται is perhaps reduced from ηω as that in θέωσι, ἀπιέωσι, ἐπιβέωμεν in Hdt. (Cf. μεμνέωμεθα, § 620.)

δύνωμαι with this accent is well attested (Herodian II 55, : on Z 129 δύνηται) but δυνώμαι, as if the result of a contraction of δυνέωμαι, found a defender in Tyrannio, who accented the Homeric form δυνῆαι. Hdt. has δύνῃ.

In II 243 is ἐπιστάεται (cf. δυνάεται) correct? The editors adopt ἐπιστήται (*C D G H*), which is rightly taken to be subjunctive. Zenodotos' ἐπιστάεται may point to a confusion with the singular (cf. §§ 611, 613) of the indicative, which Meyer, § 485, thinks is the proper mood; but, as Leaf has suggested, ἐπιστάεται and ἐπίσταται (*A L*) hint that the original reading was ἐπιστάεται.

2. -η is the termination in the second person of the subjunctive present and aorist in the prose documents. βούλη Thasos 68, as in Hippokr. VII 120 and Hdt., who has also πείθη, δύνῃ, συνέχῃ

<sup>1</sup> Subj. δύνανται Hdt. IX 11 in one MS, VII 163 in Aldus are mere errors.

<sup>2</sup> μενέωσι Hdt. IV 97 in *R* (Aret. 251) is an example of the 'pleonastic' εω which was regarded as a mint-mark of Ionic.

(thus, and not -εαι V 23 with *C P d r*, or -ηαι<sup>1</sup> with Aldus). Herodas 6<sub>38</sub> has πεύθη. πείνῃαι occurs in Theog. 929 at the verse end. βιήσεαι Theog. 1307, πείσεαι Solon 20, are probably imitations of the epic usage, though in the fifth century -εαι was still used for -ηαι in the aorist subjunctive active (§ 239).

### 619.] Aorist.

Mimn. 3 in παραμείψεται retains the short modal vowel (cf. § 239). ποιήσωμαι, Hipponax 43, is a post-Homeric form. Homer has no instance of -σωμαι.

παρλήψεται Hippokr. VI 326 is a conjecture merely, and ἐλαμψάμην finds no support in Hdt. δυνήσονται Sim. Amorg. 1<sub>17</sub> is a rare form and perhaps incorrect, as is ὑπελεύσεται Hippokr. II 494 (-ελεύσεται). For δήξεται Hippokr. VII 330, 336, θ has δήξεται. ξυμβήσεται Hippokr. IX 28 is an interesting form. διαμαχεσώμεθα Hdt. IX 48 (-σώμεθα *Rs*) is the only example of this aorist subjunctive in early Greek.

### 620.] Perfect.

μεμνεώμεθα has the support of all the MSS. in Hdt. VII 47, where μεμνώμεθα of Aldus and Eust. 767<sub>π</sub>, who quotes the passage, is adopted by recent editors. But -εώμεθα is not an impossible form in Hdt. μεμνώμαι, μεμνήται, κεκτηῖται, κεκτηῖσθε in Attic point to contraction, and -εώμεθα may represent -ηώμεθα or -ηόμεθα. That Homer has μεμνώμεθα ξ 168 renders, it is true, the appearance of the earlier form in Hdt. somewhat surprising; unless we assume that the epic form is derived from μέμνομαι. μέμνομαι has indeed been conjectured by Scaliger in Archil. 9<sub>2</sub>, but is not certainly attested before Xenophon, who has μέμνοιο, Anab. I 7, 5 (MSS.). But as Homer has μεμνέμεντο Ψ 361<sup>2</sup>, we hold it preferable to adopt μεμνεώμεθα in ξ 168, and to reject Abicht's derivation of the Herodoteian form from μέμνομαι. See §§ 615, 626. Cf. also χρεώμενος Ψ 834 from χρήμενος. In Hdt. I 96 *C P z* have μνεώμενος for μνώμενος of the other MSS. and the editors.

Hippokr. VI 212 has both βέβρωται and βεβρωμένος ἦ (cf. ξυγκεκαυμένη ἦ VII 242), VII 24 ἦλκωται (ἐλκ- *E I J K*), ἦλκωμένοι ἦ VIII 262. προσαρήρεται is called Ionic for -ηται by Tzetzes on Hesiod, *W. D.* 429 (431). Cf. Eust. 1869<sub>α</sub>. It is the only example of the short modal vowel in the perfect. Vat. 2 has προσαρήσεται as a correction of -αρήρηται.

<sup>1</sup> -ηαι is called Ionic because it is Homeric: An. Ox. I 215<sub>10</sub>, 296<sub>α</sub>, An. Par. III 315<sub>α</sub>, 341<sub>α</sub>. ἴσηαι is found in all MSS. but one in Hdt. IV 9.

<sup>2</sup> μεμνέμεντο Bekker: cf. μεμνήμην Ω 745.

*Optative.***621.] Present.**

-οιατο<sup>1</sup> for -οιωτο occurs in δεχοίατο Sim. Am. 7<sub>107</sub>, δυναίατο, συναπισταίατο, γινοίατο, λυπεοίατο, μηχανώατο in Hdt., τραποίατο Arrian 21<sub>12</sub>, διαδεχοίατο Euseb. Mynd. 38, ἐλεγχοίατο 29; Hippokr. II 280 has βλάπτοιωτο.

**622.] First Aorist.**

-αιατο<sup>2</sup> for -αιωτο occurs in Hdt. γευσαίατο, δεξαίατο, ἀρακτησαίατο; κομίσαιωτο Samos 221<sub>11</sub>.

**623.] Second Aorist.**

-οιατο<sup>3</sup> for -οιωτο occurs in πιθολατο Sim. Am. 1<sub>22</sub>, γενοίατο Hdt., Hippokr. II 666, VIII 94 *bis* (but γένοιωτο Theog. 736 in *A*), ἐλοίατο, ἀπικοίατο, ὑπερβαλοίατο &c. in Hdt., πυθολατο Hippokr. II 224 (vulgate).

*Imperative.***624.] Present.**

Herodotos has both -εο<sup>4</sup> and -ευ from ε-σο, *e.g.* (1) -εο in προσδέκεο III 62, ἀναπαύεο V 19, πείθεο VIII 62, ἐπιφαίνεο VIII 143, &c., προσκίπτεο Demokr. 172, (2) -ευ in ἀγευ VII 38, ἀνέχευ I 206, V 19, τέρπευ II 78 (Greg. Korinth. § 60).

The poets have -ευ in ἐνάδευ (ἀνὰ δ' ἔχευ?) Archil. tetr. 66<sub>2</sub>, ἀλέξευ 66<sub>2</sub>, χαρίζευ 75<sub>2</sub>; δικάζεω Demodok. 6 (tetr.); βουλευέω Theog. 71, ἔρχευ 220 (*A*, other MSS. ἔρχου), ἐντρέπευ 400, πέλεω (and ἐφέπου) 1073; πληκτίζευ Hrd. 5<sub>29</sub>, σκέπτευ 7<sub>12</sub>. Cf. appendix.

Attic -ου appears in Theognis in several passages: εὔχου 129, 171, ἐφέπου 217, 1073, γίνου 217 (so Demokr. 174), τρίβου 465, βουλεύου 633, σπεύδου 980 (*A*, -εω Bergk), ἄχθου 1032 (*v.l.* ἄχθεις &c.). The -ου form, which in no case is to be regarded as due to Megarian influence, may be adopted in those portions of the poet which are demonstrably late.

Hdt. has ἐπίστασο (not -αο) VII 29, 39, 209 in marked contrast to Attic prose (which admits, however, the uncompounded

<sup>1</sup> Ionic according to Et. M. 507<sub>20</sub>, Et. Gud. 318<sub>20</sub>, An. Ox. I 109<sub>13</sub>, 244<sub>10</sub>, Gram. Vat. 694.

<sup>2</sup> Et. M. 325<sub>10</sub>, 507<sub>10</sub>, Et. Gud. 318<sub>20</sub>, An. Ox. I 244<sub>10</sub>.

<sup>3</sup> Et. M. 258<sub>11</sub>, 507<sub>10</sub>, Et. Gud. 139<sub>20</sub>, 318<sub>20</sub>, An. Ox. I 244<sub>10</sub>, An. Par. III 343<sub>20</sub>, IV 71<sub>10</sub>; πλώατο An. Ox. I 148<sub>20</sub> (Ionic, Doric, and Aeolic!).

<sup>4</sup> An. Ox. I 161<sub>1</sub>, on ἔρχευ Z 280, quotes as Ionic ἔρχεο, ἔρχεο; ἴζεο An. Ox. I 215<sub>20</sub>, Et. Gud. 273<sub>20</sub> (-ευ Doric); ῥίεο Et. Gud. 494<sub>10</sub>.



ιστασο). In Attic poetry only is there freedom to use either *ἐπίστασο* or *ἐπίστω*. For Attic *χρῶ* we have *χρέω* in Hdt. I 155 (except in *A B*); cf. § 687, 2. In Hdt. and the inscriptions we find only *-σθων* (*μαχέσθων*, *χράσθων* Hdt., *ἐνεχέσθων* Zeleia 113<sub>29</sub>), but Hippokr. VI 82 has the later *χρήσθωσαν* (*A*). *κτεινέσθων* in Hdt. VII 10 (*θ*) may be noted because of its use as a passive.

### 625.] Aorist.

*γενοῦ* Archil. 75<sub>1</sub> (tetr.) is an Atticism for *γενέο* or *γενεῖ*. Hdt. has *-εν*<sup>1</sup> in *πύθεν* III 68, *βάλεν* VII 51, VIII 68 (*γ*) as Theog. 1050. On the accent, see Chandler § 783. *δικασάσθων* Thasos 72<sub>15</sub>, *He]λέσθων* Chalkidian Ionic, 13<sub>1</sub>.

### 626.] Perfect.

*μέμνεο* Hdt. V 105, Hrd. 4<sub>20</sub>, might be derived from *μέμνομαι* (cf. *μέμβλεται* Φ 516 and § 620), since from *μέμνημαι* we might expect *μέμνησο* in Ionic=Doric *μέμνασο* (Epicharmos, Pindar). It is not likely that *δ-σο* has become *εο* in *μέμνεο*. *μέμνεο* also occurs in the Anthol. Pal. and in Orph. Lith. 603. Cf. Attic *κάθου* and *κάθησο*. *πεπρήσθω* Halikarn. 238<sub>22</sub>.

## Infinitive.

### 627.] Future.

In the future of liquid verbs the MSS. of Hdt. usually have *-έσθαι*, e. g. *ἀπολέσθαι* I 38, 112, *φανέσθαι* I 60, *ὑποκρινέσθαι* I 164 and by conj. in V 49. In VIII 101 all MSS. agree in *ἀποκρινέσθαι*. The future of *ἀποκρίνομαι* is certainly rare, if correct, in Ionic. Furthermore in *ἐπιτελέσθαι* VI 140. Hippokr. has *ἀπολέσθαι* VII 218, but *-εῖσθαι* IX 320, and *θανεῖσθαι* VIII 356 (as Sim. K. 85<sub>1</sub>).

In *-ίζω* verbs we find *-εῖσθαι*: *χαριεῖσθαι* Hdt. I 158, III 39, *ἀνασκοιοποιεῖσθαι* II 132, IV 43, *ἐπισιτιεῖσθαι* VII 176. (Dindorf's *-ιέσθαι* is wrong). Theog. 47 has *ἀτρεμειεῖσθαι* (MSS. *ἀτρεμείσθαι*).

*τιθήσεσθαι* Hippokr. IX 424 is a unique form (from *τιθίω*).

### 628.] Aorist.

*ἀποίσασθαι* Hippokr. (epist.) IX 418; *μνήσασθαι* Hdt. VII 39. *Syr. dec* 39, does not occur in Attic prose or in comedy.

<sup>1</sup> *-εο* in Homer is Ionic: An. Ox. I 312<sub>20</sub>, Il. Oud. 436<sub>20</sub> (*ἀρεοι*), An. Pat. III 138<sub>10</sub> (*περίεχοι*).

*Participle.***629.] Future.**

ἐξανδραποδιούμενοι adopted by Stein in Hdt. I 66 is incorrect. Cf. ἐξανδραποδιεῦνται VI 9, ἐπισιτιεύμενοι IX 50, ἀνταγωνιεύμενος V 109. In Arrian 24<sub>2</sub> Dübner's ἀπομαχούμενοι is non-Ionic. δικάσόμενοι Hdt. I 96 should be noted because of δικάω I 97.

**630.] Aorist.**

εἰσάμενοι Hdt. I 66 has borrowed its εἰ from the indicative (εἰσαθ' Theog. 12). The epic form is ἔσσ-(π 443), which recurs in Anakreon (?) epigr. 111<sub>3</sub> (καθέσσαιτο).

**631.] Perfect.**

On ἀναιρερημένος and ἀναραιρεμένος, see § 583. ἀπολελαμμένοι Hdt. IX 51, διαλελαμμένος III 117 deserve notice because of παραλελάβηκε III 42 and ἀναλελάβηαι Hippokr. III 308 (-ἀμφθαι *vulgo*). See also λάμψομαι § 607, 6, and cf. § 130. ἐβλαμμένοις occurs on a very late Ephesian inscription, Ditt. *Syll.* 344<sub>86</sub>. Hippokrates VIII 418, 494, 498 uses βέβλαμμαι. νεοσσευμένα Hdt. I 159 has awakened suspicion because of νεοσσός II 68, νεοσσιέων III 111. Portus' conjecture νενεοσσ- is adopted by Dindorf. See § 287, 2, note, and cf. Modern Greek νοσσός, νοσσίς. Aldus and *d* have νοσσιέων in III 111.

**632.] Future Perfect.**

βεβλάψεται Hippokr. II 256. γεγράψεται Hippokr. II 304, 330, 676, III 70, IV 104, 108, 114, 174, 252, Aretaios 280. In IV 80 for γεγραψόμενος, the only example, except διαπεπολησόμενον Thuk. VII 25, of the participle of the reduplicated future occurring in a classical author, we may read γραψόμενος with *J.* γράφομαι is a v.l. II 304, 676. Galen regarded as genuine the treatise περὶ ὀρθῶν, in which γεγραψόμενος appears. δεδηλώσονται Hippokr. IV 190. εἰρήσεται Hdt. II 35, IV 16, 82, VI 86 (8), Hippokr. I 596, II 250, IV 142. Hippokrates has the following noteworthy forms: εἰρησομένοισιν IV 238 in many MSS. (εἰρημένοισιν *vulgo*), εἰρησομένων III 516 βηθησομένων in many MSS., εἰρήσεσθαι VIII 28 (omitted by several MSS.; εἰρήσθαι θ). In Attic we find εἰρήσεται, but the participle and infinitive are not used. These unusual forms in Hippokrates are hardly due to a confusion with the forms of εἰρήσομαι ask (ἐπειρησόμενος Hdt. I 67, 174, IV 161, VI 52). ἐρηρῖσεται Hippokr. VIII 292 (θ). κεκλήσομαι Archil. 24, Theog. 1203 (?), and perhaps in Euseb. Mynd. 47. κεκρύψεται Hippokr. VIII 86 (θ, not κρύψεται as passive, 98. λελέξεται Aretaios 280. ἀναμεμίζεται Hippokr. VII 498 (μίζεται C, ξ). μεμνήσεσθε bear in mind, Hdt. VIII 62, cf. Syria *idea* 27, 30. πεναύσεται Hippokr. VI 238 (not in θ, IX 14, -ονται 52. πεποιήσεται Hippokr. VIII 46, 92 (C, θ). ἐμπεκρήσεται Hdt. VI 9 *ABPm* and Stein; other MSS. ἐμπρήσεται. τετιμμήσεται Hdt. IX 78, all recent editors following Säuern (MSS. τετιμμήσθαι).

*Passive.***633.] Future Passive.**

1. Examples of the future passive formed from the aorist passive stem are rare in early Greek. In Homer there is no future passive built from the first aorist stem, and only one (*μυγήσεσθαι*) from that of the second aorist. In the Attic dialect, when there exists a future 'middle,' from intransitive aorists in *-θην* or *-ην* (so-called aorist passives) a future 'passive' may be formed, which differs essentially from the future 'middle,' not in its voice relations (though the one tense may be intransitive, the other transitive), but in its tense meaning. The future passive is aoristic (ingressive, complexive, &c.), the future middle is durative. That is to say, the signification of the stem as an instrument to denote the character of the action is carried from aorist and present respectively into the two futures. It is not a matter of great consequence in Attic whether both the future 'passive' and the future 'middle' are attested in the monuments. See Blass' *Demosthenische Studien* in *R. M.* XLVII 269 ff. In Attic the passive forms are used much more extensively than in Herodotos. Ionic has so few instances to show of the coexistence of both future passive and future middle, that it is impossible to subject the dialect to the test that yields important results in Attic. The future middle in Ionic did duty for the former; indeed, the language did not seek to mark passiveness as a thing distinct from reflexiveness.

In Herodotos occur the following instances of the future passive from the first aorist stem:—*αἰρεθήσονται* II 13 (in all MSS., aoristic) gives support to *ἀπαιρεθήσεσθαι* V 35 (aoristic), the reading of *A B v s r*, where *C P z* have *-ήσεσθαι*. *ἀπαιρήσεαι* in I 71, *ἀπαιρησόμενος* in IX 82 are middle, as may be the case in Attic, though Euripides used *ἀφαιρήσομαι* and Lysias *αἰρήσομαι* as passives. The natural interpretation of the two future middles in Hdt. is that they are aoristic. *ἐλασσωθήσεσθαι* is adopted by Stein in VI 11 on the authority of *A B* etc. Here I would read *ἐλασσώσεσθαι* with *B<sup>2</sup> P r z* (*ἐλασσώσθαι R*, *ἐλάσσωσθαι s*). The action is aoristic. *συγκεντηθήσεσθαι* VI 29 (*-τήσεσθαι Krüger*), aoristic. *συλλυπηθησόμενοι* VI 39 (*-πησόμενοι Cobet*) join in an expression of sympathy. In Attic, which uses *λυπήσομαι* as the passive, *λυπηθήσομαι* does not appear before Aristotle. *μνησθήσομαι* will mention VI 19, *ἐπιμνησθήσομαι* II 3 (*ἐπιμνήσομαι van Herwerden*). Cf. *ἐπιμνήσομαι* I 5, 177, II 101, Lukian *Syr. dea* 36, *ἀναμνήσομαι* Hippokr. II 650, V 98, *μνήσεαι* Theog. 100 (epic). *μνήσομαι* is so rare in Attic prose that its correctness has been disputed.

2. In Hippokrates, Aretaios, and Arrian we have noticed the following cases of the future passive from the first aorist passive stem.

αἰωρέω III 468, IV 394, 382, 390; ἀλείφω in καταλειφθήσεται IX 320; ἀνδραποδίζω Arrian *Ind.* 28<sub>0</sub> (ἀνδραποδισθητομένην); δάκνω VII 386 (δήξομαι is of course active); δέω III 444; εἶρω II 362 (ῥηθήσεται) and as *v. l.* in many MSS., III 516 (Littre ἐλρησομένων), *epist.* 27<sub>41</sub>; εὐρίσκω I 572, III 436; καθαρίζω VIII 330; καίω VII 422 (the future middle appears in C, VI 302—the only occurrence in early prose); κενόω Aretaios 204 (κενωσμαι in Empedokles is passive); κινέω VII 332, VIII 484 (passive or reflexive; cf. κινήσεται VII 90); κρατέω III 482; λύω VIII 484 (cf. καταλύσονται Hdt. IX 11 *come to terms*); ὁμολογέω VI 6 (a doubtful instance because Δ has ὁμολογήσεται); ὀξύνω II 426; ὀρθόω in κατορθώσεται III 446 (perhaps passive); πνέω Aretaios 200; σώζω II 112; ψύχω II 424; ὑγιάζω VIII 34 (in C); ὠφελέω VII 256 (Attic generally prefers the middle form).

Of these examples only ῥηθήσεται and σωθησομένους occur in the genuine writings of Hippokrates (cf. § 1). Future passives from both of these verbs occur in Attic, but not in Herodotos; and σώσσομαι was never used as a passive. From the above it is evident that the genuine Hippokrates is as little fond of this formation as Herodotos.

3. From the second aorist passive stem are formed, *e.g.* ἀπαλλαγῆσομαι Hdt. II 120, Hippokr. VII 174, 234 as in Attic prose (in tragedy and comedy -χθήσομαι); γραφησόμενος Hippokr. II 278; ῥηθήσεται VI 42; ἀποτακησόμεναι VI 110, according to the vulgate reading adopted by Ermerins (τηξόμεναι Δ, Littre). [τήξεται, transitive, is now abandoned, VII 478.] It is noteworthy that Hippokrates has ἐτήχθην, not ἐτάκην; φανήσομαι Hdt. IV 97, VIII 108 etc., five times as frequent as φανοῦμαι; σαπήσομαι Hippokr. IX 6; φθαρήσομαι Hippokr. I 598; καταρραγήσομαι V 732.

In an Hellenistic inscription from Smyrna in Dittenberger's *Sylloge* 171<sub>m</sub>, from 246–226 B. C. we find διαλεγήσονται. Cf. [δια]λεγείς Lampsakos, *l. l.* 200<sub>11</sub>. διαλεγήσομαι does not seem to occur elsewhere συλλεγησόμενος in Aischinos). Attic inscriptions have διελέχθην, never διελέγην. The latter form first appears in Aristotle.

4. Ordinarily the future middle supplies the place of the future passive, passive and middle not being differentiated. Of the following instances a few may be reflexive, and in others the pure passive force is doubtful.

ἀγόρεω in παρηγορήσομαι Hippokr. V 478, Aretaios 341; ἀγωνίζω Hdt. III 83; ἀθίλω Aretaios 108 (cf. ἀθιλεται passive in Hippokr. V 478); αἰρέω in ἀπαιρήσεσθαι a reading in Hdt V 35 (but see above under 1; ἀμβλύνω Hippokr. IV 464; ἀνδραποδίζω Hdt. VI 9, 17 (I 66 is not passive; cf. above under 1); ἀνασκολακίζω Hdt. III 132, IV 43; βιδέω Hippokr. VIII 280; ἔπω in περιέφομαι

Hdt. II 115, VII 149; ζημιόω Hdt. VII 39; θυμιόω Hippokr. VIII 272 (passive?); θύω Hdt. VII 197 (?); ἴημι Hdt. V 35 (μετήσσεσθαι); ἰνέω Hippokr. VI 318 (?), middle VIII 112, 258; καθαίρω Hippokr. VII 24, 330, VIII 338 (middle VII 54); κινέω Hippokr. VII 90 (reflexive?; see above under 2); κλονέω Hippokr. VII 474 (reflexive or passive); λέγω, say, Aretaios 304; λείπω Hdt. VII 8 (α), 48, IX 56 (passive?); νομίζω Hippokr. VI 352; ξηραίνω Hippokr. VI 236; δμοιόω Hdt. VII 158 (shall be like); δμολογέω (see above under 2); δρίζω Hippokr. IV 102 (active in VI 4, IX 264); πήγνυμι Hippokr. II 36 (shall freeze or be frozen), the only occurrence of πήξομαι in early Greek; ἐμπύπρηναι Hdt. VI 9 (ἐμπυπρήσεται A B Pm and Stein); ἀποπληρόω Hippokr. VIII 12; ποιέω Hippokr. IX 238 (middle Hdt. VIII 4); πολιορκέω Hdt. V 34, VIII 49, IX 58, 97; σημαίνω Hippokr. VII 276 (?), middle II 228; τανύω Archil. 31; τελέω Hdt. VI 140; τρέφω Hippokr. VII 482, 518; ἔω Hdt. II 14; φέρω Hdt. VIII 49, 76, Hippokr. VII 580 (οἴσομαι is also middle as in Hdt. VI 100, 132).

### 634.] First Aorist.

#### 1. The endings of First and Second Aorist.

The third plural always ends in prose in -θησαν (-ησαν second aorist) not in -θεν (-εν). The occurrence of the latter (primitive) form in Homer led to its being called Ionic by the grammarians, though they more frequently refer it to Aiolic and Doric<sup>1</sup>.

2. εω remains open in the subjunctive, e.g. ἀπαιρεθέω Hdt. III 65, ἐσσωθέωμεν IV 97, ἡλιωθέωσι Hippokr. II 18, μυγέωσιν VIII 62. Out of line are ἀποδεχθῶ Hdt. I 124, ἐπιμνησθῶ II 3, συμπιεχθῶσιν Hippokr. VI 292, ξηρανθῶσιν VI 280 etc. πειρηθῶ Theog. 506, or -εω, was a necessity.

εη is always contracted<sup>2</sup>, e.g. μνησθῆς Hdt. VII 159, διδαχθῆς Theog. 565, τερφθῆς 594, ἀσηθῆς 989; ἐξενειχθῆ Hdt. II 90, ἐξενιχθῆι Keos 43<sub>24</sub>, διαρανθῆι 43<sub>17</sub>, ἀδικηθεῖ Oropos 18<sub>14</sub> (§ 239), φανῆι Zeleia 113<sub>20</sub>, μεθυσθῆ Herakl. 73, συμμιγῆ 36, ἀπαλλαχθῆ Diog. Apoll. 5, ἀναταραχθῆ Hippokr. III 42, πεισθῆ Solon 13<sub>π</sub>, τρεφθῆ Theog. 379; μνησθῆτε Hdt. I 36, πεισθῆτε Hdt. 7<sub>62</sub>.

In the optative Hdt. has ἀπαιρεθείησαν I 70, ὀφθείησαν VIII 24 (cf. εἰδείησαν III 61) with the ingression of η from the singular. The shorter form appears in ἀλίσθειεν I 63.

3. ἡρπάσθην is the form to be adopted in Hdt., though -χθην is supported by good MS. evidence in II 90 (-σθείς R<sup>d</sup>), VII 169 (-σθείσαν R), VIII 115 (all MSS.). The form with -σθην occurs I 1, 4, VII 191; and in the future and aorist active σ is correct. Hippokr. II 34 has ἀρπασθῆ. Cf. § 593, 2.

πιέζω varies between ἐπιέσθην Hdt. IV 11, Hippokr. VI 368, Solon 13<sub>37</sub>, and ἐπιέχθην Hippokr. III 324, 434, VI 292. In Hippokr. V 430 occurs συμπιασθῆναι, which is a surprising form

<sup>1</sup> An. Ox. I 9<sub>1</sub>, refers it to Ionic, Doric, and Aiolic; An. Par. III 343<sub>m</sub> to Ionic and Doric; An. Ox. I 429<sub>2</sub> to Doric or Aiolic; as also An. Par. III 323<sub>21</sub>, 363<sub>21</sub>. πέλασθεν M 420, φέσθην II 290 are called Ionic by Schol. Ven. A, rather on account of the omitted augment.

<sup>2</sup> Bekker's δεηθήν Hdt. IV 154 is an error.



because Hippokrates does not make use of the Doric *πιάζω*. Cf. *πιεσθῇ* VI 368 and § 136. Littré refers the form to *συμπιάνω*, but it may have forced its way in from late Greek. *πιαίνω* yields *ἐπιάνθην* VII 242, not *ἐπιάσθην*.

4. In Zeleia No. 1137, one of the latest inscriptions to preserve the character of the dialect (it dates after 334 B.C.), we read *κατελάφθη*, a form which agrees in its construction with *λελάβηκε* Hdt. IV 79, *ἀναλελάφθαι* Hippokr. III 108. Hdt. has *ἀπολελαμμένοι* IX 51, *ἐλάμφθησαν* IX 119, *λαμφθεῖσαι* VI 92; Hippokr. *ἐλήφθη* V 112. The forms devoid of the *μ* do not render impossible *λάμψομαι* or *ἐλάμφθην*, which contain the nasal of the present stem. See §§ 130, 615.

5. Despite *ἐτρώθην* Hippokr. VI 146 etc., we find in the vulgate *τιτρωθῶσιν* V 698 for which we must read *τρωθῶσιν*. *ξυνεξερευθείη* Hippokr. II 176, adopted by Littré, is noteworthy because of the retention of the diphthong. Two MSS. have *-ερυθεί*. For Attic *ἐτύχθην* we find in Hippokr. IX 242 *ἐτεύχθην*. *κατηναλώθην* Hippokr. V 122, 126 is an unusual form. *ἐξεραθείς* Hippokr. VIII 262 has the *ā* commented on in § 393, 4. On *ἤρθην*, *ἀέρθην*, see § 305 and appendix. On the aorist passive of *φέρω* (*ἡνείχθην*), see § 608, 2. *ἔσσυθῇ* Hippokr. VII 502 cannot be correct though preserved in all MSS. (*ἐκσυθῇ*?). Arctaios 96 *ἔσσύθη* is the only certain occurrence of the simple verb in prose. *εἰρέθην*, the regular form in Ionic (Hdt. IV 77, 156, VI 15 etc.), is from *\*ἐφερέθην*, *ἐρρήθην*, the strict Attic form, from *\*ἐφρήθην*. Ionic and Attic *εἶρηκα*, *εἶρημαι* are from *\*φεφερηκα*, *\*φεφέρημαι*. In Hippokrates we meet with the mixed form *ἐρρέθην*, e.g. V 166, where *J* has *προερρήθη*. *ἐρρέθην* also appears in the MSS. of Plato, &c., but is rarely adopted by the editors of the classic authors. In the indicative only we find the *ε*; in the other moods *η*, e.g. *ρήθεις*, *ρήθῆναι*. *αἰνέω* also refuses (as in Attic) to lengthen the stem vowel in this tense: *αἰνηθείς* Hdt. V 102, with which cf. *ἐπήνηται* Hippokr. II 334. A difficult form from *εὐνάω* would be *ξυνεννεθῇ* adopted by Kuhn in Hippokr. VIII 338. *θ* has however *-ηθῇ*. Some rare forms are *κλονηθείς* Hippokr. VII 532 (only in Ionic prose), *ἔσκέφθην* Hippokr. VI 18, *περιέφθην* Hdt. VI 15, VIII 27.

6. An interesting case of the survival of the use of the aorist 'passive' in the transitive sense occurs in Archil. 12:

εἰ κείνου κεφαλὴν καὶ χαρίεντα μέλεα | Ἥφαιστος καθαροῖσιν ἐν  
εἵμασιν ἀμφεποιήθη.

With which we may compare an inscription from Korkyra, C. D. I. 3188:

Πραξιμένης δ' αὐτῷ γ[α]λᾶς ἀπὸ πατρίδος ἐνθῶν | σὺν δάμῳι τόδε  
σῶμα κασιγνήτοιο πονήθη.

*πονήθη* may be taken as a representative of the original indifference of the *θη* forms towards the transitive-active use, on the one hand, and, on the other, the intransitive meaning, out of which grew the passive. Originally *ἐπρονήθη* was no more passive than *ἐρρύνην*. In Attic *ἐπρονήθην* became intransitive; but in Plutarch, *Perikles* 4, 1, *διαπρονηθῆναι* is 'middle.' We rarely find in Ionic examples of the aorist passive used, now as a passive, now as a middle; *e.g.* *ἐπενονήθην*, which is active in Hdt. III 122, VI 115, Hippokr. VI 612 (*προνοηθείς*), passive in Hippokr. IV 184. Occasionally Attic and Ionic vary in this respect.

## 635.]

1. Aorist passives with *σ*.

The following list follows the lines laid down in the consideration of the perfect middle or passive:

## (1) Sigmatic Stems.

*αἰδομαι* Hdt. VII 141, IX 7; *ἄλθομαι* Hippokr. IV 126 (*τὸ ἄλθος* Et. M., Hesychios); *ἄχθομαι* Hdt. II 103; *ἔρδω*, *ἔραμαι* Hdt. I 8, II 131; *ζέω* Aretaios 213; *κορέννυμι* (late present) Homer, Theog. 1249, but *κεκόρημαι* Hom., Theog. 751, Hdt. III 80, *Peace* 1285 (epic parody). Attic *κεκόρεσμαι* in Xenophon; *κρούω* Hippokr. III 148; *λεύω* Hdt. I 167, Hippokr. IX 412; *σβέννυμι* Hdt. I 87, Hippokr. II 446; *σείω* (?) Hdt. VI 98; *τελέω* Hdt. IV 79. Perhaps from sigmatic stems are *κναίω* Hippokr. VIII 132, 262; *πρίω* Archil. 122, Hippokr. V 214, 226 (*πρίζω* occurs first in Plato, *Theag.* 124 B); *σπείω* Hdt. VI 134, Hippokr. VII 172.

(2) *-σθην* by analogy occurs in *ἔγαμαι* Solon 33; *ἔρδω* Hippokr. VII 524, 526; *βίδω* Hippokr. VIII 96 (Hdt. *ἐβιήσθην* VII 83); *βείδω* Hdt. VI 131, VIII 124 (*ἐβώσθην*), but *βεβωμένα* III 39; *γγινώσκω* Hdt. IV 42, 154; *δύναμαι* Hdt. II 19, 140, VII 106 (*-ηθ-* in *ς*), Hippokr. IV 214, where most of the MSS. have *δυνηθείη* or the like; *ἔδω* Hippokr. VI 558 *vulgo*; [*ἐλαύνω* yields *ἡλάσθην* according to the better tradition. The best support for the other form, which is that in use among the Attics, is Hdt. VII 165 where all MSS. have *ἡλάσθην*. In IV 145 *ἡλάσθην* *bis* is attested by *A B d s* in the first case, *A d B corr. s* in the second, in V 42 by *Pr*, in V 97 by all but *A C P*, in VII 6 by all except *C*. The testimony in favour of *ἡλάσθην* is weakest in I 168, 173, III 46, 51, 54, IV 4. *ἡλάσθην* is to be adopted against Veitch. It is best to regard the stem as *ἐλαδ-*, cf. *ἐληλάδατο* η 86]; *ἐλκύω* Hdt. I 140, Hippokr. V 152; *ἐλέω* Archil. 103; *ἐρύω* (*είρύω*) Hippokr. V 234 (*έρυσθ-*), III 26, VI 194, VIII 84 (*είρυσθ-*); *θλάω* Hippokr. VI 406; [*καλέω*. *ἐκλήσθην* Archil. 78, Hdt. I 173, Hippokr. II 344 etc., render *προσεκαλέσθην* the vulgate reading in Hippokr. V 330 extremely suspicious. Littré adopts *προσεκαλεύσθην* on the authority of four MSS.]; *κελεύω* Hdt. VII 9 (α); *κλάω* Hippokr. VII 516; *κλείω* (*κλήϊω*) always with *σ*; *κρεμάννυμι* Hdt. VII 26, 194, IX 122; *μεθύω* Herakl. 73, Hdt. II 121 (δ), Hippokr. VI 636; *μιμνήσκω* Hdt. II 3 (*μνησθήσομαι* VI 19; see § 632); *ένεμαι* Hdt. II 136; *παύω* Hdt. I 130, V 94, VI 66. Of these occurrences I 130 offers the best support for *ἐπαύσθην* (*A corr. R d s*); elsewhere *d* has the *-σθην* form; *πνείω* Hippokr. V. 430 (?) but *-σθην* VII 242; *πνέω* Hippokr. VI 194, 198; *σπείδω* Hdt. V 102; *στορέννυμι* (a late form) Hippokr. I 618; *σχέω* Hippokr. VI 428

(but perhaps from *σχάζω* which is Hippocratic); *ἔω* Hdt. III 10; *φάω* Hippokr. III 200, 218, 220, VI 306, 402; *χάω* Hdt. II 11, 137; *χράωμαι* Hdt. VII 144, IX 120 (but *κέχρημαι* I 42); *χράω* Hdt. VI 19, VII 178, IX 94.

2. Aorist passives of verbs in *-νω*. See § 614, 3.

A. Verbs in *-αίνω*, which form their perfects in *-σμαι*, have *-νθην*. *ὑγιαίνω* shows the regular *ὑγιάνθην* in Hippokr. V 174, VIII 410; *ὑγιάσθην* in V 678, VI 8 (*ter* in Littré)<sup>1</sup> is from *ὑγιάζω*.

B. Verbs in *-ύνω*. *αἰσχύνω*, *ἰθύνω* have *-νθην*. *ἰδρύω* (*ἰδρύνω*) has *ἰδρύθην* in Hdt. I 172, II 44 (*-νθ-* in *CP*); 118, IV 203 (*-νθ-* in *Apr.*, *B*), and Hippokr. V 150 (*-νθ-* in *CD*), VIII 314 (*-νθ-* *vulgo*, *-θ-* in *C*, *θ*). Littré adopts *ἰδρύνθην* in III 144, 146 (*-θ-* in *FGHIK*), 556, IV 118 (*-θ-* in *C* and seven other MSS.), V 652 (*-θ-* in *AD*). I would reject the *-νθ-* forms. Epic is *ἰδρύνθησαν* Γ 78, Η 56; cf. *ἡρτύνθην*.

C. Verbs in *-ίνω*. In Archilochos 34 *ἐκλίνθησαν* is Toup's conjecture for *ἐκινήθησαν*. In Homer we find both *ἐκλίθην* and *ἐκλίνθην*, in Ionic prose only *ἐκλίθην*. Homer has also the pair *ἐκρίνθην* and *ἐκρίθην* (B 815), later Ionic only the latter. Archilochos, it may be noted, has *ἀποκριθείς* in frag. 89. In *ἐλάμφθην* Hdt. VI 92, IX 119 we meet with the nasal intruded from the present as in the Homeric *ἐκλίνθην*, *ἐκρίνθην*.

D. Schneidewin's *κατεκτάνθην*, Hipponax 132, is wide of the mark. *ἐκτάνθην*, if correct, occurs only in late authors.

### 636.] Second Aorist.

1. Coexistence of First and Second Aorists. The following instances in the New Ionic may serve to illustrate the two forms<sup>2</sup>:—

*ἄλλεχθην*<sup>3</sup> Hdt. I 170, II 2 (*-γ-* in *C*), 152, V 4, 65, VIII 18, Diog. Apoll. 5. *ἄλλεγγην* Hdt. VIII 84, Hippokr. V 206.

*ἄτρεφθην* Hdt. II 81, VII 228.

*ἄτρεφην* Hdt. III 10, 55, IX 85. In II 81 *Rd* have *ταφῆσαι*, which is due to the well-known substitution in later times of the light for the heavy form.

*ἐκπέθην* Hdt. I 19, IV 69, VI 101, Hippokr. V 146, 208; cf. *νεοκπέ- τοις* Smyrna, D. S. 171<sub>02</sub> (late). *ἐκάην* Hdt. I 51, II 107, 180, IV 79, Hippokr. V 214, VI 330.

<sup>1</sup> In two of the three cases there is authority for *-νθην*.

<sup>2</sup> See Valckenauer on *Phoen.* 972 (D), Veitch p. 50, Headlam On *Editing Aeschylus*, p. 104.

<sup>3</sup> *ἄγγελεην* is poorly supported (*Rd*) in Hdt. II 121 (8). *B* has *ἄγγελες* in VII 37.

ἐκλίθην Hdt. I 211, Hippokr. II 682, III 40, 94, 140, 146, VIII 312. On ἐκλίνθην, see 635, 2, C.

ἐκλίνην Hippokr. V 444, the only place (v.l. -ίθην), Hdt. IX 16 Dindorf and Herwerden, κλῖναι Stein.

ἐμίχθην Hdt. I 199, IV 9, Hippokr. VII 534.

ἐμίγην Hdt. II 131, VIII 38, Hippokr. VII 180, VIII 62.

ἐρρήχθην (?) Hippokr. VII 242.

ἐρράγην Hdt. II 173, Hippokr. III 214, V 424, VII 20, 534, VIII 68.

ἐστράφθην Hdt. I 130 (-φῆσαν C R d s).

ἐστράφην Hdt. III 129, Solon 37, Hippokr. V 426, VII 514, 534.

συνελέχθην Hdt. I 97 and often (rare in Attic).

συνελέγην Hdt. VII 173, IX 27, 29, 32 (rare in Ionic).

ἐσφάχθην Hdt. V 5 (not in Attic prose).

ἐσφάγην Hdt. IV 62.

ἐτρίφθην Hippokr. V 206, VIII 380.

ἐτρίβην Hdt. VII 120.

ἐφάνθην Hippokr. VIII 50.

ἐφάνην Hdt. I 36, and often (perhaps also I 165 for ἀναφῆναι intrans.), Hippokr. II 658, V 186.

2. In the following list of those examples of second aorist passives which we have observed in the post-Homeric Ionists, we have pointed out those cases which are Homeric in order to show the growth of this tense in the later dialect. Homer has twenty-two or twenty-three examples of the second aorist passive forms, most of which do not recur in Ionic prose; and this number is about one-sixth as large as that of the first aorist passive. Of the forms here included some belong only to late Ionic writers. On the forms in -η- which coexist with those in -θη-, see above under 1.

ἔγνυμι, see § 582; ἀλλάσσω above; βάπτω Hippokr. V 664; βλάπτω Hom., Hippokr. V 418, 460; βρέχω Hippokr. VIII 200; γηρῆς in γηρέντες Xenophanes 8, from γήρημι. Hdn. II 266, cites γηρῆς ἐν εὐλαίῳ from an unknown source: otherwise there is no further trace of γήρημι. The form γηρῆς is remarkable not only on account of the long vowel (cf. however γηραλῆς by the side of γηραιός), but because of the existence of a γήραμι whence comes γηράς P 197. Pairs such as γήραμι and γήρημι are strange. On this verb cf. Lobuck on Buttmann II 138, Brugmann, *M. U.* I 76, III 87. It does not suffice to say that γηρῆς is constructed like θῆς or βῆς. We need definite analogues. I do not find κηρῆς given as a parallel to κηρός in Buttmann II 13, but we have πιμπλῆς (Plato) and ἐμπιπλῆς (Hippokr.). It is unlikely that Xenophanes should have employed an Aiolic form (γήρημι from γηρέω); γράφω Hdt. IV 91; δάκνω Arctaios 134; \*δάω Hom., Lukian *Syria des* 1; δέπω Hdt. VII 26; δύνω? (for διεκδύναι in Hippokr. VI 374, Veitch suggests that διεκδύναι is to be read). Cf. ἐφάνην, ἐρράγην; θάπτω above; κείω above; κείρω

Hdt. IV 127; κλίνω above; κόπτω Hdt. VIII 92; λωθάνω (?), Hippokr. VII 532, διελέθησαν vulgo (διελελήθεσαν Veitch) for which Littré adopts διεβλήθησαν from C E; -λέγω above; μαίνω Hdt. III 30 &c., Hippokr. III 140, V 186; μίγνυμι above; πείρω Hdt. IV 94; πήγνυμι Hom., Hippokr. V 222, VI 194 Hom., has also πῆχθεν); πλέκω Hdt. VIII 84, Hippokr. IX 194; πλῆσσω: ἐπλήγην Hom., Hdt. V 120, ἐξεπλάγην Hdt. I 119; πρίγω Hippokr. VII 150; πτύσσω Hippokr. VII 384; πτύω Hippokr. V 106; ῥάπτω Hippokr. III 524; ῥέω Hom., Hdt. VIII 138, Hippokr. II 658, V 114; ῥήγνυμι above; σήπω Hom., Hdt. III 66, VI 136, Hippokr. VII 190; σκάπτω Hdt. VI 72; στέλλω Hdt. IV 159, V 126; στρέφω above; σφάζω above; σφάλλω Hdt. IV 140, VII 168; τέκω Hippokr. III 330; τρέφω Hom., Hdt. III 111 &c.; τρίβω above; φαίνω above; φθείρω Hdt. VII 10 ε), Hippokr. VIII 66; φλίσσω Hippokr. VI 292 (here C has ἐκθλιβῶ; φράσσω Aretaios 13; φρύγω Hippokr. VI 414; φύρω Aretaios 241; φύω ?, Hippokr. VI 182 (in θ), VII 514 (now rejected in III 286 by Littré). Cobet and Nauck brand ἐφύην as a product of the decline; χαίρω Hom., Hdt. VIII 101.

### Contract Verbs.

Forms of  $\mu$ i verbs inflected like Contract Verbs will be found § 691 ff.

637.] 1. Denominative verbs formed by the addition of - $\iota$ o-, - $\iota$ ε- to the nominal stem lost their - $\iota$ - in the primitive period of the language<sup>1</sup>. The vowels thus brought into contact are treated as follows in Ionic.

#### (1) - $\alpha$ ω verbs.

$\alpha + \epsilon = \bar{\alpha}$	$\alpha + o = \omega$
$\alpha + \eta = \bar{\alpha}$	$\alpha + \omega = \omega$
$\alpha + \eta = \eta$	$\alpha + oi = \varphi$
$\alpha + \epsilon i = \eta$	$\alpha + ou$ (spurious) = $\omega$

The inscriptions and the lyric poets without exception adopt this scheme of contraction. The prose writers follow it in the main. The differences consist (1) in the contraction of  $\alpha + \epsilon$  to  $\eta$  chiefly in Hippocrates<sup>2</sup>, (2) in the contraction of  $\alpha + o$ ,  $\alpha + \omega$ ,

<sup>1</sup> Between vowels  $\iota$  was retained only when it was preceded by  $\nu$  ( $\nu\iota$ ).

<sup>2</sup> Only one example occurs in the MSS. of Hdt. θυμίζεται IV 75, where A<sup>2</sup> R have -ιάται. In Democritus Phys. 1, Sextus Empiricus has δρῆν, but in Meno 17 Simplicius has δρᾶν (Mullach δρῆν). In Hippocrates but chiefly in the supposititious treatises there are numerous examples according to Littré. Good MSS. often have the correct forms: αἰονῆν VIII 342 -ᾶν in θ; αἰσιῆται VI 606 -α- in θ; ἀνιῆται IX 384 -ιάται VI 388); ἀριστήν II 478 -ᾶν in Δ, VII 220 θ; ἀσῆ (?) VII 252, ἀσῆται IX 384, but ἀσᾶται VI 388, VIII 78; βιῆται VIII 328 (C, vulgo, -ιάται Littré, 560 bis; γελῆ IX 336 -ᾶ C D, and γελᾶ 338), γελῆν 338 (-ᾶν C D). Cf. also v. l. 322, 356, 360 &c. It would be possible to refer γελῆν to γελῆω, since γελᾶω occurs in Doric (C. D. I. 3339, in i



$\alpha + \text{ov}$  in some twenty verbs to  $\epsilon\text{o}$ ,  $\epsilon\omega$ ,  $\epsilon\text{ou}$  in the *Parisinus* (P) of Hdt., and to  $\epsilon\omega$  in the *Florentinus* (C). See on these points § 688, where the instances of  $-\epsilon\omega$  for  $-\alpha\omega$  verbs are collected. Examples of the 'distracted' verbs are suspicious in Hdt. Stein adopts  $\eta\gamma\omicron\rho\acute{o}\omega\text{ντο}$  VI 11 ( $-\acute{\omega}\text{ντο}$  A B<sup>1</sup>),  $\kappa\omicron\mu\acute{o}\omega\text{σι}$  IV 191 ( $-\acute{\omega}\text{σι}$  R).

(2)  $-\epsilon\omega$  verbs.

Lyric poets and inscriptions agree with Herodotos and Hippokrates in their treatment of dissimilar vowels in contact, but differ from them in respect of the contraction of like vowels. In the lyric poets and inscriptions we find:—

$$\epsilon + \epsilon = \epsilon\epsilon$$

$$\epsilon + \eta = \eta$$

$$\epsilon + \epsilon\iota = \epsilon\epsilon\iota \text{ (}\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\text{)}$$

$$\epsilon + \text{o} = \epsilon\text{o}, \epsilon\upsilon$$

$$\epsilon + \omega = \epsilon\omega, \epsilon\omicron$$

$$\epsilon + \text{o}\iota = \epsilon\text{o}\iota, \text{o}\iota$$

$$\epsilon + \text{ou} = \epsilon\text{ou}, \epsilon\upsilon.$$

Thus the inflection of  $\phi\iota\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega$  was the following, as early as the seventh century, in all respects except perhaps  $-\epsilon\upsilon-$  for  $-\epsilon\text{o}-$  in the poets; certainly by the time of Herodotos.

$\delta\iota\alpha\iota\tau\acute{\eta}\sigma\theta\omega$  VIII 340;  $\acute{\epsilon}\eta\text{ν}$  VII 296 ( $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\text{ν}$  H), VIII 204 (C,  $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\text{ν}$  vulgo), but  $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\text{ν}$  VIII 184, 232;  $\acute{\epsilon}\psi\eta\text{ν}$  VIII 366 ( $\acute{\epsilon}\psi\epsilon\iota\text{ν}$  θ, &c.,  $\acute{\epsilon}\psi\acute{\alpha}\omega$  is late, if correct at all); on  $\acute{\epsilon}\theta\epsilon\eta\text{το}$ , see § 685;  $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\omicron\theta\upsilon\mu\eta\text{ν}$  VII 332, 342,  $\theta\upsilon\mu\acute{\eta}\sigma\theta\omega$  VII 320, 342, VIII 318 ( $-\alpha-$  in θ;  $\iota\eta\text{ται}$  III 294, IV 608, IX 312 (cf.  $\iota\eta\text{το}$  Syr. *deu* 20),  $\iota\eta\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$  III 258 ( $-\alpha-$  in C, VI 386 ( $-\alpha-$  in θ), VII 28, 252 *dis*, Aret. 302, Arrian 15<sub>12</sub>, but  $\iota\acute{\alpha}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$  Hippokr. VI 316, IX 328,  $\iota\acute{\omega}\mu\epsilon\text{ν}\omicron\varsigma$  Pherekyd. 76; [ $\kappa\upsilon\eta\text{ται}$  III 490 does not belong here because of Attic  $\kappa\upsilon\eta\text{ται}$ ];  $\mu\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\tau\eta\text{ν}$  VII 204, 236, but  $\mu\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\text{ν}$  VII 190;  $\mu\upsilon\delta\eta\eta$  III 244 (so Littré) is wrong as regards the 'distracted' η;  $\acute{\epsilon}\delta\upsilon\text{ν}\eta\text{ται}$  II 424 ( $-\alpha-$  in A), but  $-\acute{\alpha}\text{ται}$  VII 70,  $-\acute{\alpha}\text{το}$  V 206. Cf.  $\acute{\epsilon}\delta\upsilon\text{ν}\acute{\epsilon}\omega\text{νται}$  IV 166;  $\acute{\delta}\rho\eta\text{ν}$  II 442 ( $-\acute{\alpha}\text{ν}$  A) VI 146 (θ,  $-\acute{\alpha}\text{ν}$  vulgo), VII 244 ( $-\acute{\alpha}\text{ν}$  in θ),  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\rho\eta\text{ν}$  VII 178,  $\sigma\upsilon\text{ν}\omicron\rho\eta\text{ν}$  II 440 ( $-\acute{\alpha}\text{ν}$  A),  $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\epsilon\omicron\rho\omicron\eta\text{ν}$  Aret. 312, &c.,  $\pi\text{ρ}\omicron\omicron\rho\eta\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$  IX 366;  $\pi\epsilon\iota\text{ρ}\eta\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$  II 178 ( $-\alpha-$  two MSS.);  $\pi\upsilon\text{ρ}\iota\eta\text{ν}$  VII 322 *dis*, 420, 422, VIII 138, 280 ( $-\acute{\alpha}\text{ν}$  in θ), 340, but  $\pi\upsilon\text{ρ}\iota\acute{\alpha}\text{ν}$  VII 26,  $\pi\upsilon\text{ρ}\iota\eta\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$  VI 516,  $-\acute{\eta}\sigma\theta\omega$  VII 322, VIII 340 ( $-\alpha-$  in θ);  $\phi\upsilon\text{ρ}\eta\text{ν}$  VIII 198. In *Herodas* we find  $\lambda\omega\beta\eta\text{ται}$  III 3 (but cf.  $\lambda\omega\beta\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha\iota$  3<sub>22</sub>);  $\theta\lambda\acute{\eta}$  2<sub>22</sub>,  $\theta\lambda\acute{\eta}\text{ται}$  3<sub>11</sub>, perhaps  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\mu\text{πο}\lambda\eta[\nu]$  7<sub>22</sub>, and  $\acute{\iota}\omicron\rho\tau\eta$  6<sub>17</sub>;  $\acute{\delta}\rho\eta\varsigma$  4<sub>21</sub>, 2<sub>1</sub>, 2<sub>2</sub>, 5<sub>22</sub> and 2<sub>27</sub> (corrected from  $\acute{\delta}\rho\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ );  $\acute{\delta}\rho\eta$  3<sub>22</sub>, 4<sub>27</sub>;  $\acute{\delta}\rho\eta\tau'$  2<sub>22</sub>, 7<sub>22</sub>, but  $\acute{\delta}\rho\acute{\alpha}\text{ν}$  6<sub>22</sub>. Most of these forms have η in place of δ after ι and ρ, that is to say, they owe their origin to a belief (held in part even by Buttmann, *Gramm.* § 105, 12) that δ + ε in Ionic became η after ι and ρ. [It is noteworthy that some of the η incorrect forms occur in close proximity to futures or aorists where η is in place. Cf.  $\pi\upsilon\text{ρ}\iota\eta\text{ν}$ ,  $\pi\upsilon\text{ρ}\iota\eta\sigma\eta\text{ται}$  VII 422,  $\pi\upsilon\text{ρ}\iota\eta\text{ν}$ ,  $\pi\upsilon\text{ρ}\iota\eta\sigma\alpha\iota$  VIII 340,  $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\omicron\theta\upsilon\mu\eta\text{ν}$ ,  $-\theta\upsilon\mu\acute{\eta}\sigma\text{εις}$  VII 370. Cf. § 272, 3.  $\mu\alpha\lambda\kappa\iota\eta\text{ν}$  (see L. S. s. v.) is a corruption of  $-\acute{\iota}\epsilon\omega$ , not an Ionism.] ρη was Ionic too in the verb, e. g. in  $\acute{\delta}\rho\eta\text{ν}$ . The examples with η not after ι or ρ, are more difficult. To refer them to primitive  $-\eta\omega$  verbs is especially hazardous because they occur only in late works and even there the best MS. tradition is often against their correctness. We prefer to ascribe them in general to the grammarians whose hyper-Ionisms advanced to the point of resembling Dorisms. In the case of *Herodas* the possibility of η being a Doric contraction must not be overlooked. Only a thorough investigation of the question can disclose how many, if any, of the forms in question are to be regarded as having stems in η = δ, parallel to those in δ.

<i>Indic.</i>	<i>Subj.</i>	<i>Imperf.</i>
φιλέω (-έω)	φιλέω (-έω)	ἐφίλεον (-εον, -ευν)
φιλείς	φιλήσ	ἐφίλεις
φιλεῖ	φιλή	ἐφίλει
φιλέομεν (-έομεν, -εὔμεν)	φιλέωμεν (-έω-)	ἐφιλέομεν (-έομεν, -εὔμεν)
φιλεῖτε	φιλήτε	ἐφιλεῖτε
φιλέουσιν (-εὔσιν)	φιλέωσιν (-έω-)	ἐφίλεον (-εον, -ευν)

A noteworthy difference between Herodotos and Hippokrates is the avoidance by the former of the forms of the optative in -οιην, and their frequent use by the latter. The infinitive is φιλεῖν, the participle φιλέων, -έουσα (-εὔσα), -έον (-εὔν), φιλέοντος (-εὔντος), -εούσης (-εύσης), -έοντος (-εὔντος).

In the MSS. of the prose writers *εε*, *εη* are generally retained (especially after consonants) and *εει* is very frequent.

It is certain that the Ionic of the fifth century contracted *ε + ε*, *ε + η*, *ε + ει*. Unless we admit that Herodotos and Hippokrates consciously adopted a system of inflection antiquated in their time, we are forced to the conclusion that the introduction of open *εε*, *εη*, *εει* in the texts of the early prose writers is due to the μεταγραψάμενοι. The cause of their error was the belief that the New Ionic did not contract *ε* with a following vowel. Meeting with *εω* in Ionic where Attic had *ω*, the grammarians opined that the difference between the two dialects consisted solely in the possession by the former of a 'pleonastic' *ε*<sup>1</sup>. Again they observed that *εο*, even if contracted in Ionic, did not lose its *ε* as it did in Attic, and that *ε* was often preserved before *α*. Furthermore, though *εφε* may become *ει*, *εφη* is actually uncontracted in -*εφεω* verbs. Thus unable to distinguish Ionic from Attic, and New Ionic from Old Ionic, and possessed of the belief that Herodotos was a species of prose Homer, it is not surprising that the grammarians or copyists were led to change *δοκεῖ* to *δοκέει*<sup>2</sup> and reinstate the *ε* everywhere before a following vowel (§ 108). The inflection thus seemed to them to gain in coherence and to approximate more closely to that of Homer who was the main source of their knowledge of the dialect.

The MSS. of the other prosaists anterior to the pseudo-Ionists have fared better than those of Herodotos and Hippokrates. In the pseudo-Ionists the open forms may claim a species of genuineness (§ 107).

The contraction of *εο* and *εου*. Dindorf<sup>3</sup> was an adherent of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *χρίωμαι* from *χρῶμαι* in Eust. on Ψ 834. From this source of error may have sprung some of the hyper-Ionic verbs in -*εω*. See under 3.

<sup>2</sup> The citation by Greg. Kor. § 14) of *δοκέει* and *λαλέει* is inapposite. Both forms occur in a pseudo-Anakreon fragment no. 62.

<sup>3</sup> Hdt. *Præfatio* p. ix.

the view that, while the ordinary speech of the Ionians may have preferred the closed to the open forms, in their literature some verbs were written with *eo*, others with *ev*, and still others indifferently, and that certainty in so elusive a matter was to be despaired of. Bredow appears to have been of the same opinion. Abicht<sup>1</sup> first sought to bring order into a chaos which he conceived as foreign to the language of Herodotos. In those verbs<sup>2</sup> in which *ε* was preceded by a vowel, *eo* and *εov*, he contended, became *ev*; in those in which *ε* followed a consonant *eo* and *εov* were retained. The former contention has some support, the latter may readily be disproved. Thus in verbs ending in a consonant we find *-εov*, but also *-ευμ-*, *-ευντ-*. Stein refuses to adopt the innumerable changes necessary to the carrying out of Abicht's theory, and prefers to edit that form which he thinks the MSS. in each case show to have existed in the archetype. Spreer<sup>3</sup> is an adherent of Abicht so far as the five verbs mentioned in note 2 are concerned, but joins issue with him in respect of that part of his theory which demands *eo* after a consonant. In the case of *ἀγνέω*, *αἰνέω*, *αἰτέω*, *δοκέω*, *σιτέομαι*, *φρονέω* and *χωρέω* he thinks Hdt. adopted *eo*. His attempt at differentiating between various portions of the text as regards the preference of the scribes for one or the other writing leads to no important results. We present below<sup>4</sup> a table, taken from Spreer's treatise, of verbs employed by Hdt. at least five times in present and imperfect, in order to show the affinities of the MSS. for *eo* or *ev*, *εov* or *ev*.

The views of the scholars above mentioned are all vitiated by the fact that they assume a radical difference between *eo* and *ev*, i. e. that *eo* is a dissyllable, *ev* a diphthong. While it may seem

<sup>1</sup> *Quaest. de dial. Herod. spec. primum*, 1859, *Uebersicht des herod. Dialekts*, p. 39.

<sup>2</sup> *θηέομαι*, *διατρέφομαι*, *ἀγνέω* always avoid *eo*, *ροτέω* has *ροτέεω* VIII 3, *σοφίζομαι* IX 54, but *ἐπενόεον* V 65, *ροτέον* III 81, *ροτέον* VIII 101. *ροτέω* has about 243 *ev* forms to 41 in *eo*, and *ev* is much preferred to *εov*.

<sup>3</sup> *De verbis contractis apud Herodotum*.

<sup>4</sup>

	eo	ev	εov	ev		eo	ev	εov	ev
ἀγνέω	13				αἰτέω	73	1	36	
αἰνέω	11		5		ἀμολογέω	8		■	
αἰρέω	24	1	7		πολιτεύω	28	2		
αἰτέω	21		2		προθυμέομαι	5	1		
ἀπορέω	4	1			σιτέομαι	17			
ἀρνέομαι	4	1			τελέω	11	2	16	1
βοηθεύω	22		2	1	τιμωρέω	7	1	3	
δοκέω	50	2			φασέω	15	3	20	
ἐγείρομαι	26	7			φρονέω	11		8	
ἐκτρέφω	25	5			χωρέω	10		2	
ἐσπερέω	5	1		1	ὠνέομαι	4	1		
καλέω	172	19 or 21	33	1					

harsh to hold that nothing is indicated by the distinct preferences, indicated in the MSS., of many of the verbs in question for the one or the other writing, the evidence of the inscriptions (§§ 246, 287) is conclusive that no great difference in pronunciation existed between *eo* and *ev* (i.e. *ěŭ*) on the one hand, and *ouv* and *ev* (i.e. *ěŭ*) on the other. The difference is not phonetical, but orthographical, as Merzdorf<sup>1</sup> first recognized. With the material at our command it is impossible to reconstruct the exact system of orthography adopted by Herodotos or any other Ionic writer<sup>2</sup>. In Herodotos the preponderance in favour of *eo* over *ev* is very great, except in the case of four of Abicht's five verbs; in Hippokrates, the other early Ionic prose writers and in the pseudo-Ionists *eo* prevails over *ev*, as is natural in literary monuments, which are conservative. The inscriptions have *eo*, never *ev*. In the lyric poets there is not a single case, except Mimn. 14<sub>3</sub> (see § 661), of dissyllabic *eo*. Herodas prefers *ev*, perhaps because the Alexandrians regarded *eo* as dissyllabic<sup>3</sup>. The contraction of *eo* to *ou* is an Atticism which has no place in any portion of Ionic so long as the dialect retained its native vigour<sup>4</sup>.

The writing *ouv* is generally preserved in the inscriptions. In a document from Kos (Paton 37<sup>57, 61</sup>) coloured by Ionisms, we find *κνέσσα* = *κνέουσα*, Hippokr. VIII 484; but a like spelling we do not recollect to have encountered on any inscription from Ionia or the Ionic islands. *ouv* rarely usurps the place of *ev* < *eo*, e.g. *Εὐρυσθέουσ* Samos 217, *Ἀριστοκλέουσ* Thasos 72<sup>5</sup>. Strictly speaking *ouv* is not contracted to *ev*. When, as in *ποιεῦσι*, the one writing is substituted for the other, the dialect merely fails

<sup>1</sup> *Curtius' Studien*, VIII 167.

<sup>2</sup> *ev* before *μ* is a favourite spelling. When an *-ω* verb appears under the form of one in *-ew* (§ 688), the evidence points to *eo*, not *ev* except in a comparatively few cases. These are *εἰρώτευν* i. l. § 251, Hdt. I 158, III 140, 156, IX 89, 93 generally in *CPd* 2, *εἰρωτεύοντας* III 61, *ἀνιεύνται* VII 236, *φουτεύμενος* IV 2 in *P*, *πειρεύμενος* Hippokr. IX 354, *δρεύντες* IX 350, 376, Aret. 42 and in Theokritos (Ahrens II 310, *δρεῦσα* Hrd. 414, *κνέεύμενος* Solon 371, *μωμεύνται* Theog. 369, *μωμεύμενος* 169, *λωβεῦμαι* Hrd. 310, *πηδεῦντα* 308, *πλαρεύμενος* Attian 7, is a bad conjecture. On *-ev-* in *-ω* verbs, see § 690, and *ou* *πυμπλεύσαι* in Hesiod, see § 691, note 4. Cf. also Theokr. *χασμεύμενος* IV 53, *δατεύμενος* VII 55, XXIII 34, *συλεύμενον* XIX 2, *γελεύσα* v. l. I 36, *σπαργεύσα* ? Quint. Smyrn. XIV 283, *σκιρτεύσι* Opp. Kyn. IV 342, *διψεύσαν* Anthol. Pal. VI 217. When a verb in *-ω* is incorrectly inflected like one in *-ew* (§ 690), *eo* is very rare. Hence *σταθεύμενος* Hdt. VIII 130 is probably correct.

<sup>3</sup> *eo* which was copied from the earlier monuments by the pseudo-Ionists was regarded by them as more Ionic than *ev*, and perhaps classed as dissyllabic.

<sup>4</sup> The confusion between *ev* and *ou*, starting from a comparison of *δικαιοῦσι* and *ποιοῦσι* produced such forms as *δικαιεῦσι* in the MSS. Hrd. has *χασκίεσθ* 417, *τεμεῦσα* 410, *δραμεῦσα* 511, which are unique of their kind.

<sup>5</sup> *ρεεύμενος* in the oracle, Hdt. VII 140, should give way to *ρεεύμενος* (Clemens Alex.), and be referred to an otherwise unattested *ρεῖω*.

to differentiate between  $\epsilon\upsilon = \check{\epsilon}\check{\upsilon}$  and  $\epsilon\upsilon = \check{\epsilon}\bar{\upsilon}$ . In the lyric poets  $\epsilon\upsilon\upsilon$  is almost always a monosyllable. In Hdt. it is preferred to  $\epsilon\upsilon$ , except in the case of  $\pi\omicron\iota\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ ; Herodas prefers  $\epsilon\upsilon$ . The later prose literature generally adopts  $\epsilon\upsilon\upsilon$ .

$\epsilon\omega$  is open about 190 times in Hdt. There are only three or four cases of the Attic  $\omega$ .

In the optative,  $\epsilon\omicron\iota$  is retained as an old-fashioned spelling in a Teian inscription and in Ionic prose. In the poets we have  $\omicron\iota$  for  $\epsilon\omicron\iota$ , and even in prose there is ample support for  $\omicron\iota$  after consonants as well as after vowels. It will not do to say that Ionic prose contracts  $\epsilon\omicron\iota$  only after vowels as was held by Merzdorf and Spreer. How far the spelling  $\epsilon\omicron\iota$  after consonants is a genuine survival, how far reinstated by the writers of the MSS., cannot be determined.  $\epsilon\omicron\iota$  is found, outside of  $\pi\omicron\iota\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ , about forty times in all the MSS. of Hdt. In the case of  $\pi\omicron\iota\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ , the contracted  $\omicron\iota$  is found up to VII 45, after which chapter we have  $\epsilon\omicron\iota$ . Stein adopts the latter form throughout, even when it has no support from the MSS., e.g. V 75  $\pi\omicron\iota\omicron\iota\epsilon\upsilon$ .

(3) - $\omega$  verbs.

$\omicron + \omicron = \omicron\upsilon$ , never $\epsilon\upsilon$	$\omicron + \epsilon\iota = \omicron\iota$
$\omicron + \epsilon =$ „ „ „	$\omicron + \omicron\iota = \omicron\iota$
$\omicron + \omega = \omega$	$\omicron + \omicron\upsilon$ (spurious) = $\omicron\upsilon$
$\omicron + \eta = \omega$	

All the witnesses for the dialect agree to these contractions. On - $\epsilon\upsilon$ - for - $\omicron\upsilon$ - erroneously introduced into certain forms of this inflection, see § 690.

2. Verbs in - $\epsilon\acute{f}$ - $\omega$ .

In dissyllabic verbs in - $\epsilon\acute{f}$ - $\omega$  the contraction of like vowels is not imperative, as it is in the case of verbs in - $\epsilon$ - $\acute{\omega}$  and - $\epsilon\sigma$ - $\omega$ , which are inflected like those in - $\epsilon$ - $\acute{\omega}$ . The prose writers vary between  $\epsilon\epsilon$   $\epsilon\epsilon\iota$ , and  $\epsilon\iota$ , with the exception that  $\delta\epsilon\iota$  is always contracted. In the lyric poets  $\epsilon\acute{f}\epsilon$ ,  $\epsilon\acute{f}\epsilon\iota$  generally become  $\epsilon\iota$  (in Herodas always), but  $\epsilon\eta$  remains open.  $\epsilon\omega$  is never contracted,  $\epsilon\omicron$  only once (in Herodas), and  $\epsilon\upsilon\upsilon$  is so written (except once, in Herodas), even when it may be monosyllabic.

$\delta\epsilon\omega$ : in the poets we find  $\delta\epsilon\iota$ , Hipponax 6 (trim.), Anakr. 98 (eleg.), Herodas 300, 520, 62, 31, 7120. The only occurrence of the word in Homer ( $\Pi\rho\epsilon\sigma\beta\epsilon\lambda\alpha$  I 337) takes this form, for which  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\epsilon\iota$  should not be substituted (e.g.  $\tau\acute{\iota}$   $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\epsilon\iota$  with omitted  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ ). In Herodotus there are about 50 cases of  $\delta\epsilon\iota$  to 3 of  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\epsilon\iota$  III 127, VIII 68 a', 143). Hippokrates uses  $\delta\epsilon\iota$ , e.g. II 52, 374, 376, VIII 190 (next to  $\pi\omicron\iota\acute{\epsilon}\epsilon\iota\upsilon$ ), so too Herakleitos 94, Melissos 16, Demokritos 20, 47, 70, 73, 205, 219 (sic Stobaeus, Mullach  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\epsilon\iota$ ), Ion 1, Euseb. Mynd. 1, 21, Aretaion, e.g. 55. Eberhard's  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\epsilon\iota$  in Arrian 43, has no MS. support ( $\delta\epsilon\iota$  or  $\delta\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha\iota$ ?).  $\delta\epsilon\iota\upsilon$  occurs in Hdt. I 129, II 133, VI 135, IX 33, Hippokr. II 248, 302 &c.,  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\epsilon\iota\upsilon$  but once in Hdt. (VIII 62). A much used word would tend to contract (cf. Boiotian  $\tau\acute{\alpha}\upsilon$  &c.).  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\eta$  Zoleia 11300, Hdt. I 90, Hippokr. II 246,



III 258, Aret. 198, Arrian 12. So too<sup>1</sup> in *Clouds* 493 and in Attic inscriptions: II 809 B 32 δέει with εἰ from ηἰ). The contracted form δῆ, which occurs sporadically in Attic literature, appears in *Lebadeia* (Ditt. *Syll.* 353a<sup>2</sup>), and in the form δεῖ<sup>3</sup> Teos 158, and B. C. H. 1890, p. 393. In the imperfect in Herodotos we find δέε 15, δέει 7 times by consensus of the MSS. Stein changes to δέε four times where the MSS. have δέει, but leaves δέει in three passages with the MSS. δέε was perhaps the Herodotean form. In Hippokrates we find δέει II 46. Herodas has δέει 679, 401, 32, Lukian, *Syr. dea* 25 δέειν (cf. πᾶς δέει ἰστ. συγγρ. § 18 citing from an anonymous writer in *I.onic*. δέωμαι Hrd. 511 is an instance of the rare contraction of εἰ. δέειν<sup>4</sup> Hdt VII 161 is probably incorrect (cf. δέη in *R*). δέεται is found in Hdt I 32 &c., Hippokr. II 36 (-εἰ- vulgo), 256 (-εἰ- vulgo, 348 and 372 -εἰ- A<sup>1</sup>, VII 288, and occasionally in Attic; δέεται in I 616, II 356, III 210, 212, 232 bis, Arrian 36, Herodas 170, 641, 710. δέεσθε Hdt. VIII 22. In the subjunctive we find δέηται Olynthos 8 B 4, Arkesine *Mith.* XI 107, late), Hdt. III 96, Hippokr. III 204 (δῆ same line, as in Attic inscriptions (C I A. II 40 A 13, 54 B 15), and with the glide ε, δέηται II 167, 43, 481<sup>5</sup>, δέωνται Hdt II 173, IV 94 Attic δέωνται C. I. A. II 119, 14). δέοιτο Hdt. V 73, Hippokr. III 230; δέοσθε appears in Hippokr. VIII 340, Hrd. 430, δέεσθαι Hippokr. II 28 -εἰ- vulgo, IX 334, Hdt. IV 145 &c. also Attic), δέισθαι IX 8, in all MSS except *R*, and in MSS. Arrian 31, and Hippokr. VII 176 δέόμενος Hdt. IV 11, Euseb. Mynd. 1, δέιοι- Oropos 18. Theokr. XXX 32 has δέόμενον, which is not, as G. Meyer, *Gramm.* § 485, note 1, states, an unthematic form. In the imperfect: δέομην Hdt. III 36, δέο VII 161 (Brodow. MSS. δέου), δέετο Hdt. IV 162, &c. also Attic), δέοντο I 196. θέω yields θεῖ Hdt. I 181; θέιν VIII 140 (a<sup>1</sup>), but θεῖν III 105, both in all MSS.; θέοντες Hippokr. epist. IX 350; θέε Hdt. I 43, θέον I 82. νέω *sic* has νέειν Hdt. VIII 89 (νείν VI 44 A B C d<sup>1</sup>); νέων VIII 89. πλέω yields πλεῖ Hekat. 284, Aret. 69, Hrd. 221, πλέουσι Hdt. II 60, Hippokr. II 60, IX 368 epist., Kallimachos frag. 94 *cholambic*, πλεῖ Hdt. III 138, πλέωμεν VIII 109, πλέωσι IX 98; πλέοι II 115; πλέειν VIII 109 but πλεῖν Arrian 63, Vita Hom. 6, 7; πλέοντες Hdt. II 60, πλεουσας VIII 10; επλεε<sup>6</sup> Theog. 12, Hdt. IV 43, but επλεει Ion 1, επλεον Hdt. I 164. πνέω yields πνέει Hippokr. II 62, VII 486, but πνεί VI 384, 10, VII 16, πνέουσι Aret. 102; πνέρ Hrd. 150, Aretaios 5; πνέειν Hippokr. V 204, πνείν VII 50; πνέοντες Hdt. II 22, πνέοντα Diog. Apoll. 5; επνεεν Sim. Keos 115; πνέόμενος Hippokr. II 122. ρέω yields ρέει Mimn 51 (=Theog. 1017), Hdt. I 51, 72, 180, 185, &c., Hippokr. III 252, VII 12, 562, 570, VIII 260, Aret. 109, Herakl. 41 but ρεῖ 41<sup>7</sup> according to Bywater. ρεῖ is found in Hippokr. II 658, VII 12, VII 34, Arrian 83. ρέρη Hdt. I 193, II 149, Hippokr. VI 314, VII 34, Aret. 98, 272 (but ρῆ 303, ρέοι Hdt. II 22; ρέειν Hdt. II 21, Hekat. 278, Hippokr. II 38, 136, Aret. 248, ρεῖν Theog. 639 εἰ ρεῖν for A's ευρεῖν, vulgo ευρεῖν), Hippokr. VII 12; ρεων Hdt. I 6, Hekat. 202, ρέοντα Hdt. II 121 (δ<sup>8</sup>; επρεε<sup>9</sup> II 121 δ<sup>8</sup>. επραι

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also δεησόμενος, δεηθεις, περιδεής, ενδεής.

<sup>2</sup> In Hort. Adon. p. 187 B δέει is given as the Attic subjunctive. Cf. Demokr. 188 where Stobaios has δέει.

<sup>3</sup> επιδύεαι B 229 is Aiolic rather than Ionic. An Ox. I 109 calls it Ionic because Homeric.

<sup>4</sup> προσδέεται Ditt. *Syll.* 337. 1-12 (320 B.C. is an indicative form used in Attic as a subjunctive, a substitution made easier after δέρη had become δῆ, then δέει (above). Cf. also δηλοῖ indicative and subjunctive.

<sup>5</sup> Eust. 1892, cf. 882.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Eust. 1892.

Hippokr. V 226; ἐρρεῖτο Aret. 180; ρεόμενος Hippokr. I 572, VII 320, VIII 48. From χέω we have χέει Hdt. III 96, χέουσι IV 195, χέη Hrd. 7; χέτω Sim. Keos 167; ἐκχεῖν Keos 43<sub>m</sub>, Aret. 184, but χέειν Hdt. IV 127, Hippokr. II 356; χέουσα Hdt. I 185, χεῦσα Hrd. 6<sub>77</sub>; χέεται Herakl. 23, Hippokr. VII 570, but χεῖται Arrian 32, Aret. 296; χέεσθαι Aret. 202, but χέεσθαι Anakr. 42; ἐχεῖτο Hippokr. III 54.

### 3. Variation in the Present between -ω and -εω (-αιω) verbs.

This list includes only such verbs as show both forms in the same dialect. Omitted are cases analogous to δινέω in Hippokr. = δίνω in Hesiod and Herakleian, and also variations of the epic dialect, e.g. ἔλκω, ἔλκέω, αἰδομαι, αἰδέομαι. This section does not treat of the addition of an ε to the stem in other tenses than the present. Some of the undermentioned verbs are due to the error by which Ionic was thought to have εω in place of ω, an error assisted perhaps, but not directly caused, by the analogy of λαχέω, πορφυρέω, μελανέω, &c. The genuine forms recall the causatives in -áya-ti in Sanskrit, which in Greek were confused with the denominatives. The Greek representatives of -áya-ti are either causatives or iteratives (intensives and frequentatives), but in most cases the original signification has been lost.

ἀγεόμενος Hdt. III 14 in qz cannot stand. It is a confusion between ἡγέομαι and ἄγω, parallel to ἐπειρεόμενος below. ἄχθομαι Hdt., Aret. 183, ἄχθείς Aret. 183. βαλλέω does not exist. ὑπερβαλλέειν Hdt. III 23, συμβαλλεόμενος I 68, III 95, &c., are stupid blunders of the Aldine edition. Cf. ὑπερβαλλέειν, the vulgate reading in Hippokr. IV 92. The existence of βαλλέω (not attested in Ionic) may have furthered the error, but it is more probable that the false -έειν of the second aorist induced the mistake. Cf. also ὑπερθορέοντα Hdt. VI 134 (sz) from θορέειν. βουλέωνται Teos, Mittl. XVI 293, l. 20; cf. δυνέωνται and § 618. Notice also βουλήσομαι, ἐβουλήθη. βρύχομαι in βρύχωνται, a doubtful reading of Littré VI 360. Hippokrates has usually βρυχάομαι. (δια)βύνεται Hdt. II 96, but διαβυνέονται IV 71. In the Poes 646 we read ἐβύνουν. δεψεῖ Hdt. IV 64 ABC is a mistake for δέψαι R<sub>s</sub> (δέψαι P). δύνω 16 times in Hdt., δυνέω once, in ἐνδυνέουσι III 98 (ἐνδύνουσι R). Cf. θυνέω in Hesiod's Scutum 210, 257 with Skt. dhān-aya-ti by the side of dhū-nī-ti. εἰλω perhaps in ἡλσάμην Sim. Amorg. 17, εἰλέω Hdt., Hippokr. εἶρομαι Hdt., ἐπειρεόμενος Hdt. III 64 in ABd<sub>2</sub>, ἐπιρεόμενος C. Read ἐπειρεόμενος with s, r. Confusion between εἶρομαι and ἐρίω led to the incorrect form. ἔψω is Herodoteian (II 94, III 100, IV 61, IX 118) and Hippocratic, e.g. in the following cases:—ἔψειν II 32, III 236, ἔψε VII 158, 160, 374, VIII 174, 392, ἐψέτω VIII 182, ἔψων VIII 162, ἔψοντα VIII 138, ἐψόμενος VII 276. Since we have the testimony of a grammarian (wrongly supposed by Hermann (*de emend. rat.* p. 313) to be Herodian, to the effect that no ancient author used ἡψουν, ἔψεε or ἡψεε in Hdt. I 48 has been abandoned by the editors. The best support for this form in Hippokrates is II 518, where ἔψεε occurs twice. In the first case A has ἔψε, in the second ἔψε is the vulgate reading and the majority of the MSS. have ἔψεε. This example is however from the spurious appendix to the περὶ διαίτης ὁρίων. Other cases in the supposititious works are ἐψεῖν V 244, VII 8<sup>o</sup>, 156 (ἔψαι same page), 196, 254 (θ), 276, 374, VIII 82

(-ειν C), 92, 174, 194, 200, 338 (ἔπειν C), 366 (θ, Littré ἔψη), 392. Instead of ἔψων, which appears VII 48, 160, 222, 266, 276, 420, we have traces of the early form in ἔψοντα VI 566 (θ), ἀφέψοντα VIII 138 (θ), and ἀπέψων VII 402 (C). Arctaios has ἔπειν 250, ἐπέισθω 331, ἐπέισθωσαν 356 Kühn, συνεπέισθω 170, 13 Ermerins). The future, aorist, and perfect ἔψη- started the -ειν form. That κύρω and κυρέω coexisted in post-Homeric Ionic may be inferred from κύρω in Demokritos, ἐνέκυρσα in Hdt., ἐγκυρέω Herakleitos, κυρήσω Hdt., ἐκύρησα Archil., Hdt., Hippokr. κύω Hdt., Hippokr., κυέω Hdt. κυήσω Hippokr.). μαρτύρομαι Hdt. I 44, V 92 η, μαρτυρεῖ VIII 94 (bear witness, ἐπεμαρτυρέοντο ?) V 93 μαρτυροῦμαι is late, and due to a confusion between μαρτυρῶ ἐγώ and μαρτύρομαι (σε). The only testimony to μαχέομαι<sup>1</sup> occurs in Hdt. VII 104 A B C d e, μαχομ- R v s), 225 (R z), 239 Suidas), IX 67 (A B. μαχομ- P R), 75 (z). In VII 104 occurs μονομαχέοιμι which is formed like συμμαχέω and must be considered apart from μαχέομαι. The -ε form in the simple verb appears in the future μαχέσομαι in Hdt. μέλομαι is Herodoteian I 98, II 2, 174 and Hippokratic ἐπιμελόμενος III 522, τιλγο -εο-). μεταμελῆται Hdt. III 36, in all MSS, should be read -ηται. In Hippokr. III 476 we find ἐπιμελῆται (as in Demokr. 41), in III 492, IX 256, 420 -έεσθαι. On inscriptions we find both forms: ἐπιμέλονται Thasos 71, ἐπιμέλεισθαι 71, ἐπιμελείσθαι Oropos 18, μινύθω Hippokr. IV 360, μινυθέω III 330. μύζω Hippokr. VIII 592, 594, μυζέω VII 252. ξύρω and ξυρέω are both Hippokratic. Cf. ἔξυρα VII 118 (aorist, not imperf. of ξυράω), ἐξύρησα VI 212. Hdt. has only ξυρέω. ὀμίχω in Hipponax 55 A ὀμειζεν; cf. ὀμιχέω in Hestod πέτομαι Hdt. II 75 renders καταπετεωμέναι III 111 (C) impossible. Read -πετομεναι with A B πιέζω Hdt. V 35, Hippokr. II 18, 92, III 334, 504, 522, 524, VII 190, 276, 496. πιεζέω in πιεζόμενος Hdt. III 146 (A B R), VI 108 (πιεζομ- C z), VIII 142 (πιεζομ- B C z). In these passages we adopt the contracted form but in IX 21 πιεζόμενος (πιεζεν- R), and elsewhere I 142, II 25, IV 13, 105, 118, VI 139, VII 121, IX 60, 61), πιέζομαι is undisputed. Bredow and Dindorf would read this form throughout. Hippokr. has πιεζέω in πιεζέονται II 184, πιεζεῖντα III 450, πιεζόμενος VII 566, VIII 262. Arctaios has πιέζω 77, 107, πιεζόμενος 107. Apio adopted πιεζέω in Homer, Aristarchos and Herodian πιέζω<sup>2</sup>. πινέω in πινόμενος (?) Hippokr. II 38. ῥίπτω Hdt. III 41, IV 61 &c., ριπτέω IV 94, 188, VII 50, VIII 53. Of σινέομαι cf. IV 123, IX 13, 49, 73, 87) there is now no reading accepted in Herodotos. Even in V 81 εἰσίνοντο or εἰσικνέοντο is adopted. In all other passages except those referred to, the MSS. have σίναμαι. Hippokrates has σινέόμενοι VII 552, 562, 592 twice and σινόμενος once, σίνοιτο III 482, VII 550. περίσπερχέω is correct in Hdt. VII 207, since it is derived from περισπερχής. Hdt. elsewhere has σπέρχω, σπέρχομαι, &c., and in the passage cited Abicht adopts Valckenaer's περισπερχθέντων. σπέρχων in the sense of σπέρχω is mentioned by Erotian (Lex. Hippokr.). φθινεύσιν, dat. pl. Hippokr. II 674 (-ουσιν Δ), cf. φθινέσας V 468. φυράω Hdt. II 36; cf. ἐφύρησα Hippokr. VI 460, &c., πεφύρημαι VI 540, but πέφυρμαι Hdt. III 157.

<sup>1</sup> Gram. Vat. 698 μαχόμενος, μαχεόμενος, but Meerm 652 μαχοόμενος, μαχεόμενος; in each tractate in conjunction with a present (λυπέομενος). The reference, we think, has in mind the epic μαχεόμενος and μαχοόμενος rather than a New Ionic μαχέομαι.

<sup>2</sup> πιέζω Ionic (Homeric), Attic, Aiolic, πιέζω Doric, Hdn. II 348, cf. I 443, II 949. In II 140, Herodian reports that Apio read (incorrectly, as he thinks) πιέζων in μ 174.

In this list we have not included such monstrosities as ἐνείχεε, in all MSS. Hdt. I 118, ὤφλεε (*Rz*) VIII 26.

4. -εω varies with -ευω as in other dialects. ἀεθλέω and ἀθλεύω both occur in Hdt., but Hdt. has always τυραννέω, never τυραννέω; δινέω is rare in prose (Hippokr. V 274, VI 494, Hdt. II 14), while δινεύω is epic and tragic.

ἀναλὼ appears in Hippokrates II 50, VII 588; elsewhere it is mainly older Attic. Aretaios has ἀναλίσκω 198.

κρεμάομαι in Hippokr. I 592, II 288 is suspicious. κρέμαμαι is certain in II 152.

λούω and λῶω. The existence of a present λούω, λούομαι in Homer is open to grave doubt. Verbs whose stems ended originally in -ους (ἀκούω, κρούω) reinstate in the present their ου from future and aorist; but verbs whose stems did not end in -ους regularly lost their υ < /i>f in primitive Greek. Homeric ἀπολούσομαι<sup>1</sup> and λούσα have as their present, not λούω, but λῶω. For λούεσθαι in Z 508=O 265, which is merely an Aiolism (=λόφεσθαι), λοέεσθαι is the older form. ἐλούεον Hymn to Demeter 290 is also an Aiolism, or it is a confusion between λοέω and λούω (Gemoll reads with Bücheler ἐλουον). λούω itself was formed from λούσω after the principle regulating the movement of the ου had passed into abeyance.

λῶομαι occurs in the following forms:—λούται Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>es</sub> (first foot); λούνται Hdt. I 198, II 37; λούσθω Hippokr. VII 24, 26, 78, VIII 162, 260 (C θ); λούσθαι Hdt. III 124 (λούεσθαι *AB*), Hippokr. VII 74, VIII 298 (θ, λούεσθαι *vulgo*, Littré); ἐλούτο Hdt. III 125. All these are formed directly from λο + ε or λο + ο. It is not true that the present and imperfect 'generally drop ε and ο in their terminations' (Veitch, p. 424). Veitch cites the inf. λούν from Hippokrates in Galen.

λούω is found in λούε Hippokr. VIII 162; λούει Hdt. VI 52; λούειν Hippokr. II 374, 376, VII 26, 34, 90; λούεις Hippokr. II 372, as in Attic; λούονται Hdt. IV 75 *ABR*, Stein, but λούνται is better; λουέσθω Hippokr. VII 276, 334, 380, VIII 198, 242, 420; λούεσθαι Hippokr. II 376, V 244, VI 252, VII 330, Aretaios 301; λουόμενος Hdt. III 23 (Dindorf λούμενοι). The last form appears in Hippokr. VII 276, *Hellen.* VII 2, 22 (Dindorf λουμ-), &c.<sup>2</sup> It is certain in the comparatively late inscription from Andania (Cauer 47<sub>100</sub>).

<sup>1</sup> This form cannot be resolved into ἀπολοέσθαι as can 25 occurrences of the aorist (λοέσθαι II 7, λοέσθαι § 210 resist resolution).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Rutherford, *New Papyrius*, p. 274.



*Present Indicative.*

On -εω instead of -αω see § 688. Verbs in -εφω are omitted (§ 637, 2).

**638.] Singular First Person.**

1. -αω is always contracted<sup>1</sup>, e.g. Anakr. 19<sub>2</sub>, κολυμβῶ, Hrd. 386 σιωπῶ, 524 ὀρῶ, Hdt. VI 130 ἐγγυῶ, IV 36 γελῶ.

2. -εω<sup>2</sup>, though thus written, is always monosyllabic in the lyric poets of Ionic birth. φιλέω Archil. 58<sub>1</sub> (tetr.), Anan. 4<sub>2</sub>, Anakr. 72 B, 94<sub>1</sub> (eleg.), Herodas 166 and so 7<sub>4</sub> where φιλῶ has slipped in; δοκέω<sup>3</sup> Anan. 50, Solon 32<sub>4</sub> (iamb. tetram., δοκῶ Fick), Hrd. 110, 634, 742; αἰνέω Theog. 873 in *n* alone, Hrd. 362; οἰκέω Hrd. 118, 222 (Theog. οἰκῶ 1210 in all MSS.). Anakreon has also διοσκέω 33, μισέω 74<sub>1</sub>, Theognis οἰνοβαρέω 503 (AO), Hrd. τελέω 204, μετρέω 65, ὑλακτέω 614, φωνέω 547, 73.

In the spurious Anakreontics we find δοκέω 187, ποθέω 401, φιλέω 402 (υυ-).

-εω is the ending in Ionic prose: δοκέω Hdt. I 8, &c., Hekat. 331, Hippokr. V 196, 714, Lukian *F. A.* § 14, Hdt. ποιέω I 38, νοέω VII 8 (a), ἐπινοέω III 134, &c., Hippokr. ἐπαινέω II 244.

3. -οω<sup>4</sup> = ω: δικαίω Hdt. III 142, &c.

**639.] Singular Second Person.**

1. ὀρᾶς<sup>5</sup> Archil. 87<sub>1</sub>, 88<sub>2</sub>, Anakr. 1<sub>8</sub>, *Vit. Auct.* 4; Hipponax ἀρειᾶς 65, περνᾶς 52 (conj.), Anakr. ἡβᾶς 18<sub>2</sub>, Herodas γελᾶς 214, ἐρᾶς 279, Hdt. νικᾶς I 40, χρᾶς IV 155, *Vit. Auct.* 13 ἐρωτᾶς.

2. κοεῖς Anakr. 4<sub>2</sub>, δοκέεις 75<sub>2</sub>, φιλεῖς Theog. 88, ὀμιλεῖς 1377 (-έεις here impossible); Herodas has δοκεῖς 168, 342, 517, φαρματεῖς (?) 543, ποεῖς 69, φιλεῖς 643, ἀμιθρεῖς 66. In Hdt. the incorrect -έεις is more frequent than -εῖς: δοκέεις I 27, 207, III 34, IV 126, VII 237, νοέεις VII 38 (ἐὺνοεῖ VII 237), but ζητεῖς I 32 in all MSS. and in Stobaios, φλυηρεῖς VII 103 (K). Good MS. evidence supports ἀριθμεῖς and δοκεῖς *Vit. Auct.* § 4.

<sup>1</sup> Vat. 694 cites as Ionic βόδω parallel to the open ποιέω and χρυσέω. An open -αω is unknown in post-Homeric Ionic. The Doric αῶ is called Ionic in An. Ox. I 79<sub>11</sub>.

<sup>2</sup> καλέω Hdn I 444<sub>13</sub>, II 332<sub>2</sub> (Et. Gud 194<sub>11</sub>), ἀδικέω Hdn II 331<sub>13</sub>, ὀκνέω II 267<sub>11</sub>, Et. M. 620<sub>13</sub>, φιλέω, νοέω Apollon. Adv 143<sub>11</sub> (Schu. φρονέω, νοέω Joh. Gr. 242, Meerm. 653, ποιέω Vat. 694).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Peace 46 Ἰωνικός τις φησι παραπαθήμενος "δοκέω μὲν, εἰ κλέωρα τοῦτ' αἰνίσσεται. . . ." Open -εω may occur in lyric passages in tragedy: καλέω *Agamem.* 147.

<sup>4</sup> χρυσέω Vat. 694 does not exist.

<sup>5</sup> κατορᾶς (Anakr.) Joh. Gr. 240, ἀτιμᾶς An. Par. III 350<sub>m</sub> (ἀτιμεῖς Asiatic, ἀτιμοῖς Attic).



ποιεῖς § 6 (in *C*). In Hippokr. ep. 14 (IX 338) we find θεομαχεῖς, but -έεις is more common (e.g. δοκέεις IX 360).

3. δικαιοῖς Hdt. VII 159.

#### 640.] Singular Third Person.

1. ὀρᾷ<sup>1</sup> Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>15, 80</sub>, Theog. 168, Solon 13<sub>17</sub>, Hdt. I 10, Diog. Apoll. 6, Ion 1; Hippon. 76 λαιμᾷ (conj.), Theog. 320 τολμᾷ, Solon 13<sub>18</sub> τελευτᾷ, Hrd. 1<sub>77</sub> ἐνγελᾷ, 3<sub>8</sub> ὀρμᾷ, 7<sub>99</sub> φοιτᾷ, 7<sub>61</sub> ἐρᾷ, Hdt. I 55, &c. χρᾷ, VIII 69 ἐᾷ, Demokr. 15 νικᾷ, 71 ἀνιᾷ, Hippokr. VII 578 ἐξερᾷ, II 40 λιθιᾷ.

2. The only case of open -έει in the post-Homeric authors here investigated is δοκέει Theog. 221, which is a reproduction of the epic form in Z 338, Ψ 470, α 376, ε 360, &c. (nine times in all). Homer employs also δοκεῖ M 215, ν 154, &c., but never δοκέει. This δοκέει appears at the end of a trimeter in Hipponax 74, though Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>108</sub>, and Solon 13<sub>42</sub>, have δοκεῖ in the same place. The form with synizesis in the former poet (1<sub>9</sub>) is also improbable. Solon has δοκεῖ ἔμμεναι in 13<sub>39</sub>, but the passage is spurious, and Herodas the same form V 3 (δόκει Bergk). The only other trace of a possible -έει is φιλέει Anakr. 70, where the dactylo-epitritic permits φιλέει (cf. the metre of 71). -εῖ is found at the verse end in Archil. 116 epod. (καθαίρει), 69 tetr. (ἐπικρατεῖ), Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>65</sub> (φορεῖ), 7<sub>27</sub> (νοεῖ as Sim. Keos (?) 85<sub>8</sub>), Theog. 1270, 1368 (φιλεῖ)<sup>2</sup>, Anakr. 21<sub>13</sub> (φορεῖ). Other cases of -εῖ are ἐπαρκεῖ Solon 51 (-έει impossible), ἀρκεῖ Hrd. 5<sub>2</sub>, ἀπαρκεῖ 3<sub>83</sub>, εὐτυχεῖ Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>83</sub>, ἀγρεῖ Theog. 294, φρονεῖ Theog. 395. Herodas has αἰνεῖ 4<sub>47</sub>, αἰτεῖ 3<sub>10</sub>, ἡθεῖ 3<sub>33</sub>, καλεῖ 5<sub>86</sub>, ποιεῖ 7<sub>86</sub>.

On an Hellenistic inscription (Ephesos 147<sub>1</sub>) dating about 300 B.C. we find διατελεῖ, and τελεῖ on one from Teos [Mitt. XVI 292 (l. 8, 12)] from the fourth century.

Herodotos: (1) -έει preceded by a consonant is left uncontracted in χωρέει I 192, ἀγηλατέει V 72 (only occurrence of the present in classic Greek), but the correct form appears in κινεῖ III 80, ἀποστερεῖ VI 65, μαρτυρεῖ VIII 94 in all MSS., and in some: κινεῖ II 68 (*PRdz*), ἀπωθεῖ II 25 (*CRd*), ἀδικεῖ VII 10, η (*PR*), μαρτυρεῖ II 18 (*d*), χωρεῖ II 96 (*C*), δοκεῖ III 5 (*AB*). (2) -έει, preceded by οἰ, is retained in the MSS. in ποιεῖ I 142, II 25, III 47, IV 26, &c. (cf. ποιεῖν in Hdt.). Preceded by ο, -εει contracts in εὐνοεῖ VII 237 (but νοέεις VII 381). Cf. the forms after ο in the infinitive and in the imperfect. The contracted forms are correct.

In the editions of other Ionic prosaists we find the open forms where the MSS. often pronounce in favour of the contraction.

<sup>1</sup> Joh. Gr. 240.

<sup>2</sup> φιλεῖ Theog. 1255 is possibly Solonian.

ἀγνοεῖ Euseb. Mynd 54; ἀδικεῖ Demokr. 203; αἰμαρροεῖ Hippokr. V 606, 618, 626, 726; ἀλγεῖ Melissos 4, 11 (Mullach ἀλγέοι), 13 Mullach -έει -έει, Aret. 69; ἀλυκτεῖ Hippokr. VIII 30 (an epic verb: near by is ἀμειννέ; ἀναιρεῖ Pherekyd. of Leros 48, Hippokr. V 624; ἀρκεῖ Hippokr. VI 210 θ); γαμεῖ Pherek. Leros 22, 40, 48, 55 (Atticized fragments), 85; δοκεῖ Hekat 332, Melissos 17, Demokr. 184, 185, 188, 208, Diog. Apoll. 2, 3, 6 bis, Arrian 9, 1; open δοκέει in Demokr. 25, 161 (Demokrates, Diogen. Apoll. 1 (Diog. Laert. Lukian V. A. 13, Hippokr. II 38, 52, 56, 60, 76, 78, 128, 244, 250, 288, III 228, V 696. The vulgate of Hippokr. sometimes has -εῖ. In VI 110 A, in 276 C has δοκεῖ; ἐξανθεῖ Hippokr. V 710, ἐξαρκεῖ Herakl. 91; ἐπιδημεῖ Hippokr. II 20; ἐπιθυμεῖ Demokr. 71; κρατεῖ Anax. 6, Herakl. 91, έει Hippokr. II 38; μαρτυρεῖ Herakl. 3 (Clemens, Theod.); ματαιοπονέει Demokr. 59; οἰκεῖ Demokr. 1, Pherek. Leros 16, 20; ὁμολογεῖ Melissos 17, έει Herakl. 45 in Hippol -εειν; παρακολουθεῖ Hippokr. V 632; ποιεῖ Anax. 11, Demokr. 35, 88, 133, Hippokr. II 256 (in A) Arrian 47; ποιέει Demokr. 24, Hippokr. II 20, 208, 358, 374, III 220 bis, 242, 258, V 656, 726 (ρσεῖ same page; συμφωνεῖ Hekat. 144; τάλαιπωρεῖ Demokr. 184; φιλεῖ Herakl. 10 (-έει 117, Demokr. 20, 235; χωρεῖ Meliss. 14, Diog. 2, Anax. 6 (-έει Hippokr. VIII 30 and often; ὠφελεῖ Hippokr. V 646, 650, 708, 720, but -έει II 128, 138, V 196 (ὠχλείτο same page), 622 bis, 710.

In a majority of cases Hippokrates has -έει. ἀλλοφρονέει VII 30 is an interesting use of an epic verb. Aretaios has about 130 cases of -έει to 20 of -εῖ. An unusual form in Aret. is νέει 274 = the poetical νέεται. Lukian's *Syr. dea* has only open forms, Arrian 14 cases of -έει to 4 of -εῖ.

3. σασί Theog. 868, ἀμαυροῖ Solon 435, ἐπιλοξοῖ Hrd. 411, πληροῖ Hdt. II 7, δηλοῖ II 44, Hippokr. V 634, *Fit. Hom.* 37, ὀρθοῖ Demokr. 128.

#### 641.] Plural First Person.

1. Hdt. ἐῶμεν II 114 as in Homer, B 236, K 344, besides εἰῶμεν σ 420, φ 260. Cf. Schmidt *Neutra*, p. 326. ὀρῶμεν is the reading of all MSS. Hdt. I 120 (as regards -ῶμεν); elsewhere *ABR* have the contracted form, *Cd* -έω-, *P* -έο-.

2. καλέομεν Hdt. V 49, Hippokr. ep. 17<sub>12</sub>, Aret. 25, ποεῦμεν Solon 1333 (Attic καλοῦμεν Theog. 1207), Hrd. ἀντλεῦμεν 414, τελεῦμεν *Class. Rev.* V 481, frag. 21. On ὀρέομεν see § 688.

3. δηλοῦμεν, &c.

#### 642.] Plural Second Person.

1. ὀράτε Solon 117, διατᾶτε Hrd. 288.

2. Kall. δοκεῖτε 13, αἰδεῖσθε 12 (where εε is metrically impossible), Hdt. θαρσέετε IX 18, ποιέετε IV 136, &c.<sup>1</sup>, but αἰχεῖτε VII 103 (in all MSS.), a reading rejected by Stein. We require the contracted form.

3. ἀξιούτε Hdt. IV 115.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also ἀπιστέετε.

## 643.] Plural Third Person.

1. ὀρώσιν Kall. 1<sub>20</sub>, Solon 34<sub>2</sub>, τιμῶσι Tyrt. 12<sub>37</sub>, Theog. 169, Hdt. II 50 (*CP* -έωσι, cf. § 688), Herakl. 102. Hdt. has also σῶσι I 200 from σάω *sift*<sup>1</sup>, ἐῶσι II 36, βοῶσι III 117 (Sim. Keos 114<sub>6</sub>), νικῶσι VIII 94, Hippokr. τελευτῶσι V 598, 624, ἡβῶσι II 22.

κομῶσι Hdt. IV 191, adopted by Stein from all MSS. except *R*, is an epic form here out of place. So κομῶντες in Arrian 34<sub>7</sub>, 35<sub>1</sub>, and ἀμφαφῶσι Aret. 141. σταλάδουσιν Astrol. 19 is an error (cf. Lobeck *Rhetor.* 175).

2. Open forms in -έουσι (—) are very rare in the lyric poets: δοκέουσι Phokyl. 9 (hex.), καλέουσι Xenoph. 2<sub>8</sub>—the only instances in poets of Ionic birth—and στυγέουσ' Theog. 278. -εῦσι occurs in φρονεῦσι Archil. 70<sub>3</sub> (tetr.). It is interesting to observe that Herakleitos 5, where he states a belief in opposition to that expressed in the fragment of Archilochos, employs φρονέουσι. Theog. has φιλεῦσιν 169, 337, 871, Anakr. (?) χωρεῦσι 108<sub>3</sub> eleg., Hrd. ἀπαρκεῦσιν 3<sub>6</sub>, κατοικεῦσιν 4<sub>10</sub>, ποιεῦσι 6<sub>60</sub>, πορθεῦ[σιν] 6<sub>101</sub>, Kallim. II 82 ἀγινεῦσι. εἰσοιχνεῦσιν *Prometh.* 122 (anap.) is from ι 120.

Solon's verse (15<sub>1</sub>) containing πλουτεῦσιν is reproduced in Theog. 315 where πλουτοῦσιν is read. The existence of Κυπρογενοῦς 26<sub>1</sub>, and ἰκνοῦνται 4<sub>2</sub>, make it probable that Solon used here the genuine Attic form in -οῦσιν, which was expelled on the ground that he was entirely dependent upon Ionic models. πλουτοῦσιν stands in Solon 24<sub>1</sub> = Theognis 719, ἀδικοῦσι in 4<sub>2</sub> (reading ἐν συνέδοις θ' οὐς ἀδικοῦσι φίλους for Bergk's ἐν συνέδοις τῆς ἡδύκ' ἐστὶ φίλα). Forms in -οῦσιν occur elsewhere: φρονεῦσιν Hipponax 73 tr., φαγεῦσι 82 tetr. are clearly due to an Attic copyist; Theognis has τελοῦσι 142, ζητεῦσιν 684. Perhaps we should read παταγεῦσιν for Eustathios' παταγοῦσιν in Anakr. 6<sub>4</sub>. διατελοῦσιν Ephesos 147<sub>3</sub> is Attic also.

Hdt. has -εου- over 260 times in the 3rd plural and participle in other verbs than ποιέω. In the case of ποιέω, ποιεῦσι<sup>2</sup> is so much more frequent, that ποιέουσι in I 71, II 121, where there is no support for -ευ-, should perhaps be corrected. So too νοέουσι III 81 (but cf. νοέουσα VIII 101). Exceptional, on the other hand, in having -ευ- are καλεῦσι II 94 (with v. l. -έουσι in *C*), λεηλατεῦσι II 152, ἡνιοχεῦσι IV 193, πωλεῦσι V 6, ἐπιτελεῦσι V 49, διατελεῦσι VII 111, all these verbs having a consonant before ε. -οῦσι is best supported in κοσμοῦσι III 24 (all MSS. except *R*).

-έουσι is very frequent in the other monuments of Ionic prose, e.g. Demokr. φιλέουσι 70, πονέουσι 87, ἐπιθυμέουσι 47, ἀσκέουσι

<sup>1</sup> Hippokr. has both σάω and σήθω (σεσημένος and σεσησμένος).

<sup>2</sup> Scarcely any passage has not the v. l. -έουσι, which occurs most frequently in *R*, often also in *Pd*, rarely in *ABC* (II 49, 60, VI 138). Twice at least *R* alone has -εῦσι (IV 146, VII 148).

103, τηρέουσι 126, σωφρονέουσι 137, ἀπορέουσι 168, εὐδαιμονέουσι 5 (MSS. -ου-); Hekat. οἰκέουσι 67, 78, 114, 175 (Steph. Byz.), but οἰκοῦσιν 173 (Athenaios and Steph. Byz.), ὁμουργέουσι 190, 195, φορέουσιν 189, καταλέουσιν 290 (Athen.); Anaxag. ἐκχωρέουσι 9; Herakleitos δοκέουσι 5, 122, φρονέουσι 5, ἐγκιρέουσι 5 (MSS. -ου-), ποιέουσιν 2 (MSS. -ου-), ὁμιλέουσι 93 (MSS. -ου-); Charon of Lampsakos 2 has ἐπαναχωροῖσι though Plutarch has in the same fragment βασιληῖον; Hellenikos ἀνθέουσι. A thorough investigation of Hippokrates does not exist. Our impression is that -έουσι is more frequent than εἰν for εἶν. Examples may be found II 28, 76, 78, 86, 110, 128, 130, 132, 154, 158, 166, 176 (ποιέουσιν), 178, 184, 262, 290, 312, VI 100 (the poetic τρομέω), 294 (ἀκέω, the only occurrence of the present active), 494 (δινέω, a rare verb in prose), IV 192 (ἀποπληρέουσιν, if not from πληρόω), V 656.

In Arrian the MSS. generally have the Attic form. δοκέουσι Aret. 248.

Forms in -εῦσι are rare: ποιεῦσι Demokr. 66 in Stobaios (with which cf. ποιέουσιν Hippokr. II 18, 76, 296), διουργεῦσι Hippokr. II 38, with οὔρεουσιν on the same page, μισεῦσιν IX 364, τάλαιπωρεῦσιν II 64, οἰκεῦσιν II 68, διατελεῦσιν II 238, καλεῦσιν II 410.

3. ἀξιοῦσι Priene 144<sub>9</sub>, Hdt. III 20, ὀρθοῦσιν Archil. 56<sub>2</sub>, tetr., σαοῦσι Tyrt. I 1<sub>13</sub>, ἀμανροῦσιν Hippokr. II 84.

### *Subjunctive.*

#### **644.] Singular First Person.**

1. ποιέω Hdt. IX 79 (hence εἰδῶ II 114 is probably incorrect).

#### **645.] Singular Second Person.**

1. τιμᾶς, &c.
2. Herodotos has στρατηλατέης VII 14, the contracted and correct form in ποιῆς III 36, VII 235 (so in the archetype MS.). Demokr. 24 has ἐπιθυμέης, Hippokr. II 256 ἀφαιρέης, Lukian Syr. den 32 ἐσορέης (§ 688). In the plural ἀγινῆτε Hdt. 355.

#### **646.] Singular Third Person.**

1. εἰρωτᾷ Theog. 519, ὀρᾷ Theog. 932, Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>17</sub>.
2. On inscriptions we find ἐπικαλῆι Halik 238<sub>23</sub>, δοκῆι Olynth. 8 B 14, ἀμφισβατῆι Zeleia 113<sub>18</sub>, ποιῆι Chios 174 C 9, ἱεροποιῆι Miletos 100<sub>6</sub>, συνχωρεῖ Orop. 18<sub>19 20</sub>, παρεῖ 18<sub>26</sub>, εἶ 18<sub>34</sub> = ἦι Halik. 238<sub>27</sub>. On εἰ < ἦι, see § 239, 2. In the poets we observe only -ῆ:—δοκῆ Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>108</sub>, προεκποιῆ 22, γαμῆ Hippon.

29<sub>2</sub>. In Theog. 1166 *A* has ὁδοὺς τελεῇι, the other MSS. ὁδοῦ τελέη (*O* τελέοις). Neither reading makes sense and Bergk edits στέλλη. In 929 the MSS. have εἰ μὲν ... πλουτεῖς ... ἦν δὲ πένηαι where there is no reason to change to ἦν πλουτῆς. In 96 we have φρονῆ, 609 προσομαρτῆ, 1008 νοῆ (Mimn.) In the last instance a vowel precedes the contracted syllable, as in νοεῖ (indic.) Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>π</sub>. Solon has κινῆ 12<sub>2</sub>, γεγωνῆ 42<sub>4</sub>, Herodas αἰτῆ 2<sub>88</sub>, λαλῆ 6<sub>61</sub>.

The MSS. of Herodotos vary between -έη and -ῆ. The former occurs, if we exclude the subjunctives from -εῖω verbs (§ 637, 2), seven times: ποιέη I 206<sup>1</sup>, διατελέη I 32, δοκέη I 122, IV 120, συνοικέη II 120, οἰκέη VIII 106, ἀπαιτέη VI 86 (*a*), the contracted seven times: οἰκοδομῆ I 21, ποιῆ III 69, ἐπιζητῆ III 36, ποθῆ III 36, αἰρῆ IV 127, δοκῆ VII 10 (*δ*) in *ABCD*, and IX 48. There is no support for the view that after vowels -ῆ, after consonants -έη was the Herodoteian form. In the aorist passive -έη is invariably contracted, and -ῆ is the only correct form here.

In the texts of other Ionic prosaists we usually find -έη, often-times against the MSS. Demokr. ἀδικέη 213 (Stob. -ῆ), δοκέη 188 (Stob. -ῆ). Hippokrates has very many examples of -έη (*e.g.* II 38, 114, 122, 146, 156, 158, 160, 180, 186, III 102, 216, 232, 238, 254, 258, 260, VII 74, 76, V 618, 660). Forms in -ῆ are very rare: ποθῆ II 360, παρακολουθῆ V 668, ὀχλῆ V 704, ῥιγῆ V 706.

Luk. ἱστορέη *Syr. lea* 32, ἐπαινέη 36, but ὀρῆ 31, 32, 48. Aretaios ἀχθέη 134 (rare and late use of this form of the present; cf. 183 when ἀχθείει and ἀχθεται occur in close proximity). We have noted in Aretaios -ῆ on pp. 91, 92, 101, 114, 165, 168, 245, 270, 279, -έη on 10, 22, 68, 69, 70, 71, 270.

3. Hdt. IX 93 δικαιοῖ.

#### 647.] Plural First Person.

1. Anakr. 63<sub>10</sub> μελετῶμεν.

2. Theog. 1134 ζητῶμεν in the first foot, Hdt. ποιέωμεν I 159.

#### 648.] Plural Third Person.

1. τιμῶσιν in the MSS. of Solon 13<sub>11</sub> is now generally read μετίωσιν. Bergk's suggestion of μῶωσι is not in keeping with the dialect of the elegiac poets, who do not adopt the epic distraction of vowels. Hdt. φυρῶσι II 36, &c.

2. Archil. ἐγκυρέωσιν 70<sub>3</sub> tetr., Ananias τραπέωσι 5<sub>4</sub>, πατέωσιν 5<sub>4</sub> tetr. Hence δοκῶσιν Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>π</sub> is to be read δοκέωσιν. παραπιτνῶσι Samos 220<sub>20</sub> is Attic, but πωλέωσιν Teos, *Milt.* XVI 292, l. 8 (and ἔωσι l. 4) is the regular Ionic form.

<sup>1</sup> This is the only instance where *ση* in the verb *ποιέω* is supported by all the MSS.



In Hdt. *εω* is not contracted in the MSS. except in the case of *περιποιῶσι* VIII 75, where the contraction may be due to the influence of the neighbouring *διαφθείρωσι*. Cf. *ποιέωσι* IV 111. In Hippokr. *-έωσι* is without exception, *e.g.* II 142, 156, 162, 186.

### Optative.

#### 649.] Singular First Person.

Verbs in *-αω* always contract<sup>1</sup>. From *-εω* verbs we have *δοκέοιμι* Theog. 339, but *ποιοῖμι* Hdt. V 106 (*PR* *-έοιμι*). *εοι* after a vowel probably contracts in this verb in Hdt. In pseudo-Ionic sources open forms are common, *e.g.* Euseb. Mynd. 1 *ἐπιθυμέοιμι*, *ἐπαρκέοιμι*, *ἀσκέοιμι*, *αἰνέοιμι*, but also *ἐρώην*, *νικέην*, *τιμέην*, *κρατοίην*, *προθυμοίην*, *ἀποστυγοίην*. Hippokrates makes frequent use of *-οιην*, whereas Herodotos prefers the *-οιμι* ending. See § 651.

#### 650.] Singular Second Person.

1. The only possible case of the open form in the later poetical monuments is *ἡβάοις* Theog. 877, which is now abandoned for *ἡβα μοι*. The *v. l.* *ἡβώοις* is not to be defended, since the distracted verbs form no part of the linguistic apparatus of the elegy. In 107 Theognis has *ἀμῶς*.

2. Theog. has *τελέοις* 926 and *v. l.* (in *O*) 1166. Lukian has *δοκέοις* *Syr. dea* 46, Hippokr. *τηροίης* I 634, *ἐννοοίης* III 254, *αἰωροίης* VII 524, *διαρροίης* VI 84, but *ὠφελέοις* VII 34 (*θ*).

#### 651.] Singular Third Person.

1. *-ωη* in *νικέη* Tyrt. 12<sub>4</sub>, *ὀπτέη* Hdt. VIII 137, *ἐνορέη* I 89, *διαιτέη* Hippokr. II 254. *-ω* in *νικῶ* Xenoph. 2<sub>21</sub>. No case of *-εοι* for *-ω* occurs in the active.

*σαφοῖ* (= *σφῆροι*), the reading of Roehl and Roberts, is not adopted by Bechtel (No. 5). He adopts *δσσα φοι* on the ground that *σῶος*, *σῶς* never contained a *f*. For this view, cf. § 277, *Philol. Anz* 1886, 14 note 8. Fick explains the *ω* in *σωφρονεῖν* Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>108</sub> &c., as originating from *ασα*. Phokylides (9.) alone has the open *σαόφρονες*.

2. Teos 156 A 2 *ποιοῖ*, but *ἀνωθεοίη*, l. 11 (whose *εοι* is a legal archaism); in l. 4 of 156 B, Roehl supplies [*ἀπειθεοίη*], Boeckh [*ἀπειθοίη*]; *συντελοίη* Teos 158<sub>20</sub> (Attic)<sup>2</sup>, *ὀδοίη* (?) Roberts I 159 (Amorgos). Theog. *φιλοῖ* 1119, Tyrt. *πλουτοίη* 12<sub>6</sub>, Solon *συμμαρτυροίη* 36 trim., a form suspected by Renner (p. 42) on the

<sup>1</sup> *ἀγαπήην* Et. M. 6<sub>4</sub>, Et. Gud. 3<sub>4</sub>, An. Ox. II 338<sub>20</sub>.

<sup>2</sup> *ἐπιτορκοίην* C. I. A. II 578<sub>12</sub> is the only example of the optative of a contract verb we have met with on a purely Attic inscription.

ground that it is not in line with the Ionisms of vv. 11 and 12, and of 37. It may however be regarded as the earliest proof in Attic of the transferring of the -*ιη* of non-thematic verbs to the *verba contracta*, a phenomenon that grew apace in the Attic dialect though it was but sparingly adopted by Herodotos, and old-fashioned in the Ionic of the fifth century. See Rutherford's *Phrynichus*, p. 442 ff. on the optatives in -*ιη* in Attic. Tyrtaios' *πλουτοῖη* may be regarded as an imitation of *φοροῖη* i 320 (though this is the only case in Homer of this class of new forms) and not as a Dorism (cf. *ἀδικοῖη* in Kretan, C. I. G. 2556<sub>47</sub>).

In Hdt. -*εοι* is not contracted after consonants: *καλέοι* I 11, *δοκέοι* I 24; after vowels, to avoid hiatus, *ποιοῖ* II 169, *ποιοῖ* or *ποιοῖη* VI 35 as Stein reads. This would be the only case of -*οιη* in Hdt. In VI 35 Dobree read *ποιῇ*. The first person is *ποιοῖμι* V 106 (§ 649).

The coexistence of *καλέοι* and *ποιοῖ* in Herodotos is paralleled by that of *ἀνωθεοῖη* and *ποιοῖ* in the Teian inscription of the fifth century. Merzdorf, Stein, G. Meyer and others accept the contraction of *εοι* to *οι* after vowels as genuine Ionic, but hold the uncontracted forms to be equally genuine. While this is not disputed, the uncontracted *καλέοι*, &c., represent an antiquated orthography. Cf. § 637, 1 (2), end.

Hippokrates and the other writers of prose often have -*εοι*, but -*οιη* is preferred, at least by Hippokrates. Thus *ξυνωφελοῖη* IV 132, *προσωφελοῖη* II 356, but *ἐμποῖοι* *ibid.* according to Littré, where *ι* has -*υοῖη*. *ποιοῖη* is correct; cf. IV 82, *ἐπιχειροῖη* I 572, *αἰωροῖη* VII 522 (an unusual verb in classic Greek), *ἐπικρατοῖη* VI 82, *αἰμορραγοῖη* IV 112, *ἀγρυπνοῖη* II 136, *ἀπωθοῖη* IV 226, 304 (in *BMN*, Littré -*εοι*) but *ἀντωθεοῖ* IV 82 on the same page with *ποιοῖη*. Cf. *ροφοῖη* and *χωρεοῖ* VII 608. *ὠφελέοι* is certain in III 524, *ἐμέοι* II 144, *ἐκχωρεοῖ* II 160, *δοκέοι* II 14, IV 92, whereas Herakleitos *R. M.* XV 605 has *δοκοῖη*. Melissos 13 has *ἀλγέοι* twice according to Simplicius, and also in 4 according to Mullach; Lukian *Syr. dea* 19 *ἀπειθέοι*.

3. -*ω* verbs have -*οι* and -*οιη*.

#### 652.] Plural First Person.

1. -*ῶμεν* e.g. *νικῶμεν*. *ἐρῶμεν* Sim. Amorg. 1<sub>22</sub> (others *ἐροῖμεν*).
2. Sim. Amorg. *φρονοῖμεν* 2<sub>2</sub>, 17<sub>12</sub> *ξυνεργοῖμεν*.
3. -*οῖμεν* in *δηλοῖμεν*, &c.

#### 653.] Plural Third Person.

1. Theog. 81 *τολμῶεν*, Hdt. IX 69 *νικῶεν*.
2. Anakr. *φιλοῖεν* 45<sub>1</sub>, Hrd. *τελοῖεν* 3<sub>27</sub>. Such forms as Herodotos' *φρονέοιεν* I 46, VIII 34, *ποιέοιεν* VII 103, 208, IX 104 represent conservative spellings of the fifth century, if

indeed they may claim admittance into the text at all; cf. θεωροῖεν VIII 26 (*R* has θεωρέοιεν), ἀδικοῖεν I 196, V 84, ἐπιχειροῖεν IX 54 (*AB*), ποιοῖεν V 75. Anaxag. 17 has καλοῖεν, Herakl. *R. M.* XV 605 ἀπατοῖεν (*νε*, -φεν?), Hippokr. V 662 δοκοῖεν. The longer forms of this conjugation are still in their infancy in Homer.

### Imperative.

654.] Archil. eleg. φοῖτα 4<sub>2</sub>, tetram. ξα 51, ὄρα 54, ἀσχάλα 66<sub>6</sub>, Theog. 1151 ἐρέυνα, 877 (cf. 1070) ἦβα μοι by conjecture for ἦβάοις or ἦβώοις. Hrd. εἰῶτα 37<sub>18</sub>, κυβερνάτε 2<sub>100</sub>, Hdt. ὄρα III 134, προσδόκα I 42, &c.

655.] Upon inscriptions we find τελείτω Erythr. 204, and hence ἐπικαλ[ε]ίτω Halik. 238<sub>17</sub>; συντελείτωσαν Teos 158<sub>13</sub> and ἐπι- l. 25 are Attic.

(α) Forms in -εε. ὀμίλεε Theog. 37. (β) Forms in -ει. Archil. ἄγρει 4<sub>2</sub> eleg., in the first thesis; Theog. προσομίλει || 31, ὀμίλει || 597, 1243, ὀμάρτει || 1165, ἐπιχειρεί || 75; πένθει 830, ὄχθει 1032, αὔλει 1056 have their ει in the first thesis; δόκει 63, second thesis, 310 | where ∪ ∪ ∪ was metrically impossible. Solon κράτει | 36<sub>13</sub> tr. (Blass with one MS. κράτη), Tyrt. κινείτω 11<sub>281</sub>, Theog. οἰνοχοεῖτω 473, Tyrt. θαρσεῖρ' 11<sub>2</sub>, φιλοψυχεῖτε 10<sub>24</sub>. In the case of κινείτω and θαρσεῖρ' the open forms were metrically possible, but as in Homer the contract forms are written. Hrd. has εὐτύχει 1<sub>88</sub>, κάλει 5<sub>9</sub>, χώρει 1<sub>74</sub>, &c., τελείτω 2<sub>44</sub>, δοκείτε 2<sub>12</sub>. The proportion of open to contract forms in Homer is somewhat greater than that in the lyric poets. Homer has 32 forms in -ει, three in -εε (η 303, K 249, Φ 288), -ειτω 5 times, ει in the dual 3 times, -εϊτε 6 times in plural.

It is to be lamented that we have no example of the imperative in an early iambic fragment, otherwise we might estimate the value of the Herodoteian forms in -εε, which, if genuine, stand in sharp contrast at least to the elegiac use. But if the elegy has -ει, except in a single instance, it is highly probable that iambic poetry would have only -ει. Herodotos has στρατηλάτεις I 124, V 31, VII 5, 10 (θ), λιπάρεε V 19, παραίνεε VIII 143, συνοίκεε IX 111 (*bis*), ποίεε I 124 (*bis*), 209, V 40, VII 18, VIII 100, IX 91, ποιέετε IV 98, but ποίει I 8, 206 (*ABP*), VIII 140 a (*AB*). Other forms are read with -εε by Stein (θάρσει I 9, 120, IX 76 though in all the MSS., III 85 *ABR*, i.e. in the archetypal MS. according to Stein; ὤθει III 78, χώρει V 72, βοήθει VII 157, 159 (as Hippokr. IX 350), δυσθύμει VIII 100). In the plural Hdt. has αὐγεῖτε VII 103 in all MSS., rejected

by those who hold that the evidence of *θαρσέετε* IX 18, &c., is all-conclusive. Merzdorf<sup>1</sup> (p. 148) attempts fruitlessly to find a reason why Hdt. should use the imperative in *-ει* in one instance, that in *-εε* in another. The former only is correct<sup>2</sup>.

In Hippokrates we find *ποίει* VII 428, VIII 162 (*ποιεῖ θ*), *ροφείτω* II 276 (*Α*), VIII 92 (*θ*), VII 328 (*υλγο, -εε- J*), *έμεέτω* VII 74. Demokritos (Demokrates) 177 *άσκεέτω*, Euseb. Mynd. *ξυγχωρεέτω* 20, *κυρεέτω* 44. In the plural: *φοβεόντων* Hdt. VII 235.

656.] *στρέβλου* Hrd. 2<sub>30</sub>, *άφιδρούτω* Hippokr. II 516, Oropos 18<sub>10</sub> *ζημιούτω*.

### *Infinitive.*

657.] *δράν* Samos 215<sub>2</sub>, Xenoph. 2<sub>6</sub>, Hdt. I 33, *φοιτάν* Oropos 18<sub>2</sub>, Hdt. I 182, *νικάν* Solon 5<sub>6</sub>, Demokr. 75, *ήβάν* Anakr. 24<sub>2</sub>, 44.

658.] In the inscriptions occur: *έπικαλείν* Halik. 238<sub>43</sub>, a form unjustly suspected by Renner, p. 39, who assumes that one E might have been omitted from ΕΠΙΚΑΛΕΝ<sup>3</sup>. But the contraction is supported not only by *έπικαλήι* 238<sub>23</sub>, &c., but also by *άδικεῖν* Mylasa 248 A 9, B 8, 9, C 11, and *σκοπεῖν* Orop. 18<sub>43</sub>, *έπιτιθεῖν* Orop. 18<sub>26</sub>, *έκτιθεῖν* 18<sub>42</sub>, *έκχεῖν* Keos 43<sub>23</sub>, *έπιτελεῖν* Erythr. 204<sub>29</sub>, not to speak of other inscriptional forms such as *έπεστ]άτει* Zeleia 114 B 1, *τελείτω* Erythr. 204<sub>9</sub>. I. G. A. 489 (Didyma) has *ποιΕ(ν)=ποιεῖν*. An Ionic *-έειν* is not to be defended by *άποσινέειν* C. I. A. II 834<sub>27</sub> (330-300 B. C.), the only example.

Lyric poets: Sim. Amorg. *ώφελεῖν* 7<sub>97</sub>, *θυμηδεῖν* 71<sub>93</sub>, *σωφρονεῖν* 71<sub>98</sub>; Hippon. *ρύφειν* 132; Hrd. *κινεῖν* 5<sub>2</sub>; Solon *κοσμεῖν* 41<sub>0</sub>, *ζητεῖν* 271<sub>0</sub>; Xenoph. *αἰνεῖν* 11<sub>9</sub>; Theog. *δοκεῖν* 405, *φιλεῖν* 874, 1092, 1094, 1258 (MSS.), 1364, *πονεῖν* 919, *εὐδοκιμεῖν* 587; Anakr. *δισκεῖν* 40<sub>3</sub>.

In but two instances does the ill-famed form *-έειν* appear: Archil. 64 *κερτομέειν* and *φιλέειν* 80, where the shorter forms are required by the metre. In the first instance *κερτομέειν* is found in Clem. Alex. and Schol. Odyssey χ 412; Stobaios has *-εῖν*. The longer forms may have been introduced by scribes who had the epic and supposed Herodoteian *-έειν* in mind.

<sup>1</sup> After alluding to the fact that the quick utterance of the imperative demands the contraction, he says: *Accedit, quod praeter duobusmodi breviora tantum vocabula contractam prae se ferunt formam θάρσει, εἴθις et quod non negligendum βοήθει, cum in longioribus στρατηλάτης &c. quas ipse natura ad vocandum et ad celerius pronuntiandum minus apta sunt itaque in lentiore quoque oratione assumi possunt, semper se appareat.*

<sup>2</sup> *νόει, φρόνει* Joh. Gr. 240 B.

<sup>3</sup> A supposed [ἀμ]ύνειν Roberts I 2611 (Naxos) gives no support to this assumption.



Herodotos: -έειν occurs (1) after consonants e.g. in αἰτέειν I 2, 3, ἀπαυτέειν I 2, 3, &c. But the correct forms in -εῖν are not infrequent. We find the following cases in which all the MSS. agree:—ἐνδεῖν I 11, εὐφημεῖν III 38, ἐνεμεῖν II 172, πολεμεῖν V 120, τηρεῖν IX 104. In seven other cases there is some support for -εῖν in the MSS. (2) After the diphthong οι, εει holds its place in ποιεεῖν<sup>1</sup>, which is attested as the sole Herodoteian form in over a hundred passages. After ο, εει suffers contraction in κατανοεῖν II 28 (*d*), 93 (*P R d*), ἀγνοεῖν II 162 in all MSS., εὐνοεῖν IX 79 (*P R*). The contracted forms are correct.

Other prose writers: Herakleitos ὁμολογεῖν I is due to Bernays, μοχθεῖν 82, ποιεῖν 94, 107, σωφρονεῖν 106, 107, φρονεῖν 91 (*vulgo*); Demokritos, according to Stobaios and other excerptors, in the following forms has -εῖν: ποιεῖν 100, 208, 235, ἐμποιεῖν 20<sub>4</sub> (in *A*), ἐπικαιουργεῖν 20<sub>11</sub>, ὑπουργεῖν 215, ἐπιθυμεῖν 47, φρασεῖν 73, 139, δοκεῖν 92, ἐπαινεῖν 120, εὐεργετεῖν 197, τιμωρεῖν 202, ἀδικεῖν 206, προτελεῖν 215, ὀξυκερδεῖν 14, ποδηγεῖν 11, ὀχεῖν 11, πονεῖν 235, -έειν in ἀδικεῖν 107, 109, 112, 205, ἀσκέειν 141, ἐπιθυμέειν 83, μετανοεῖν 227, ἀγνοεῖν 95, κρατεῖν 77, θεωρεῖν 20<sub>11</sub>, ξυγχωρεῖν 44, κακοπαθεῖν 20<sub>14</sub>; Anaxag. κρατεῖν 6, κινεῖν 7, δοκεῖν 3, 4 in Simpl., who read κρατεῖν in Diog. Apoll. 6; Hekat. ἐκχωρεῖν 353, Ion στρατηγεῖν and ποιεῖν 1.

In Hippokrates, Littré edits -έειν even when -εῖν has the better support, though such cases, we think, are not frequent. It is common to find -εῖν in the vulgate, but the -έειν forms preponderate over those in -εῖν. There is no genuine treatise in which -έειν is not more frequent. We believe this to be true also of the spurious tractates. We cite from Littré's text: II 12 ζητέειν (-εῖν?), 14 σκοπέειν (-εῖν?), ἀναμετρέειν 36 (*vulgo* -εῖν), 82 κινέειν, 124 νοέειν, 136 χωρέειν, 138 and 708 πορέειν, 138 φρορέειν, 142 αἰνέειν, 272 ὀκνέειν (*vulgo* -εῖν), 290 and 368 λυσσιτελέειν (but *A* has -εῖν in 290), 356 (and III 58) ὠφελέειν, 642 νοσέειν; III 32 ἀλγέειν, 242 ξέειν, 248, 258 αἰρέειν. ποιεῖν occurs in II 12, 42 (Galen -εῖν), 264, III 234, 236, αἰμορροεῖν V 656, 724, 726, ὀχλείν 626, φλυηρεῖν, ἀνεμεῖν 660, ἐνδοεῖν 664, θεωρεῖν 692, ψοφεῖν 696, ἐμεῖν 710, ἀρρωστεῖν 718, with 12 cases of -έειν in the *progn.* κωακαί. IV 640 shows ἀγνοεῖν by the side of ποιεῖν.

Lukian *F. A.* 3 λαλέειν, 4 ἀριθμέειν (*v.l.* -εῖν)<sup>2</sup>, -έειν 17 times in the *Syria dea*, twice in the *Astrol.*, Abydenos εὐτυχέειν. Arctaios has 106 cases of -έειν, about 20 of -εῖν. Arrian has -έειν 10, -εῖν 5 times.

<sup>1</sup> Joh. Gr. 235, Gram. Leid. 628.

<sup>2</sup> It is interesting to note that in § 4 the tendency to hyper-Ionize changed in MS. & the ἀριθμεῖν of the Ὀνητής to ἀριθμέειν. Or the -έειν might have been caused by the previous ἀριθμέειν (where η has -εῖν).



659.] Verbs in -*ω* contract *ο* + *ε* or *ει* (spurious) to *ου*; in Hdt. *καινούν*, *ἐξορκούν* (as Halik. 238<sub>21</sub>), *χοῦν*, *νεοχμούν* IV 201 (the only occurrence of this tense in classic Greek); *ἀρούν* Tyrt. 5<sub>2</sub>, Theog. 582; *βεβαιούν* Halik. 240<sub>4, 5</sub>, and so *διδούν* Orop. 18<sub>21, 22</sub>.

### Participle.

660.] Verbs in -*ω* always contract. *ναϊετάοντες* Sim. Keos 84, is not Later Ionic. *αἰσυνμῶν* Teos 156 B 8-9 has been read as -*ων*, and hence *νι[κῶν]* Samos I. G. A. 388 A. *εἰσορῶν* Archil. 74<sub>8</sub>, *ἰσορῶν* Mimn. 5<sub>2</sub>, *προσορῶν* *ibid.* 1<sub>8</sub>, *δρῶντι* Theog. 1059, *δρῶντες* Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>111</sub>, Archil. *νικῶν* 66<sub>4</sub>, *δρῶντα* 65<sub>2</sub>, Hipponax *μαδῶντα* 23, Theog. *βοῶντος* 887, Anakr. *σκιρτῶσα* 75<sub>8</sub>, Solon *σιγῶσα* 4<sub>15</sub>.

In Herodas we find *δρῶντα* 5<sub>21</sub>, *φυσῶντες* 2<sub>32</sub>, *ἀπαντῶσα* 5<sub>28</sub>, *γελῶσα* 6<sub>44</sub>, *διφῶσ'* 6<sub>73</sub>, *καταψῶσα* 6<sub>78</sub>, *πρημονῶσαν* 6<sub>78</sub>, *πηδῶσαι* 4<sub>61</sub>.

In Ionic prose we encounter the variation between -*ω* and -*εω* verbs, on which see § 688. Certain examples of the former are *τελευτῶν* Hdt. III 65, &c., -*ῶντος* I 24, &c., *τιμῶν* III 21, IV 43, *τιμῶσαν* VI 52, *προσδοκῶν* VII 235, *τολμῶντας* IV 150 (all MSS.), all of which verbs show in other forms or in other places variants from -*εω* verbs. The following verbs never have such variants: *θυμῶντες* III 107, *ἰῶν* VII 47, &c., *ἰῶντες* V 96, &c., *ἰῶσα* VIII 101, *βοῶντας* III 78, *πεινῶντας* I 133, *νικῶν* I 207, &c., *ἀπαντῶσας* II 75, *μελετῶν* III 115, *νομῶντες* IV 128, *σιγῶν* VIII 26, *σιγῶντων* IX 42, *σιωπῶντων* VII 10, *καταψῶσαν* VI 61, *ἐρευνῶν* VII 19, *λευσσῶντα* IX 71, *ὀπτῶντι* IX 120, *ἰλῶν* II 162, &c. In Hippokrates we have e.g. *σιγῶσα* III 52, 142, 144, *τελευτῶσα* III 184, *μυδῶσαν* III 242, *χαλῶντες* V 590; *ἰστιῶντος* Ion 1.

*μυκῶντας* Artian 34, is an error; cf. Hippokr. IX 374.

661.] Verbs in -*εω*<sup>1</sup>.

1. On inscriptions: *ὑποτελέων* Chalkis 16 A 16, *τελέουσι* Olynth. 8 B 8, *τελέοντας* 8 B 6, *γεγωνέοντες* Chios 174 B 13, *ὑφορβέοντι*, *βουκολέοντι* Chios, *B. P. W.* 1889, p. 1195, l. 10, *μισθαρνεόντων*, *ξυληγεόντων* Teos, *Mittl.* XVI 292, l. 7, *τιμουχέοντες* Teos 156 B 29, *μεδεούσης* Samos 216, *μεδεούση* Phanag. 164, Latyschev II 19<sub>12</sub>, 28 (Pantikap.)<sup>2</sup>, *Ἀρκέων* Styra 19<sub>11</sub>. *ῥοιᾶων* Rhegion 5 is not Ionic. On *βασιλέοντος*, cf. § 248. It is to be observed

<sup>1</sup> -*εω* Joh. Gr. 240 B, 242, Meerm. 652, Birnab 678<sub>2</sub>, Et. M. 521<sub>2</sub>, An. Ox. I 232<sub>11</sub>, An. Par. IV 38<sub>2</sub>; -*εωσα* An. Ox. I 360<sub>2</sub>.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *μεδέουσας*, *ἀόντων* Hippolytos 168, and see § 74.

that in the epigraphical monuments we have no case of *eu* for *eo*, and none of *eu* for *eou*.

Attic contractions: -ἀ[στυ]νομοῦντος Olbia 131, 2 and 14 ἐνοικοῦντα Keos 473, κατοικοῦντες Samos 221<sub>11</sub> (after 322 B.C.); ποι[οῦ]ντας has been restored by Roehl (I. G. A. 395 B 9) and adopted by Cauer 530 B, in an addition of a later date) to a Keian inscription whose first part dates before 400 B.C. τοιοῦντων is found in Teos 158<sub>11</sub>.

2. In the lyric poets we find -έων, -ῶν, and -έων in Theognis and once in an Ionic elegist. -έων appears in Phokyl. ἀπαιτέων 16<sub>2</sub>, Anakt. ὁμιλέων 21<sub>7</sub>, φορέων 21<sub>12</sub>, Hrd. κινέων 1<sub>55</sub>, θαρπέων 27<sub>8</sub>, οἰκέων 6<sub>52</sub>, ἐνπολέων 6<sub>83</sub>.

-ῶν: Theog. δοκῶν 138, κεντῶν 371, τελῶν 914, ποθῶν 1251. θηπῶν is improbable in Hippon. 14.

-έων (—): Theog. φρονέων 27, δοκέων 137, εὐπεβέων 145, 1144. ὀχέων 534. These examples from the elegy are not surprising. Remarkable however is τελέων Mimn. 11<sub>3</sub>, the only example of open *eo* in the poets of Ionic birth. Meineke proposed τε ἐλών, Fick τελέσων, τελείων (cf. διετελείει Eresos)<sup>1</sup>, or perhaps τελήων, Meister τε λέων i.e. = Homer λάων τ 229. But if one instance of open *eo* (κλονέοντα, see below) is certain, no objection is possible on the score of an isolated case of open -έων. With the phrase τελέων ἀέθλον in Mimnermos, cf. τελέοντες ἀέθλους γ 262. On διψέων Archil. 68, see § 687.

In the feminine occur -έουσα and -εῦσα.

δολοφρονέουσα Archil. 93<sub>2</sub> (epod.), οἰκεῦσα Phokyl. 5<sub>2</sub> (-έουσα Fick), δοκεῦσ' Hrd. 3<sub>23</sub> and seven other forms in -εῦσα.

In tragedy we have δμνεῦσαι Medea 422 (see Verrall's note), μυθεῦσαι I. A. 789: both choric passages.

Variation between -εο-, -ε9-, -ευ-. In only one case is *eo* a dissyllable in a poet of Ionic birth: κλονέοντα φάλαγγας Mimn. 14<sub>3</sub>, the phrase of E 96<sup>2</sup>. Theog. has φρονέοντα 625, φορέοντας 827, φιλέοντες 739, δοκέον 162.

-ε9- is found in ἀγρυπνέοντα Theog. 471 (or *v* before *πν* may be short).

-ευ-<sup>3</sup> was certainly used by the time of Theognis: φιλεῖντος 385, νοεῦντες 737, ποιεῖντι 589, πλουτεῖντι 1153 (Brunek; MSS. -ον- as 315 πλουτοῦσι; see § 643, 2), φωνεῦντες 495 (K has φονέοντες). But whether it was employed by Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>80</sub> (φλεῖντι in MSS.) may be doubted. Herodas has δεῦντα 5<sub>24</sub> (bind), κινεῦντα

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bechtel, *Göt. Nachr.* 1886, p. 375.

<sup>2</sup> κλονέω, which is poetical in the active, reappears in Aretaios 131 (κλονέουσαι).

<sup>3</sup> Λωτεῦντα (M 283) is called Doric or Ionic by Hdn. II 336<sub>10</sub>, 777, Choirob. 395<sub>10</sub>.

367, νοεῦνθ' 355, ψοφεῦντα 711, δοκεῦντες 485, σκοπεῦντες 290, ποιεῦντες *Class. Rev.* V 480, frag. 118, κινεῦσι 773, οἰκεῦσι 294, ἀνθεῦντας 152. The only non-Ionic form in Hrd. is φρονοῦντα 712.

3. -έων remains open in Herodotos in the present, as it does in the future, participle. Exceptions are ζητῶν VI 62 (*R*), οἰκοδομῶν II 121 (*a*) in *ABC*, σκοπῶν I 117 (in all MSS.).

In the feminine -έουσα is the usual form. In νοέουσα VIII 101, ποιέουσai I 93 (as ποιέουσαν Arrian 316), κεύουσαν VI 68 a vowel precedes. -εῦσα appears in ιστορεύση I 61, λυπεῦσα VII 190, βοηθεῦσαν<sup>1</sup> II 118, ἀνθεύσης IV 1, κεντεύσας V 87; and in ποιεῦσα III 119, IV 9 (-έουσα *CPR*), VI 52 *bis*.

-εο- preponderates generally over -ευ- in Hdt. Some interesting examples are: ἀελπτεύοντες VII 168 (elsewhere only H 310), ἀλλοφρονέοντες VII 205 (an epic and Ionic verb: cf. Hippokr. VII 30), ἀτέοντες VII 223 (epic), τειχέοντος V 23 (Ionic τειχέω and τειχίζω, Attic τειχίζω). Examples of -ευ- are exceedingly rare in the case of verbs other than ποιέω: II 34 ιστορεῦντα, IV 156 ἀγνοεῦντες, 157 οἰκεῦντες, the only case, in 74 occurrences of οἰκέω, of the contraction (-εο- *AB*, οἰκέοντες above in same chapter), VIII 3 νοεῦντες. The -ευ- forms are, however, far more frequent in the case of ποιέω (ποιεῦντι VII 29, ποιεῦντες II 36, IV 98, V 81, &c.) But in the following cases -εο- is attested without any variant: I 140 (ποιεῦνται same chapter), 158, 216 (ποιεύμενοι same chapter), VII 8 (*δ*).

The archetypal MS. of Hdt. rarely had -ευ-: ποιεῦντες I 90, οἰκεῦντες I 175.

In the other Ionic prosaists the contraction of εο to ευ is very rare. εω remains open. Demokr. has νουθετέων 59, φθονέων 30, κρατέων 76 (Stob. -ῶν), ἀδικέων 205, θεωρεῦσα 147, ἀδικέοντι, ἀμελέοντι 213, ἐπιθυμέοντι 2013, σωφρονέοντος 42, ποιεῦντι 205, φιλονεικέοντα 212, ἀδικέοντα 112, 206, εὐθηλέοντα 185, μυθοπλαστέοντες 119, δοκέοιτες 151, δυστυχέοντες 137, συμφωνέοντες 152, τάλαιπωρεόντων 2010, φρονεόντων 79, ἀμελέοντας 213, ἀδικέοντας 205; Herakl. διαιρέων 2, δοκεόντων 118; Melissos ἀλγέοντι 13; Pherekr. οἰκέοιτες 85; Ion ἀφαιρετέοντα, δοκέον 1; Ktesias φωνέοντι; Lukian *V.A.* 5 δοκέοντα, *Syr. dea* 26 εὐνοέοντας; *Vita Hom.* ιστορέων 6, but ποιῶν 15. Simplicius has Atticized Anaxagoras' περιχωρεόντων 11. Aret. has ὠφελεῦντα 312, &c.

We note the following cases of -ευ- in Hippokrates, who has -έων, -έοντος, &c., in almost every instance: ἀλγεῦντα II 132, διηθεῦντες II 240, ἐκπνεῦντα V 626, ἐξαιρεῦντα III 258, φθινεῦσι II 674 (φθινέω here only, § 637, 3), ποιεῦντα VI 210 (*θ*, -εο-

<sup>1</sup> Greg. Kor. § 60.

Litttré), cf. II 278, IX 362, οἰκεῦντα IX 354, cf. 360, πατεῦντα and ὀμιλεῦντα IX 382, ἀγρυπνεῦντα V 590, ἐπιρριγεῦντα V 592 (-έοντες 588). Usually we find -εο-. In the feminine: ποιέουσαι II 66, φιλέουσα *Syr. dea* 26.

**662.]** Verbs in -οω.

ἀξιο(ύ)ντων Priene 144<sub>3</sub>, κηροῦσ' Hrd. 316, χῶν Hdt. I 162, κακοῦντες III 82. On δικαιοῦντος IX 42, see § 690. For ὁμοῦντες Hdt. I 153, as if from an unheard-of ὁμόω, ὁμύνντες is to be substituted.

*Imperfect Active.*

**663.]** Singular First Person.

-αω verbs contract -αον to -ων (ἐνίκων Samos 215). Occasionally we have -εον for -αον, and this -εον may become -ευν (§§ 637, 1 (2), 688). Verbs in -εω have -εον, not -ευν so far as we are aware in Ionic literature<sup>1</sup>. In *Hippolytos* 168 we have however an Ionic ἀύτευν. ἐδόκουν Hrd. 4<sub>69</sub> is an Atticism ('δόκεον Hrd. in *Class. Rev.* V 481, frag. 2<sub>6</sub>). Verbs in -οω have -ουν, not -ευν (§ 690).

**664.]** Singular Second Person.

ἡλάστρεις Theog. 600.

**665.]** Singular Third Person.

1. ἐφόρα (ἐκοῖα Fick in *G. G. A.* 1883, 125), I. G. A. 370, generally referred to Euboia, but perhaps Asiatic Ionic. Hdt. has ὦρα I 11, &c., ἐφοῖτα III 90, ἤδα II 57 (a rare verb in prose; cf. ἀπηύδηκε Hippokr. VIII 570).

2. -ει<sup>2</sup> is the correct form. On inscriptions: ἐποίει Eretria 14, Samos I. G. A. 388 a, Amorgos I. G. A. 390, Naukratis I 342, Klazomenai, Head *H. N.* 491, ἐποίει Samos 222 (pre-Roman), Delos 57 (middle of second century). ἐποίην Miletos 95 resembles ἥσκειν Γ 388 in adopting the -ν after a contracted εε, contrary to the ordinary rule. Other forms are ἐπεστάται Iasos, *J. H. S.* IX 341, Nos. 2 and 3, 342 No. 4, Zeleia 114 B 1 and perhaps in the Parian inscription, C. I. G. 2384 g, add. l. 2-3; ὁμολόγει Mykonos 92<sub>24</sub>. In Bechtel's No. 6 ἐποίη is Eleian. The testimony of the inscriptions is unanimous in favour of -ει.

In the lyric poets, exclusive of ἐπλεε Theog. 12 (cf. Ξ 251),

<sup>1</sup> In Hrd. 6<sub>3</sub>, ἐλιπάρων we may have synizesis; but the tribrach is permitted in the second foot.

<sup>2</sup> When the Gram. Vat. 699 cites ποεί, ποίει it is for the purpose of showing the omission of the augment.

we find only -ει: ἰδόκει Theog. 960, ἰφόρει Archil. 93, where ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ would have been the alternative; Hippon. tr. 47 ῥκει in the MSS. (Schneid. and Bergk οῖκει, Meineke οῖκει). At the period of Hipponax it was not usual for the first foot of the iambic measure to consist of - ∪ ∪. Sim. Amorg. 28 ἰκίνει (∪ was not admissible in the arsis of the trimeter); Anacr. φροχόει 32<sub>1</sub>; ἐπο[ί]ει Hrd. 4<sub>22</sub>.

In by far the greater number of instances Herodotos has -εε. Thus ἰδόκεε, ἐχώρεε, ἐκάλεε and even after ο in the case of νοίω (ἐνόεε I 155, VIII 103, ἐπενόεε I 27, III 31, but ἐπενόει II 152 *ABCd*), and οι in ποίω (ἐπόεε III 9, VII 156). Forms in -ει occur as follows: ἠπόρει III 78, ὠφέλει III 126, ἐξήρκει VII 161. See also on the imperfect of -μι verbs.

In Hippokrates, both Littré and Ermerins contract -εε in νοίω, but after consonants we find now -εε now -ει. Thus κατενόει II 686, 690, 692, 702, 706 (*bis*), 714, III 34, 40 (*bis*), 42 (*quater*), 44, 48, 50, 62, 64, 110, 112, 122, 140, 142; παρενόει III 140; διενόει rejected by Littré III 42. Other examples of -ει are: ἐλήρει II 688, 706, 712; ῥκει II 666 (*bis*), 682, 684, 702, III 24; ἐδυσφόρει III 40; ἠρρώσκει II 290; παρηκολούθει V 370; διετέλει I 626; ἐξεπύει II 706; ἠφώρει II 714; ούρει II 686, 692, 708 and many other forms in the genuine tractates. Littré edits -εε in ἤλγει II 690 (*v. l.* -ει), 704 (-ει *vulgo*), 708 *bis* (-ει *v. l.*), III 52 (-ει *v. l.*), 64 (-ει *vulgo*); ἐπόνεε II 290 (-ει *d*), III 44 (-ει *v. l.*), 50 (-ει *v. l.*); ἰδόκεε V 204; ἡμορράγειν II 600 (-ει *d*).

Areaios 201 has ἐπόθεε.

The MSS. of the excerptors of the other proseists have -ει, e.g., ὑπεχώρει Melissos 14, ἰδόκει 17, ἐπόκει Anaxag. 6 (περιχώρεε in 6 is due to Mullach), ῥκει Pherek. Leros 55. In Protagoras ἰδόκεε has been read.

The iteratives appear in our texts with the form -έσκον, which is open to suspicion. In Hdt. I 186 *Rds* only have ἀναπείσκον, in IV 300 all the MSS. have ἔχσκον, & ἔχσκον, which recent editors change to ἔχέσκον. Brodow ἔχέσκον). Aaios in Athen. 515 *F* used παίτσκον, from Ionic παῖδε-παῖδε. In the middle the forms with hyphaereais are better supported, but in the following occurrences of the active -έσκον is the uniform MS. reading: πάλέσκον I 196, πείδσκον I 36. In Herodotos iteratives from contract verbs are confined to those in -ω, while Homer had -σκον and -σκον.

3. Hdt. ἡέλου, ἰδικαίον (ἰδικαίον, an hyper-Ionism, *v. l.* III 118, IV 154; cf. § 690).

### 666.] Plural First Person.

1. -ομεν = εμεν except when it passes into -εομεν.
2. -εομεν is either retained or becomes -εμεν.
3. -ω verbs always have -ομεν.



**667.] Plural Second Person.**

1. -ατε.
2. -ετε, not -εετε as often in the prose monuments.
3. -οντε from -οω verbs.

**668.] Plural Third Person.**

1. -αον = -ων, e.g. ἐθυμίων Hdt. VIII 99, κατέκλων IX 62.
2. -εον is generally retained. -ευν is very rare. The inscriptions have -εον in ἐθάρεον Thasos (L.) 7 A 2, 8 A 6, 97.

Herodotos has ἐπολεον<sup>1</sup> VII 36, IX 6, 8, 11, 104, ἐπενόεον V 65, ἀέθλεον I 67, VII 212 (Xenophanes 2<sub>21</sub> has ἀεθλεύω as Hdt. V 22), ἐπλούτεον III 57 (Greg. Kor. § 14), ἐφρόνεον II 162, κατηγορεον II 113 (though there is a notable number of ευν's in its vicinity (113, 115, 118). εἰρώτευν I 158 (§ 637, 1 (2)) contracts -εον < -αον. Cf. ἐπειρώτεον I 67.

Herakl. has ὕμνεον 127, Hippokrates διετέλεον II 640, ἐπερρίγεον II 642 *bis* (cf. § 687, 3), ἐπενόσεον II 646, ἤρεον V 88 (elsewhere in the late epic).

Menekrates has ἐδόκεον, ἐπολέμεον, *Vita Hom.* ὑλάκτεον.

In the poets -εον is never open. Cf. ἐφρόνεον Archil. 112, -ευν in ἐφίλευν Theog. 786, ἐσύλευν < -αον, Hrd., *Class. Rev.* V 481, frag. 3, ἐπορνοβόσκευν 277.

Atticisms are ἰδόκειν Theog. 1381 (where it may be original), ἐκάλεον Hdt. IX 11.

3. -οον in ἐπλήροον Hdt. I 171, ἐδηλοον V 89 (ἐδικαίευν III 79 is an hyper-Ionism; § 690). On ἐπερρίγοον Hippokr. II 642 (A, Littré -εον), see § 637, 6.

**PRESENT, MIDDLE AND PASSIVE.***Indicative.***669.] Singular First Person.**

1. ἀρριχῶμαι Hippon. 104, ποιῶμαι Mimn. 53, ἐσσῶμαι Hrd. 8<sub>19</sub>.
2. φορεῦμαι Anakr. 38, ἀλεῦμαι Theog. 575, αἰδεῦμαι Solon tetr. 32, (*vulgo* -οῦμαι, which may be correct), ἀπαρνεῦμαι Hrd. 274, παραιτεῦμαι 572.

Examples of -εῦμαι in prose are διηγεῦμαι Herakl. 2 (in the *Vit. auct.* 14 Herakl. uses -έομαι), Hippokr. III 100, ποιεῦμαι Hdt. IX 111, Hippokr. VII 490. Hdt. has elsewhere εο

<sup>1</sup> ἐπολεον is called Doric and Ionic Hdn. II 330, (Choireb. 528<sub>1a</sub>).

generally, but *ευ* in *προαιδεῦμαι* III 140, *αἰρεῦμαι* III 142, the only case of any contraction in this verb (cf. *αἰρέονται*, *αἰρέοντο* and even *αἰρεόμενος*), and also *ἀξιεύμαι* V 106 (§ 690).

Lukian *Vit. auct.* 6 has *σιτέομαι*.

3. *γουννοῦμαι* Anakr. I<sub>1</sub>, 2<sub>6</sub>.

### 670.] Singular Second Person.

In verbs in *-εω* we may admit *-έαι* from *-έσαι* by *hyphaeresis*. Cf. Homer's *πωλέ'* δ 811, *μυθέαι* β 202, *μυθεῖαι* θ 180. As it stands, *μυθεῖαι* is an old form (= *-έσαι*, which might be read) though preserved in a very late book. In Anakr. 12 we find *δινέαι*, in Hdt. III 34 *ἐπαινέαι* (not *-έσαι* as *Pz*), *φοβέαι* I 39 (*-έσαι P*). Here *A C*<sup>2</sup> have *φοβέαι* with superscribed *ε* between *ε* and *αι*.

### 671.] Singular Third Person.

1. *ιερᾶται* Miletos 100<sub>4</sub>; *πλανᾶται* Archil. 56<sub>8</sub>, *μνᾶται* Anakr. 68, *βιᾶται* Solon 13<sub>41</sub>, *ἀλᾶται* 13<sub>43</sub>. Hdt. has *μηχανᾶται* I 21, &c., *ἐπαιτιᾶται* II 121 (β), *βιᾶται* III 80, *σμᾶται* IX 110 (*σμηῖται* Antiph. com. frag. III 81), Demokritos *κτᾶται* 184 (§ 687, 2), Hellanikos *ἀναρριχᾶται* 178. *ἀνιᾶται* occurs in Demokr. 184, Melissos 4, 11 (Simplicius). Hippokr. III 204 has *ἐσφλᾶται*.

2<sup>1</sup>. *ικνεῖται* Halikarn. 238<sub>28</sub> (fifth century); Sim. Amorg. *ποιεῖται* 7<sub>62</sub>, *κινεῖται* 7<sub>75</sub>. Even if the forms had been properly open, *synizesis* was not permitted in the arsis of the iambic measure. *προκαλεῖται* Anakr. 14<sub>4</sub>, *ὀρχεῖται* 20<sub>3</sub>; Hrd. has *αἰρεῖται* 3<sub>64</sub>, *δωρεῖται* 6<sub>30</sub>, *ὠθεῖται* 4<sub>64</sub>.

Herodotos: *ποιέεται*, &c., with *-εε-* everywhere, except *μνεῖται* in all MSS., VIII 65. In all these forms *-εε-* is out of date in the fifth century. Lukian puts *μυθέεται* into the mouth of Hdt., *De Domo* 20. In other writers of Ionic prose: Herakl. *ἀφικνεῖται* 18 (Stob., *-έεται* is conjectural), *ἐξικνεῖται* 12 (Plut.), *διαχέεται* (§ 637, 2), and *μετρέεται* 23 (Clem. Alex.), *ὠνέεται* 105 (Iamblichos); Demokr. *ἐρέεται* 6 = *ἐρᾶται* (Demokrates), *ἀκέεται*<sup>2</sup> 80 (where Clem. Alex. has *ἀφαιρεῖται* in the same frag.), *ποιέεται* 123 (Stob.); Melissos *συγχωρεῖται* (Simpl.) 1, *κινεῖται* 5, 14 (*bis*), 15, according to Simpl.; Hekat. *κινεῖται* 284 (Steph. Byz.), *μυθεῖται* 332, *καλεῖται* 260. Pherekydes of Leros has *ποιεῖται* 44, a fragment containing several genuine Ionisms. All the cases of *καλεῖται* (16, 85, 89, 114 A) are in Atticized fragments. So too *ἀφικνεῖται* 34; Hellanikos has *καλέεται* in 160, which contains *ἐνοικοῦντες*.

In Hippokrates there are many examples of the correct form,

<sup>1</sup> *πωλεῖται* is called Ionic in contrast to a supposed Aiolic *πωλῖται* in An. Ox. I 362<sub>28</sub>.

<sup>2</sup> Hippokrates VI 294 used the active *ἀκέεσθαι*.

e.g. καλείται V 656, ἀφικνέεται 664, οὐρέεται 720. The resolved form appears in Littré, e.g. in ἀφικνέεται II 70 (*vulgo* -ει-), οὐρέεται II 38, VII 160 (so θ, *vulgo* -ει-), καλέεται III 84, 208, V 588, VIII 366 (θ), ποιέεται II 128 *bis*, V 644, κρατέεται II 638, εὐπορέεται III 102 (*vulgo* -ει-), ἐμέεται II 184 (*vulgo* -ει-).

Euseb. Mynd. 59 has ἀποστερέεται, 63 ἡγέεται, Aretaios 31 cases of -εε- to 3 of -ει- (ἐμεῖται 1, καλείται 102, παρωθεῖται 297). In Arrian we have 12 cases of -εε-; Abydenos δωρέεται 9.

3. τρυχοῦται Mimn. 2<sub>12</sub>, λαχνοῦται Solon 27<sub>8</sub>, λοῦται Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>89</sub>, στεφανοῦται Anakr. 41<sub>2</sub>, ἀλλοτριοῦται Hdt. I 120, βιοῦται II 177, ἀλλοιοῦται Herakl. 36, ἑτεροιοῦται Meliss. 12, καρποῦται Demokr. 236, ἀμαυροῦται Hippokr. V 644, μισθοῦται *Vita Hom.* 4.

### 672.] Plural First and Second Persons.

A. 1. δαιτώμεθα Hdt. IV 114.

2. -εόμεθα and -εὔμεθα.

3. -οόμεθα. On ἀντιεύμεθα Hdt. IX 26, see § 690.

B. 1. πειράσθε Hdt. IV 127.

2. ἡγεῖσθε Herakl. in *R. M.* XV 605, where Neumann read -εε- in order to accommodate the form to Hdt.'s ποίεσθε IX 7.

3 -οῦσθε.

### 673.] Plural Third Person.

1. αἰτιῶνται Hdt. IV 94, Hippokr. II 78, δομῶνται Herakl. 38, ἰῶνται Hippokr. II 78, ἐπισπῶνται II 312, δριγνῶνται Hrd. 7<sub>π</sub>.

2. Theog. 290 ἡγέονται but μωμεῦνται 369, as if from μωμέομαι (cf. μωμεύμενος 169); Solon 4<sub>21</sub> has preserved the Attic ἰκνοῦνται, φορεῦνται Parmenides 48.

In Hdt. we expect, and find, ποιεῦνται I 132, 140, IV 70, &c., except IV 180, where all MSS. have -εο-. Elsewhere we have -έονται, except ἡγεῦνται IV 2 (-εο- *PR* 2), καλεῦνται V 108 (-εο- *CP* 2), and διανοεῦνται IX 54 in all MSS. [cf. § 637, 1 (2)]. ἀνιεῦνται VII 236, if correct, is used in a future sense and as an analogue of κομιεῦνται, &c. Stein accepts ἀκεῦνται in his school edition.

Herakl. αἰρεῦνται 111, μνεῦνται 125; Demokr. δωρέονται 13 (Stob. -ου-), ποιέονται 47, 126, αἰτέονται 46<sup>1</sup>; Pherek. καλέονται 85; Hippokr. δαιτεῦνται II 68, 72, καλεῦνται II 68, 76, ἀσθενεῦνται II 316, ὀχεῦνται II 68, δυσαρεστεῦνται IX 368, ἡγεῦνται II 240 (*A*), ἀφικνέονται II 50, 150, ποιέονται II 56, &c. *Vita Hom.* has ἀπικνέονται 5, 6, Luk. *V. A.* κινέονται 4, συνιλέονται 14.

<sup>1</sup> νεῦνται Mullach I 371, cited sometimes from Demokritos, does not exist (MSS. νοῦνται). The fragment is hard to restore.

3. ἀποχολοῦνται Hippokr. II 78, ῥυσμοῦνται Demokr. 16, λοῦνται Hdt. I 198, τοξοῦνται Aret. 10.

### *Subjunctive.*

674.] -αι verbs are inflected as in Attic.

675.] From -αι verbs we have ποιῆται Chios 174 C 11 (cf. προθῆται Halikarn. 238<sub>m</sub>). This exemplifies the contraction supported in the MSS. of Hdt. in δηλῆται IV 187, ἐξηγῆται VI 74 all MSS. (-ει- V 23), IX 66 (-ει- R), ποιῆται IX 45, VI 57 (A B C d), III 8 and IV 65 (A B R, i.e. Stein's archetype), φοβῆται VII 36 (A B R). Herodas has ἡγῆται 543, θεωρῆται 546.

Demokritos has ἐπιμελῆται (?) and μετρῆται 41, ποιῆται 188. In Hippokrates the hyper-Ionic -ει- is very frequent, e.g. ὠφελῆται II 374, κινῆται III 258, ποιῆται VII 514.

Lukian has ἀπηγῆται Aetrol. 22, Euseb. Mynd. 53 ἀπαιτῆται, Aretaios ἀκῆται 25, ἐμέται 31, μετακινῆται 62, but ἀνεμῆται 322.

In the third plural we have κωλύονται Hippokr. II 126, ποιέονται, e.g. Philip of Pergamum, B. C. H. II 273.

676.] -αι verbs are inflected as in Attic.

### *Optative.*

677.] χολῶτο Theog. 325, σιγῶτο Hdt. III 82, νικῶτο IX 13, κοιμῶτο III 38, δπτῶτο VIII 137, &c., ὀδυνῶτο Hippokr. III 256, ἀνιῶτο Melissos 4 and 11, according to Mullach (Diels with Simplicius ἀνιᾶται). ἀνιῶτο Hdt. III 1, ἀνιῶτο IV 130.

678.] -αι verbs: ἐνθυμοίμεθα Sim. Amorg. 21. In Hdt. after consonants we find both the older and the younger forms: καλέοιτο V 76, ἀπικνέοιτο I 29, λυπεοίαιτο I 99, and δωροίτο II 126 (Rd), φοβοίτο VII 87 (R); after vowels ποιοίτο VII 48, VIII 67 (-οίτο A B, -έοιτο C). The rule has been accepted by some that after consonants εοι, after vowels οι, is the correct form in Ionic. This is, however, applicable to the MSS. of Hdt., not to the wider horizon of Ionic literature. The testimony of φροοίμεν and ἐνθυμοίμεθα in Simonides of Amorgos and of φιλοίεν in Anakreon shows, not that the forms in εοι above mentioned are wrong, but that contract forms had been adopted in pre-Herodotean Ionic. The archaism ἀρωθεοίη Teos 156 A 11 does not invalidate this statement.

Demokr. has according to Stobaios ἀμελέοιτο 213, but ποιοίτο 2. Simplicius has preserved Melissos' μετακοσμέοιτο (11). Hippokr. has ποιέοιτο II 110, λυπέοιτο II 134, ἀφαιρέοιτο II 356, οὐρέοιτο II 140, ἀπολωφέοιτο ep. 17<sub>16</sub>. Lukian *Syr. dea* 26 λυπέοιτο, ἐξαπατέοιτο 27 as if from -έομαι.

679.] -ow verbs are inflected as in Attic.

### *Imperative.*

680.] πειρῶ Theog. 358, κνῶ Hrd. 8<sub>8</sub>, πειράσθω Tyrt. 12<sub>44</sub>.

681.] ποιού Theog. 753 and αἰδοῦ 1179 are Atticisms, even if the latter is from αἰδομαι (αἰδεο Φ 74, &c.).

Hdt. has -εο<sup>1</sup> in αἰτέο I 90, ἀκέο III 40, λυπέο VIII 100, ἐξηγέο III 72, IV 9, ἀπικνέο V 24, φοβέο VII 50, 52, ποιέο VIII 68 (α), Demokr. 142 προθυμέο; -ευ in φοβεῦ I 9, ποιεῦ IV 9, VIII 100. On the hyphaeresis see Fritsch in *Curtius Studien* VI 128, where it should have been noted that in -εε-σαι, not in -εφε-σαι, is the loss of one ε permissible in Homer. Cf. μυθέαι by the side of μυθεῖαι. In the imperative however we do not find -ειο.

In Oropos 18<sub>20</sub> we find τελείσθω, in Chalkis 13<sub>9</sub> αἰρείσθω. Tyrt. 11<sub>3</sub> has φοβεῖσθε, Hrd. 7<sub>21</sub> θηεῖσθε, Anakr. 42 ἀναχεῖσθω.

Hippokr. has -ει- in ἐμείσθω V 708 and II 144 (several MSS.) but ποιέεσθω VII 190. Aret. εὐπορεῖσθω 279, ἐψείσθω 202, 331.

682.] -ow verbs are inflected as in Attic. ἀνακοινέο Theog. 73 must come from -κοινέω, not from -κοινόω. Pindar has κοινάω.

### *Infinitive.*

683.] 1. Verbs in -aw have throughout -ᾶσθαι except in πειρήσθαι, διαιτῆσθαι, &c., in Hippokrates, § 637, 1 (1) Herodotos has e.g. ὀράσθαι, ἀνιᾶσθαι, Theognis ἰᾶσθαι 433, ἀγοράσθαι 159, Miletos 100<sub>8</sub> προῖεράσθαι, Diog. Apoll. 6 κυβερνάσθαι. κρεμάσθαι Hippokr. I 592, II 288 should be read κρέμασθαι, which occurs in II 152. εὐνάσθαι Aret. 272 is the only prose instance of the uncompounded form.

2. Verbs in -ew<sup>2</sup>. ἐπιμελείσθαι Orop. 18, (cf. ἐπιμέλεσθαι

<sup>1</sup> The Homeric ἀποαίρεο is called Ionic by the interlinear schol. Ven. A on A 275. For ἀλεῦ' (ἰωνικῶς) Diogen. II 56, read ἀλεῦ (Schulze, *Quaest. criticae*, 64).

<sup>2</sup> Joh. Gr. 235, 240, Greg. Kor. 36, Gram. Leid. 629 πορεύεσθαι, πορεύεσθαι Meerm. 650, Vat. 694, κλονέσθαι Meerm. 650, on the view that ε might appear in place of ει as in δείξω = δείξω.



Thasos 71<sub>7</sub>); Tyrtaios has *μυθεῖσθαι* 4<sub>7</sub>, where *μυθέεσθαι* would have been impossible; Hrd. *ἡγεῖσθαι* 1<sub>72</sub>. Herodotos: *ποιέεσθαι* about twenty times, but *R* has *ποιεῖσθαι* II 1. Contraction after *οι* in the finite forms of this verb is very rare in the MSS. After *ο* we have *διανοέεσθαι* II 121 (δ), but *διανοεῖσθαι* VI 86 (δ) in *A B C d*. Cf. the present and imperfect of *νοέω*.

Other Ionic prosaists have *-ει-* very often according to the MSS. of their excerptors: Demokrates has *αἰρεῖσθαι* 3, 92, *δατεῖσθαι* 71, *αἰδεῖσθαι* 100, 235, *ποιεῖσθαι* 128, *ἐπαινεῖσθαι* 204, *ἡγεῖσθαι* 212. The open forms are *ἐνθυμέεσθαι* 20<sub>20</sub> (*sic* Stob., but *-ει-* in 92), *ἀρκέεσθαι* 20<sub>7</sub> (various conj.), *μιμέεσθαι* 114 (cf. 113), *φιλέεσθαι* 161 (Demokrates). Diogen. Apoll. *ἐννοεῖσθαι* 4 (Simpl.); Melissos *κινεῖσθαι* 5 (Simpl.).

Hippokrates has *-εε-* in many cases, *e.g.* *ἐνθυμέεσθαι* II 14, 170 (most MSS.) 188, *ποιέεσθαι* II 280, III 214, 228, 230, 252, *ἀνειλέεσθαι* II 138 (*-ει-* one MS.), V 694, *ταλαιπωρέεσθαι* II 72, *αἰωρέεσθαι* III 442, *σκοπέεσθαι* II 634, 678 (*-ει-* *vulgo*), III 100, *ἐκλαλέεσθαι* IV 630, *πονέεσθαι* II 184 *bis*, *ἀριθμέεσθαι* II 170 *bis*, *σιτεῖσθαι* II 246 (*A*). but *-έεσθαι* II 288, *σκοπεῖσθαι* III 212, 258, 260. Arrian's only case of *-ει-* is *ἐξικνεῖσθαι* 24<sub>4</sub>; Aretaios has *-εῖσθαι* only 73, 321. Lukian's *Vit. auct.* has *αἰρέεσθαι* 6.

3. Verbs in *-οω*. *ἐπανάνεοῦσθαι* Eretria 15<sub>7</sub>; Theog. *μαυροῦσθαι* 192, Hdt. *κατορθοῦσθαι*, *ἐξισοῦσθαι*, &c., *ἐτεροιοῦσθαι* Melissos 17, Diog. Apoll. 2; *λοῦσθαι* Hdt. III 124, Hippokr. VII 74.

### Participle.

684.] 1. *-αω* verbs have *-ώμενος*, *e.g.* *κυκώμενος* Archil. 66<sub>1</sub>, and MSS. Solon 13<sub>61</sub> (*κακούμενον* Bergk), *ἀλώμενος* Tyrt. 10<sub>11</sub>, *στρωφώμενος* Theog. 247, *πλανώμενος* Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>14</sub>, Solon 36<sub>10</sub>, *λωβωμένη* Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>10a</sub>, *ἀμφιδηριώμενος* 7<sub>11a</sub>, *πειρώμενος* Solon 13<sub>61</sub>, *γεγανώμενος* Anakr. 13 A.

Herodotos has *-ώμενος*, without any variant, in the verbs *αἰτιάομαι*, *ἀλάομαι*, *ἀνακτάομαι*, *βιάω*, *δαιτιάω*, *ἐράω*, *θεόομαι*, *θηράω*, *κραυγανάω*, *λωβάομαι*, *νικάω*, *πλανάω*, *στρωφάω*. On other forms (*-εούμενος*, *-εώμενος*) see § 688.

*τιμώμενος* Hippokr. II 80, Demokr. 231, *πειρώμενος* Herakl. 2, Pherekydes of Leros 33<sub>4</sub>, *ιώμενος* Pherekydes 76.

2. Verbs in *-εω*<sup>1</sup>. In the lyric poets we have unanimous testimony to the contraction of *-εο-*. Archil. trim. 32, *πονευμένη*, 44 *ποιεύμενος*, 46 *πολευμένη*, 102 *σαλευμένη*, 128 *ἐξαλεύμενος*; Sim. Amorg. *κλονεύμενοι* 1<sub>15</sub>, *μυθεύμενος* 7<sub>18</sub>, *φορευμένη* 7<sub>40</sub> (Stob.

<sup>1</sup> *λυπεόμενος* Joh. Gr. 240 B, Gram. Meerm. 652, Aug. 668, Vat. 698, Birnb. 678<sub>1</sub>, *ποιεόμενος* Aug. 668, *μαχεόμενος* Meerm. 652, Vat. 698.

*B-ou-*), ἀλευμένη 7<sub>81</sub>; Solon 13<sub>43</sub> φορεύμενος, trim. 36<sub>12</sub> τρομευμένους, the only contracted form of this poetic (and Hippokratic) verb, trim. 37<sub>8</sub> κυκεύμενος; Mimn. 7<sub>1</sub> δηλεύμενος; Theog. 169 μωμειμένους. ποιεύμενος occurs in an iambic line preserved by Stobaios 28, 18; ὠνευμένης in Hrd. 7<sub>82</sub>. The cases of -ευ- in the early iambists awaken suspicion, as we elsewhere have εο. The writing ευ recalls that in vogue in the fifth century.

Attic forms are κορούμενον Theog. 1359, φιλουμένη Paros 66, ἀδικούμενον C. I. G. 2919 (but the document is a modern forgery). Genuine Ionic is ἀφικνε(ο μένων Oropos 18.

Verbs in -εω usually show -εόμενος. This is the case even in Herodotos<sup>1</sup> who has the greatest number of cases of -εύμενος. These are given in the note below. Before μ there is evident a tendency to write ευ; as if the scribes thought εο (which they judged to be dissyllabic) with -μενος would produce too many short syllables.

αλωρέω VII 61, 92; ἀπολογέω VII 161 (-ου- B); ἀπορέω II 121 (γ); εἰλέω II 76; ἡγέομαι II 93 (ἡγέονται bis same chapter), 113 (κατηγόρεον 800n after), 115, VII 161; θηέομαι VII 44, 146, 212, VIII 88; θυμέομαι IX 72; ἱανέομαι II 105 (-εο- R<sup>d</sup>), 178, III 9, VI 65, 86 α (-εο- C), cf. VI 65, 84 (-ευ- R; καλέω II 56, 72, 79, 97, 113 (-εο- C), 118, 124, 156 (-εο- CPD), 178 (-εο- CP), III 106 (οἰκεόμενος same chapter, IV 20 (-εο- R), 85, 93, 175 V 31 (-εο- r, 108 -εο- ABCd, VI 79 (-εο- PRz), VII 77, 170 (-εο- ABCd), IX 48; cf. II 41 -ευ- AB, 154 (-ευ- R), καλεόμενος III 13 and elsewhere; καλλιερέω VI 82; λυπέω IX 94; μυθέω II 121 (δ; ναυπηγέω II 96, VI 46; νάεω III 122, V 36; τιστέω III 146 (ABR, VI 108 (-ο- Cz, VIII 142 (-ο- BCz); πολιορκέω V 115 bis -εο- r, and -εο- B<sup>2</sup>r); cf. I 26 (-ευ- CP), II 157 (-ευ- R), III 13 (-ευ- CPdz); τελέω II 152, III 134 (-εο- d<sup>2</sup>, VII 16 (-ου- P); τιμωρέω III 50 (-εο- R); ὀπισχνέομαι II 152, III 74 (-ου- AB), VIII 106, cf. V 51 (-εο- all MSS.); φορέω III 106, 146, VII 10 (θ); ὠθέω VI 83; ὠνέομαι I 165; ὠφελέω II 68, -εο- PRz (-εο- same chapter, where d has -ευ-).

In the case of ποιέω, Hdt. has ποιεύμενος very frequently. In a small number of instances we find ποιεόμενος: I 37, 68 (same chapter -εύμενος), 73. θηέομαι, too, contracts εο to ευ.

In other prose writers than Herodotos: Herakl. κινεόμενος 84 (conj.); Demokr. θυμεόμενος 27 bis, -μεύμενος 20<sub>22</sub>, τελεύμενα 71, λυπεόμενος 29, κινεόμενος 20<sub>8</sub> (Stob. -ου-), ὑπηγεομένης 92, μωμομένων 123, καλεομένης 211, ἐρεόμενος (?) (with accus.) for ἐρώμενος 6; Anaxag. κινεόμενος bis 7 (Simpl. -ου-); Diog. Apoll. καλεόμενος 6 (Simpl. -ου-); Meliss. κινεόμενος 4 (Simpl. -ου-); Hekat. ποιεόμενος 350 (Longinos -ου-). Hippokrates has -εόμενος usually, e.g. ἀφικνεόμενος II 14, ἐπιρροφεόμενος II 358, καλεόμενος

<sup>1</sup> Forms in -ου are to be rejected: ἀπολογούμενος VII 161 in B, πολιορκούμενος I 26 in A, III 13 in AB, ἐπιμετρούμενος III 91 in all MSS., ἀφαιρούμενος Hippokr. VI 494, σκοπούμενος III 258, ἡγούμενος I 612 A, &c.

II 224, but ἀφικνεύμενος II 76, ἐμεύμενος II 144 (same page ἐμεόμενος), ποιεύμενος II 362, III 442, VI 74, 514, ἐνθυμεύμενος II 42, ἐννοεύμενος II 50, σκοπεύμενος II 50 (-ου- *enigo*, cf. III 258), σιτεύμενος VI 54 (*A*) whereas Hdt. VI 57 as Hippokr. II 282, 288, has -εο-, κλονεύμενος VIII 18, ἀδηλεύμενος VIII 18, ἡγεύμενος II 110, 242, ἐναιωρεύμενος II 116, φιλοτιμεύμενος IX 358. *Vita Hom.* 33 καλεόμενος (only case of -εο-), ποιεύμενος 23, Lukian's *V. A.* ὠνεόμενος 14, Aret. 313 δινεύμενος. Attic forms sometimes occur in Lukian (*Astrol.* 19) and Attian (20<sub>2</sub>). πωλεύμεναι *Prometh.* 645 trim. as β 55, ρ 534.

3. Verbs in -οω. Archil. γουνουμένη 75<sub>1</sub>, χολούμενος 95, and so Solon 34<sub>1</sub>. In 13<sub>1</sub> Bergk follows Lobeck in reading κακούμενον for the MS. κυκώμενον. Herodotos has ἐσσεύμενος, ἀντιούμενος, Hippokr. ἀποκορυφούμενος, &c., Diog. Apoll. 6 ἑτεροιοιούμενων, *Vita Hom.* 5 ἀνδρούμενος.

### Imperfect.

685.] 1. Verbs in -αω. ἦραο Xenoph. 5<sub>1</sub>, ἐστρωφάτο Archil. 33, ποτάτο 186, ἐκοιμάτο Hippokr. III 48, ἀπεπειράτο Hdt. I 46. κατηρώντο Hippon. 11. ἡργορόωντο Hdt. VI 11 cannot stand.

2. Verbs in -εω. Hdt. has ἡγεύμεν II 115, ἐποιέετο about 30 times, ἐπορθέετο I 84, ἐμιμέετο V 67. Hippokr. has ὠφελέετο V 204, but ὠχλείτο V 196 (ὠφελεί same page). -εν- occurs in ἐποιεύμεσθα, Hrd. 417. -εοντο<sup>1</sup> and -ευντο in the third plural: ἡγείοντο Hdt. VII 40, διενοεύντο VI 133, προηγείοντο VII 40, ἐκαλεούντο VII 74, ἐποιεύντο V 63, VII 138, Hippokr. IX 348. ἐρριπτεύντο Hrd. *Class. Rev.* V 481, frag. 2<sub>4</sub>. Forms that have been Atticized occur, e.g. ἐποιούοντο Herakl. 127.

The inflection of the verb behold presents great difficulties<sup>2</sup>. Two forms are certainly Ionic: *θεύομαι*, *θεόομαι*. 1) *θεύομαι* = Doric *θεόομαι* < \**θᾶ/ε-ιο-μαι*, is found in *θεύετο* η 133, *ἐθεύετο* Hdt. I 10 (-*ηῖτο* *Kdd* 4, 68, IV 83 -*ηῖτο* *ds*, VII 44, 56, 100, 208 (-*ηῖτο* *d*; *ἐθεύετο* III 136, VIII 25; *θεύεσθε* Hrd. 7<sub>21</sub>; *θεύόμενος* Hdt. VII 44, 146, 212, VIII 88. Homer has eight forms from *θεύομαι*, one from *θεόομαι*. Hesiod has *θεύσμαι*, *θευτέ*, Aret. 312 *θευτέ* in *G* (*θευτέ* *H. V.*). 2) *θεόομαι*<sup>3</sup>, as in Attic, from \**θεόομαι* < \**θᾶ/ε-ιο-μαι*. Hdt. has

<sup>1</sup> *ἐ πορῶντο* Joh. Gr. 240.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Johanneason, *D. V. G.* 140, *B. R.* XV 173.

<sup>3</sup> *θεόομαι* (Pindar from \**θᾶ/ε*, Syrakusan *θεό*, *θεό* in Theokr. is not from \**θᾶ/ε*, but from \**θᾶ/ε*, because α becomes ε before ε, not before ε. Schmidt, *Neutra*, p. 327). *θευτέ* is found in Pindar and Theokritos. With *θανήρας* *θευτέ* < *θᾶ*, cf. Hom. *θευτέ*, whose second η is different from that of *θευτέ*.

<sup>4</sup> Dindorf, praef. XXXVII, thinks the forms from *θεόομαι* in Hdt. are due to a copyist, and doubts even *θευτέ*, *θευρα*. *ἀνωθέτως* he is constrained to accept because of *θέης* *ἔξιος*.

θεόμενος III 32, VI 67, VII 208 (as Aret. 91), θεήσαι, θεησόμενος, -σασθαι as Hippokr. IX 348), -σόμενος often (I 11 *AP*, other MSS. -ηησόμενον), I 30 (b -ηησόμενον), II 106 (*Rd* -ειησόμενον), IV 87 (*Rd* -ηησόμενος), ἐθεήσατο VII 118 (IV 87 *Rdz* -ηήσατο), -αντο VI 120, III 23 *PRz*, 24 *PRdz* -ηήσαντο. From the same stem we have θεή < \*θῆη, in Hdt. I 25, IX 25 θέαι Hrd. 123) = Attic θέα, θεηταί Hdt. III 139, θέητρον VI 21, θέημα Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>17</sub> (Doric θᾶημα < θᾶφημα), ἄξιοθέητος Hdt. often. θεη- is contracted to θη- in ἵνα μιν θησαλαί' σ 191 (ἵνα θηησαλαί' Kirchhoff), θεησόμενος Abdera 162 (metrical), θήσεσθε Hrd. 7<sub>18</sub>. We see no reason for accepting an Ionic θάομαι in these contracted forms. The Doric forms (Ahrens II 342) may be referred to θάομαι or to θῶμαι, and θεόμενος in Hdt. is not necessarily from θάομαι. θάο is certain in the Anthology and Hesychios, who has also θάοντα θεωρούντα, but Roehl's I G. A. 409) θάεν τοῦ λίθου in the Naxian inscription must yield to Bentley's [r]oῦ αὐτοῦ λίθου. Two forms cause great difficulty: ἐθηῆτο, the v. l. in Hdt. and ἐθεῆτο in Hippokr. VII 490 according to Latré ἐθειῆτο in ε, ἐθεῖτο in seven MSS.). These forms, if correct, could come only from an hitherto unknown θῆομαι < θᾶφᾶ-ιο-μαι, and from θεήομαι < θῆη-. ἐθηῆτο, we think, has its ηη wrongly transferred from ἐθηήσατο, &c. a reading adopted by Abicht, and ἐθεῆτο its εη from ἐθεήσατο. Johansson suggests the possibility of deriving ἐθειῆτο from ἐθειῖτο, i. e. ἐθήῖτο, by metathesis quantitatis. We prefer to regard the forms as simple blunders.

The editors adopt -εέσκετο, e. g. in ποιεέσκετο Hdt. VII 5, which has the support of only one MS. (*q*, ἐποιέετο *PRz*). The preferable form would be ποιέσκετο found in *ABCd*. So in VII 119 *z* alone has ποιεέσκετο, the MSS. (except *R* ἐποιέετο) ποιέσκετο.

3. Verbs in -οω. ἤντιοῦτο Hdt. I 76, ἐκακοῦτο Hippokr. III 74, ἡτεροιοῦτο Diog. Apoll. 2, παρεκνημοῦτο Hippon. 130. On ἐδικαιεῦντο Hdt. III 29, see § 690.

#### *The Contraction of -εε, -εει.*

686.] To afford a survey of the usage of Hippokrates, Aretaios and the imitators of Herodotos in respect of their adoption of the obsolete forms in -εε, -εει from -εω verbs, we present the following table. See Lindemann *de dialecto Ionica recentiore*, pp. 31 ff. The names of Asinius Quadratus and Uranius are omitted from the list, since they present no pertinent forms. Forms of -εφο verbs (§ 637, 2) are included in the enumeration.

	Indic. Pres. Act.		Inf. Pres. Act.		Ind. Impf. Act.		Indic. Pr. Pass.		Ind. Impf. Pass.		Inf. Pr. Pass.		Imperat. Act.		Imperat. Pass.	
	Open.	Contr.	Open.	Contr.	Open.	Contr.	Open.	Contr.	Open.	Contr.	Open.	Contr.	Open.	Contr.	Open.	Contr.
Σ { Syria dea Vit. auct. Astr.	All	0	17	0	25 <sup>1</sup>	0	22	0	15	0	7	0				
	3	1	2	0							2	0				
	4	0	2	0	3	0	2	v.l. § 29	1	0	3	0				
	15	6	10	6	14	4	11 or 12	2	4	0	19	2				
Arrian's Indike							1	0								
Abydenos			1	0												
Eusebios					2	0			1	0						
Euseb. Mynd.	8	<sup>3</sup> (2 δεῖ)	22	0			2	0			17	0				
Aretaioi	136	21	106	25	7	0	32	4	0	1	17	2			1	2
Hippokrates :—																
ΠΚ	31	15	12	12			1	3			1	1			0	1
Ξ Ι	2	2 (δεῖ)	15	0	15	30	1	0			1	1				
Ξ ΙΙΙ	3	3 (δεῖ)	2	1	3	44	1	1	0	1	0	1				
ΠΑ	10	<sup>10</sup> (2 δεῖ)	8	5	0	1 (δεῖ)	1	2			10	1				
ΠΑΟ	30	17 (δεῖ)	26	<sup>3</sup> (2 δεῖ)	1	1	1	3			8	0			1 <sup>2</sup>	0
ΠΤΚ	5	2 (δεῖ)	1	0			1	3			6	4				
Π			11	v.l. 1			3	1			4	3 v.l.			0	1



*The Inflection of Verbs in -ηω, -ωω.*

687.] 1. -ηῆω < -αῆω.

διψῆ Hippokr. VI 488, VII 258 (-ῆ Ermerins wrongly), as in Pindar, διψῆ Hdt. II 24, διψῆων (-ω-) Archil. 68, from διψῆων cf. διψᾶων λ 584 and Μαχῶων, Μαχῶων § 140, 1). The contracted form appears in διψῶντα Anakr. 57, for which Fick would read διψέοντα, διψῶντες Aret. 134, διψῶσαν Astrol. 24 = διψεῦσαν Anthol. Pal. VI 217. In the imperfect, ἐδιψῆ Hippokr. III 36, 41, ἐδιψῶν II 652.

The origin of the long vowel in διψᾶω, πεινᾶω still remains obscure. Schulze, K. Z. XXIX 269 refers these two verbs to διψᾶσσω, πεινᾶσσω and connects their latter part with √hs burn. But διψῆν, as πεινῆν, may be merely an analogue of verbs with primitive η, e. g. ψῆν.

δρῆν Hippokr. III 290, δρῶντα (Attic?) Hrd. 521, for which we should expect δρέοντα, δρέοντα, or δρεῦντα cf. κηδεῦντα 306). Verbs in -ηω in Hrd. always contract of under κνᾶω and ψᾶω, and the closed forms are known to us from the prose monuments. Attic δρᾶν may be from δρα-ειν.

θυμῆται Hdt. IV 75, ἐποθυμήσθω Hippokr. VII 320 have been regarded as derived from θυμῆω. We class them with the hyper-Ionisms § 637, 1 footnote), and in Hdt. read θυμῆται with A<sup>1</sup>R.

μνᾶμαι we expect to yield μνεῶμενος in Hdt. This is found in I 96, but only in CPZ, MSS. which often affect -ωω where it is not in place. In I 205 all MSS. have -ωω. ἐμνᾶτο I 205 and μνᾶται Anakr. 68 are also from μνᾶμαι, if the other forms in -ωω are correct. Homer has μνῶμενος λ 117, but also ἐμνῶντα, μνᾶσθαι, &c. μνῶμενος is a certain emendation of Wolf in Hymn I 209.

πεινῆ Hippokr. VI 488, but πεινῶντας Hdt. I 133 which would seem to be Attic, cf. πεινᾶων Γ 25, &c.

2. -ηῆω (with pan-Hellenic η).

Whether pan-Hellenic η exists in all of the following forms, e. g. σμηῆν, ψῆν (ψάφος), is uncertain.

ζη < \*ζη-ει, Herakl. 25, Diog. Apoll. 6, Hippokr. III 192, VI 42 (subj.). ζῶμεν Sim. Amorg. 3, might be from \*ζέωμεν < \*ζήομεν, could we not assume a weak stem ζα-? Improbable is the derivation from \*ζῶμεν < ζῶομεν ζῶσι Hdt. II 92, IV 12 (ABR), 23 ζῶουσι R, 103, Hippokr. II 46, V 673 Bekker, Dindorf, Abicht accept only ζῶουσι in Hdt. ζῆν < \*ζη-ειν, Hdt. V 6 (cf. VII 46 in PE, Stob.), Demokr. 54, Theog. 1156, Aret. 10 Hdt. elsewhere has ζέω which Marzdorf would, and Stein does, adopt in V 6. ζῶν Herakl. 78 ζῶντες Hippokr. III 246, Aret. 183, ζῶντι Hippokr. III 246, Hdt. IV 94, VII 238 (ABR), ζῶντα Hdt. I 86 bis (in one case B<sup>1</sup>C have ζῶοντα; ζῶοντων in same chapter), II 162, III 10, IV 14, VII 33, 166, ζῶντες Hdt. IV 22, 23, 46 (C<sup>1</sup> P<sup>1</sup>), IX 119, Herakl. 67, ζῶντα Hippokr. VI 488, ζῶντων Herakl. 123 (Bernays), ζῶσι Hdt. VI 58, ζῶντας II 69 (C<sup>1</sup>ω- C<sup>1</sup>), VII 146, ζῶσα IV 205.

On the forms of ζῶω, see below under 3. The second ablaut form ζα- cannot be supported by a supposed Kyprian ζαφεῖτε, or by δῆατα with Schmidt, K. Z. XXV 151. ζῆ is, moreover, not from \*ζήf-ει, but from \*ζήf-ει. ζῆν, ζῆσι are not original forms, the -μι conjugation of ζῆω being later than

that in -ω. (ῥῶ is an analogue of σῶ; cf. σῶται, ῥῶται), and ῥῶ is built on the pattern of ῥῶται. Cf. Brugmann *M. U.* I 7. ῥῶ displaced the earlier ῥῶν (Cobet, *Misc. Crit.* 546).

Hdt. has no trace of the *ν* of \*κῶναι: κῶν VII 239, despite epic κῶν and κῶναι Hippokr. III 490. Herodas has κῶ *Class. Rev.* V 481, frag. 1. If κῶν in Aristophanes is incorrect, as Cobet, Meineke and Dindorf maintain, κῶν would be erroneous in Hdt. But in the case of both Ionic and Attic we may assume the existence of κῶ-. See below, p. 565.

Hdt. contracts κῶμαι (§ 168) in κῶνται I 135, III 98 (-ω-σ), 105, 110, κῶμενοι I 19, III 134, IV 80. The contraction to -ω- is also supported by *ABR* in κῶνται III 107, where *P* has κῶνται, *Cds* -ω-, II 79 (-ω-*P*, -ω-*Cs*), III 74 κῶντο (-ω-*P*, -ω-*Cs*), Euseb. Mynd. κῶμενοι 15, 24; κῶσαι Hdt. I 61, III 21, 73, VII 9; κῶται Demokr. 184. κῶντο, imperfect in Hdt. VIII 112 in *ABCb* (-ω-*PR*), is certainly wrong (Dindorf κῶντο, all the recent editors κῶντο); as is -ῶντο, unless a form κῶ-, parallel to χῶ-, can be shown to exist in this verb. See on χῶμαι below. κῶνται IV 23 is correct.

λῆ Theognis 299 is not the result of a Doric contraction of λῆναι, but of pan-Hellenic λῆναι. If the Kretan form were λῆναι=λῆναι, λῆ might also be explained as=λῆ+εῖ. It is, however, certain that λῆναι is to be read in *Mus. Ital.* II 678, 6, and this may stand for λῆ(ν)αι (Bechtel, *GGA, Nachr.* 1888, p. 400). A λῆναι would, however, be a parallel of χῶμαι (\*λῆος, χῶος).

νῆναι *heap up* (νῆναι *σπεύδει* Hesychios) has passed into the inflection of νῆναι in Herodotos: νῆναι IV 62, νῆναι VI 80 (so *R*, -ναι other MSS.), νῆναι IV 62. Perhaps we should read νῆναι in the gloss (cf. Hom. νῆναι. Photios' νῆναι' σπεύδοντες would point to νῆναι. νῆναι' νῆναι has the same contraction. In Hesiod *W. D.* 777 we may read νῆναι for νῆναι and in Hesychios νῆναι for νῆναι (σπιν').

σῶναι would seem to be Ionic, not σῶναι: ἐξίσταν Hdt. III 148 cf. Hesychios), διασῶνται II 37 (only *Cs* -ω-, *P* -ω-), σῶναι IX 110 (cf. σῶναι Aristoph. frag. 326 D). σῶνται was a conjecture of Valckenaeus in Hdt. VII 209. Hippokr. uses σῶναι.

χῶναι *utterest an oracle*, Hdt. IV 155=Attic χῶναι; χῶν I 55 and 15 times elsewhere; χῶν IV 155, VIII 135 bis; χῶναι VII 111 (χῶναι *P*) form of χῶναι Hymn I 253 (= II 75), cf. χῶναι 79; χῶναι Tyr. 3, 22 in Attic.

χῶναι *consulting an oracle* Hdt. IV 151 (*P* -ω-); χῶναι I 157 all MSS. (χῶναι Stein', χῶναι VII 141 (χῶναι *R*), χῶναι I 47 all MSS. (χῶναι Stein'); χῶναι I 53, IV 157 (-ω-*BPR*), V 82 (-ω-*Pr*, VII 141 (-ω-*P*).

χῶναι (χῶν, cf. Epicharmos' ἀποχῶναι, and epic ἀποχῶναι derived from ἀποχῶναι Hdt. I 164, ἀποχῶν IX 79, ἀποχῶν V 31 (cf. χῶναι χῶναι?, δῆναι in Hesychios, and ἀποχῶναι in Archimedes); subj. ἀποχῶναι Hippokr. IX 156; ἀποχῶναι cf. Bekk. An. 439m) Hdt. III 138, VI 137, VII 148, IX 48, 94; χῶναι V 49 (-ῶν *ds*), 109 (-ῶν *ds*); ἀπέχῶναι I 66 (-ῶν *ds*), ἀπέχῶναι VII 70; ἀποχῶναι, content, I 37; ἀποχῶναι I 102 all MSS., VIII 14 (-ῶν *R*, ῶν other MSS.).

From primitive \*χῶναι-μαι *ω* (§ 167) we have the genuine Ionic<sup>1</sup> forms χῶναι, χῶνται in all MSS. of Hdt. to II 77, except in a few passages where there is a slight support for -ω-, or Attic -ω-. From II 77 on we find that *P* has -ω- except IV 104), all the other MSS. -ω-. Hippokrates prefers

<sup>1</sup> Also Kretan: χῶναι *Mus. Ital.* III 563, l. 32. \*χῶναι may stand for \*χῶναι, Kretan χῶναι < χῶναι. Or χῶναι may be a causative like the Skt. *prajayati*. It is more probable that we have two distinct forms \*χῶναι and \*χῶναι.

*χρέονται*, e.g. II 12, 48 (-ω- vulgo), 54, 60, 72, 74, 88 (-ω- vulgo), 246 -ω- in A, -εω- vulgo), 344 (-ω- A); *χρεόμεθα* VII 224 Herakleitos 111 has *χρέονται* in Bywater, following Bernays, before whose time *χρέονται* was read. Neither form occurs in the MSS. In Anaxag. 10 Simplicius has *χρῶνται*. *χρέονται* is found in Syr. dea 1 (6 MSS., -εω- in E), *χρέονται* in 4, Attian 13, 16, Aret. 174. *χρῶνται* is found in Theog. 161, and the MSS. Attian 29, 1; *χρεόμεθα* Herodas 311. *χρᾶται* occurs 8 times in the MSS. of Hdt. in I 58 ε has -εε-, in III 78 -η-, in IV 50 P R have -εε-; elsewhere there is no variation. *χρέται* is found in Aret. 63, 133, 176, 179. The second person singular is *χρή*, Ionic and *καίρη* according to the Schol. Ven. A on A 216. Attic is *χρή*.

In the imperfect Herodotos has *ἐχρᾶτο*<sup>1</sup> eight times in all MSS., *ἐχρήτο* once (III 41). Variation exists in II 173 v.l. -εε-, III 129, VIII 14, 113 v.l. -εε-, IX 37. *ἐχρήτο* is found Herodas 6, Hippokr. III 106.

Hdt. has *ἐχρέωντο*, not *ἐχρέοντο*<sup>2</sup> which is found in P and in other MSS. occasionally), II 108, III 57, IV 157, V 68, 82, VI 46; Hippokr. has *ἐχρέοντο* II 226 (-εω- S<sup>1</sup>, -ω- gloss. FG). So too Astrol. 7, 23, Euseb. § 4.

In the subjunctive we find *χρέωνται*, e.g. Hdt. V 87, Hippokr. II 264. The optative is *χρέαιτο* Hippokr. II 346, but *χρῶτο* in A and gloss., 358 *χρῶτο* gloss), VII 448.

Imperative *χρέω* Hdt. I 155 in all MSS. except A B which have *χρέα*, the reading of Littré in Hippokr. II 516 *χρᾶ* A, 520 *χρέω* A C, VIII 440. Stein and Kallenberg adopt *χρέα* in Hdt., but the other form is preferable. *χρέω* is from \**χρήσ*, \**χρήεο*. The Attic *χρᾶ* occurs in Herodas 56; *χρέσθω* Hdt. II 123, *χρέσθω* Hippokr. VII 176, 182, 184, 216, 234, 244, 246, 288, in VII 168 and VIII 260 η- in θ); *χρήσθω* VII 22 bis, 24 ter, 26, 28, 348 (-εε- v.l.), VIII 92 (Cθ, 502; *χρᾶσθε* Hdt. V 92 α) with η- in A B d; *χρέσθων* III 81; *χρέσθωνας* Hippokr. VI 81 is read by Littré (A has *χρή-*. The ending is late.

*χρᾶσθαι* appears 22, *χρήσθαι* only 6, *χρέσθαι* 13 times in all MSS. of Hdt. Elsewhere there is variation (12 times), in 3 of which *χρήσθαι* is better attested than *χρέσθαι*, and in 3 others better than *χρᾶσθαι*. [X]pEσθαι] Keos 43; may be *χρήσθαι* or *χρέσθαι*, of which the former is correct. *χρήσθαι* is found in Demokr 188 (Stobaios, who has *χρᾶσθαι* in 11; Hippokr. III 236, VI 302, 342, 516, VII 26, 100, 234, VIII 440, to cite passages where Littré adopts this form. In a large number of passages Littré adopts *χρέσθαι* against the authority of the best MSS. or of the vulgate. A has *χρήσθαι* in II 254, 356, 364, 366, VI 72, 74 bis, 78, 80, 84 bis, θ has *χρήσθαι* VI 601, cf. also III 304, VI 72. The vulgate has η- in II 78, 180, 268, VI 76, &c. No variant from *χρέσθαι* is given in II 30, IV 162, VI 516, 662, VII 168, 176, 190, 330. Littré even reads on the same page VI 516 *χρέσθαι* and *χρήσθαι*. Kühn adopts *χρέσθαι* in Aretaios 188, 195, 198, 202, 203, 204, 303.

*χρεώμενος* (cf. *χρεώμενος* Ψ 834 and Eust. ad loc) is the correct form in Herodotos. P and sometimes other MSS. have -εο-, e.g. II 108 P R. *χρέμενος* is foreign to the dialect of the historian<sup>3</sup>. This form in Kallenberg's text I 131 must be an error. *χρεώμενος* is edited in Herakl. 62 (?), Hippokr. II 62 (-ω- vulgo), IX 404 epist. (vulgo, -εο- v.l.), Abydenos 9 (-εο- v.l.).

*χρεώμενος* is generally adopted in Hippokrates II 254 (-ω- A), 260 (-ω- vulgo), 264 (-ω- A, 280 bis (-εω- v.l., -ω- A), 308 (-ω- A, -εω- C), 342 (-εω- vulgo,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bekk. Anecd. I 4232a.

<sup>2</sup> Greg. Kor. § 15 cites this form as Ionic: *ἐχράοντο ἐχρέοντο τὸ αἰς αὐτρεποντες*.

<sup>3</sup> It occurs in Sim. Keos 1004.

-ω- A), 372 (-ω- A, -ω- gloss FG), III 102 (-ω- v. l.), 364 (D, -ω- B<sup>1</sup>, -ω- A), VI 72 bis (-ω- vulgo, -ω- A, and -ω- G J Q<sup>1</sup>, -ω- vulgo), 662 (θ, where Littré has -ω-); Lukian, *Syr. dea* 55 (-ω- v. A), *Aetrol.* 15. 29 (E), *Arrian* 12<sub>1</sub>, 18<sub>1</sub>, 29<sub>12</sub>, *Aret.* 103, 24<sup>1</sup>, 274, 306, 311.

\*ψῆω yields καταψῆω Hdt. VI 61, Hrd. 6<sub>7</sub> (cf. καταψῆω Paccs 75).

Remarks. On the evidence above adduced we conclude that in the case of ξη-, κτη-, κτη-, σμη-, χτη- and ψη-, Ionic builds, with a few exceptions in the forms from χτη-, the inflections from the weak ablaut stem in a. The presence of these stems in a relieves us of the necessity of regarding the contracted forms in ω as the result of a union of ηω, ηο in ω. The interrelation of the stems χτη-, χηδ- and χηε-, and to a less degree that of κτη-, κηδ- and κηε- is of extreme difficulty. The most probable explanation is that of the two<sup>1</sup> ablaut forms χτη-, χηδ- (cf. χραίσμις and κῆρ, κροίω) κτη-, κηδ- the η form appeared originally before α, that in a before ε sounds<sup>2</sup>. Thus χρίωνται, ἐχρίοντο, χράμενοι, χρεῖα, χρέμεα on the one hand, and χῆται, ἐχῆτο, χῆσθαι, χῆσθαι, χῆς, &c. on the other, represent the original function of the two types. Later on this dichotomy was abandoned and the resulting confusion produced χρεῖα, χράμενοι Attic and Messenian, χῆσθαι κῆμενοι, κῆραι, &c.; unless we maintain with Schmidt *K. Z.* XXVII 297 that Attic χηε- is from χηηο- (cf. Ποσειδῶν < ηηω).

The χηε- forms<sup>3</sup> are historically and morphologically later. They came into existence when χράμεαι, instead of χῆμεαι, had established itself in use. From this χράμεαι came Ionic, Rhodian, and Kretan χρέμεαι, as ἐρεῖα became ἐρεῖα (§ 688). χρέμεαι soon led to χῆται, ἐχῆτο, χῆσθαι.

Without the assumption of an original differentiation in use between χτη- and χηδ-, the shifting between χράμενοι and χῆται in Hdt. cannot be defended. If we attempt to carry the stem χτη- through the singular present and imperfect, and infinitive, it is inconceivable why Hdt. does not have χῆται and χῆσθαι. If χῆται is not original in Hdt., it was introduced at a time when Attic χῆται had been supplanted by χῆται.

### 3. -ωλω.

ζῶω<sup>4</sup> Theog. 914, ζῶω Hrd. 4<sub>10</sub>, ζῶω Hdt. III 22, Hippokr. VI 482, 506. ζῶμεν Sim. Amorg. 1, is the traditional form, but the verse will not scan (ζῶουσιν Ahrens, Hiller, ζῶμεν Bergk). ζῶωσι Herakl. 92, Hdt. I 216, II 36,

<sup>1</sup> The existence of an ablaut series η (ω), ε, α in one and the same verb is not to be accepted with Johansson, who *D. V. C.* p. 156 (hesitatingly) suggests its possibility. τιμωμαι has τη-, τε-, τα-, but of these τε- is a weakened form of τη- before a vowel (τε-ίω) that was carried into the inflection of the verb by the analogy of τιθημι, τιθεμαι. See § 691, note 4.

<sup>2</sup> This was not recognized in § 167. The weak point in the above explanation is that original χῆται in Attic was supplanted by χῆται whereas χῆται does not appear in inscriptions till the second century B.C. and then was driven out by χῆται an analogue of τιθεται. Perhaps χῆται was formed like ἔητο, ἔηντο.

<sup>3</sup> Meister, *Herodas* p. 796, thinks that χτη- became χηε- before the vowel ε when followed by a double consonant. Johansson, *B. B.* XV 172, suggested (doubtfully) that accent-shifting produced the change (χράμενοι, χραίσμις). Neither theory has the support of facts.

<sup>4</sup> Very frequent in Homer. It occurs also in Kretan, Lakonian, Boiotian, North West Greek. Kyprian Ζῶφης does not belong here. In Rhodian we find ζῶται, ζῶται, in Lakonian, Delphic, &c., ζῶται, in Boiotian ζῶται.



III 22; ζῶν Thasos, *J. H. S.* VIII 402, 12; ζῶσις Theog. 1121, ζῶν (?) Hrd. 370, cf. [ζῶ]ν 510; ζῶν Kallinos 110, ζῶντων Hdt. I 86 (ζῶντων *Rd.* III 119, ζῶντων Hrd. V 2, ζῶντας Euseb. Mynd. 42; ζῶν Theog. 182, Herakl 86, Hdt. I 31, VII 46, Hippokr. VIII 70, Hrd. 218, *Syr. dea* 6, Sim. Amorg 117 at the verse end (hence Porson's ζῶν; ζῶων Hdt. IV 112).

ζῶν is well established in the language as early as Homer. From an ablaut perfect ζῶκα (which chanced to occur on a late inscription from Kyzikos C. I. G. 3684a, where it is doubtless from ζῶν), the stem ζω- was abstracted. ζῶν is not a contracted verb, as πλών is not. The stem ζω- we find in ζωρός, ζώκυρον, ζῶς which was later on enlarged to ζῶς [Archil.] 631, Hdt. I 194, ζῶν, i.e. ζω-ις-ν, ζῶν (Aret. 41). ζῶν, ζῶς, ζῶν, ζῶς became respectively ζῶν (Hdt. IV 112, Hrd. I 4. 32), ζῶς (Archil. 63, Porson), ζῶν (Sim. Amorg. 117), ζῶς ζῶν Hesychios.

From the stem ἰδρω-<sup>1</sup> (epic ἰδρῶ, ἰδρῶ) the denominative ἰδρωσις is formed. Cf. epic ἰδρώουσα, ἰδρώντας. ἰδρῶν yields ἰδρῶν *Syr. dea* 10, ἰδρῶν Hippokr. II 34, ἰδρῶν *Syr. dea* 17, ἐφιδρῶντες Hippokr. V 598 (-ον *vulgo*, cf. 594, VI 192 bis θ, -ον *vulgo*). The forms in Lukian may be derived from the future or aorist ἰδρω-σ-, but neither Ionic nor Attic admit, in an early period of their existence, such forms as Delphic στεφανῶν formed from στεφανῶ-σ-ω. From the weaker stem we have ἰδρωσις which yields in Hippokr. ἰδρῶς II 34, ἰδρῶν V 610, 626, ἰδρῶν II 642, ἰδρῶν II 516, ἰδρῶν V 588, 596, ἰδρῶντες II 612, V 590, 594 *ter* (A has -ω- once, 596 *ter* (-ω- twice in A), 676, 710.

The earlier type of the forms of ριγῶν is derived from the stem ριγῶ- (cf. Latin *rigor*): ριγῶ Hipponax 16, 17, ριγῶν Hippokr. VII 190, ριγῶς Sim. Amorg. 730. ριγῶν shows its later origin in the fact that it is constructed in the ordinary fashion from the stem ριγῶ-σ-. Examples of ριγῶν are ριγῶς Hippokr. V 588, ριγῶν V 614, 626, ριγῶν V 112 (Attic ριγῶν V 656, 710, ριγῶ V 706, ριγῶν Hdt. V 92 (η), ριγῶντες Hippokr. V 588, ριγῶντα V 590, ριγῶντα V 592 (A), (ριγῶντα V 540), ἐφριγῶν II 642 bis (-ον *vulgo*, -ον C in one case only), 652 (-ον *vulgo*).

### The Inflection of -ᾶν Verbs.

688.] 1. The original inflection of τιμάω was as follows, e.g. in the present and imperfect indicative:

τιμα-ιω	whence	τιμέω	τιμα-ις-μεν	whence	τιμέμεν
τιμα-ις-ις	"	τιμᾶς	τιμα-ις-τε	"	τιμᾶτε
τιμα-ις-ι	"	τιμᾶ	τιμα-ις-ντι	"	τιμέουσι
ἐτιμα-ις-ν	whence	ἐτίμεον	ἐτιμα-ις-μεν	whence	ἐτιμέμεν
ἐτιμα-ις-ς	"	ἐτίμας	ἐτιμα-ις-τε	"	ἐτιμᾶτε
ἐτιμα-ις	"	ἐτίμα	ἐτιμα-ις-ν	"	ἐτίμεον

Before an *o* sound, *a* became *ε*<sup>2</sup> in the verb (and noun, § 136) in a very early period of the language<sup>3</sup>; a substitution of *ε* for *a*

<sup>1</sup> ἰδρῶς in post-Homeric is a *τ* stem. Cf. Hom. γέλω < γέλωσις, γέλω, γέλω. γέλω is later a *τ* stem.

<sup>2</sup> Schmidt, *Neutra* pp. 326-334.

<sup>3</sup> Original *a* became *ε* in primitive Greek only before an *o* sound. In verbs



found in Homeric *μενολίνεον* (cf. *μενοινάαι*), *δμόκλεον*, *δμοκλέομεν* (cf. *δμόκλα*), *ποτέονται*, *ἐκποτέονται* (*ἀμφεποτᾶτο*), *ἦντεον*, *ἐσύλεον*, v. l. E 48, *ἀνει-* or *ἀνηρώτευν*, v. l. δ 251. It also appears in many of the dialects known to us only from inscriptions, but has been completely abandoned in Attic, that dialect reinstating the original *a* by analogy to the other forms (-*αι*, -*αιε*), and then contracting this *a* with the following *o* sound. The process that has thus recalled in Attic the older *a* forms was also active in the other dialects; and to such an extent that the regular forms with *εο*, *εω*, *εου* are the exceptions. The impetus towards the reinstatement of *αο*, *αω*, *αου* was vigorous enough and early enough to have left Homer with only a handful of instances in which *ε* has displaced *a*. The coexistence of such forms as *τιμάω*, *τιμέω* shows that the original dichotomy has been abandoned. When the dialects diverge in respect of a verb's variation between -*αω* and -*εω*, it cannot be said that Ionic always stands on the side of the latter. Hippokrates has *αἰολάω*, Plato *αἰολέω*.

2. The rule appears to be broken in the following forms (see the list given below): *αἰονεῖν*, *διαιτέεσθαι*, *ἐρέεται* (?), *ἐρώτεε* (?), *μηχανέεσθαι*, *δρέει*, *δρέης*, *δρέη*, *πηδεῖν*, *σκορδινέηται*, *φοιτέεις*, *φοιτῇ*. Of these the only form that may be old is *ἐρέεται* (?), which is, however, reported as used by Demokrates, not by Demokritos. The analogy of *ἐρεόμενος*, *δρέων*, &c., introduced the *ε* in forms where the primitive *a* was not followed by an *o* sound. On (non-Ionic) inscriptions we have *τιμεῖν* and *σκανεῖν*.

3. In poetry scant traces of *ε* for *a* occur: *ἐρέω* Archil. 25<sub>3</sub>, 68<sub>2</sub> (both tetram.), *μωμεῦνται* Theog. 369, *μωμεύμενος* 169, *κυκεύμενος* Solon 37<sub>5</sub> (trim.), *βροντέων* Hrd. 7<sub>65</sub>, *νικέων* 1<sub>81</sub>, *φοιτέων* 3<sub>65</sub>, *πηδεῦντα* 3<sub>98</sub>, *λωβεῦμαι* 3<sub>69</sub> (cf. -*ῆται* III 3); *διφέω* in Krinagoras, Anthol. Pal. IX 559, and *σκιρτεῦσι* Oppian Kyn. IV 342. While no Ionic inscription has a trace of *ε* for *a* in any verbal form, it should be remembered that a *φοιτᾶν* (Oropos 18<sub>2</sub>) does not disprove a *φοιτέω*.

4. In the following note are collected from the prose writers those verbs which show any tendency in the MSS. to substitute, before an *o* sound, *ε* in place of *a* contracted with that *o* sound. The examples from Herodotos are complete save that an enumeration of all the MS. variants is not attempted in the case of *όράω*,

in -*α-μαι*, e. g. *δύναμαι*, *ἐπίσταμαι*, *ἀπίσταμαι*, -*εσται* (§ 585) is not dissimilated from *α-αται*, but derived from such perfects as have -*εσται* < -*ησται* (§ 611 ff.). Dissimilation is generally, but wrongly, accepted in *ἐπίσται*, *δένται*, whence *δύνῃ* § 605). The 2 sing. follows the analogy of the 3 plur. When *δέναι*-*νται* became *δυν-έσται*, *δύναι*-*σαι* (A 393) became *δύν-ε(σ)ται*. These two persons alone have, or seemed to have, vocalic endings. In Attic both *ἐπίσταμαι* and *δέναι* contract their 2 sing. (*ἐπίσται*, *δένω*) contrary to the usual practice of *μι* verbs. That the analogy of *βούλω* helped the formation of *δένῃ* (§ 618, 1) may be doubted.

εἰρωτάω and φοιτάω<sup>1</sup>. All other verbs than those included in the list and those so included in other cases than those specially mentioned, contract αο, αω, and αου to ω.

αἰνεῖν Aret. 194, 198. ἀμειλλώμενοι Hdt. IV 71 R, -ω- A B C P d. ἀνα-  
τέλλοιτο Syr. dea 27. ἀρέομαι Hdt. III 65 P 2, -εω- C d, other MSS. -ω-, -εονται  
II 39 P 2, -εω- C, other MSS. -ω-. Kretan ἐπαριόμενον. On ἀρεόμαι, see Veitch  
3. v. βροντέων Hrd. 765. δαπανέωνται Hdt. II 37 C P 2, other MSS. -ω-  
δαπανοῖεν Euseb. Mynd. 6, Aitolian δαπανοῦμενα (Andania). διαιτέοντο Syr.  
dea 26, διαιτεομένοισιν Hippokr. II 354, the second hand in R<sup>1</sup> other MSS.  
-ω-), ἐνδιατέεσθαι R in Hdt. VIII 41; -ῶντο VI 514, -ώμενος Aret. 321. διφύγ  
Krinagoras, Anthol. Palat. IX 559. προσδοκέοντας Hdt. VII 156 C P 1 2,  
-ω- A B R; προσεδόκεε Aret. 201. ἐρέω Archil. 151, 682 (both tetram., a  
possible form, but not handed down, for ἐρῶ in Anakr. 31, 89 bis; ἐρεόμενος<sup>2</sup>,  
ἐρέεται Demokritos (Demokrates) 6. ἐρετῶν v. l. for ἐρατόν<sup>3</sup>, Archil. 11, ἐρετή<sup>4</sup>  
ἐπιθυμητή Hesychios (without stating the dialect), Delos, Ἀθην IV 463. Attic  
in Kumanudes' ἐπιγρ. ἐπιτ. 3037<sup>4</sup>, and Arkadian Ἐρεμένα C. D. I. 1227 are  
to be derived, not from ἐρέω, but from ἐρατός by dissimilation, the α being  
assailed by an ε sound before and after. It is assimilated to the former.  
εἰρωτάω in Hdt. shows 6 cases of εἰρώτων in all MSS., but in I 158, IV 131  
no MS. has the contracted form. In 10 other passages there is variation  
between -ων, -εων or -εν. In the *Vita Homeri* one MS. has ἐρώτες, but B P M  
have ἡρώτα, i. e. Ionic εἰρώτα. In the nom. masc. of the active participle we  
find -ῶν twice in all the MSS. of Hdt., and twice variation between -ῶν and  
-έων. -ῶντα VI 86 γ, IX 55, -ῶντων VI 66, -ῶσι I 67, 158, VII 148 occur in  
all the MSS. Variation exists in V 13, IV 145, 155, III 62, I 47. The  
statistics of the middle participle are the same as those of the nom. masc.  
active. λάομαι yields ἀνιεύονται Hdt. VII 236, a form constructed on the  
analogy of the 'Attic' futures. On ἴηται, see § 637, 1 footnote. κομῶνται  
Hdt. II 95 P 2, -εω- C, -ω- other MSS., IV 172 P d, -εω- C t, -ω- other MSS.  
κομῶνται Hdt. II 36 A B P C, -εων- R, -εω- d; IV 180 -εων- P 2, -εω- C d, -ω- A B R  
(here even Stein accepts κομῶνται). Elsewhere -ω-, except IV 191 -εω- (R -ω-),  
retained by Stein. In I 82, 195 all MSS. have κομῶντες which represents the  
contraction to be adopted in IV 180, 191, if not in II 36. κομῶσι is as  
inappropriate as ἡγορῶντα VI 11 (in all MSS. except A B<sup>1</sup>). κυκέοντα is  
three MSS. Hippokr. IX 374 epist.; cf. κυκόμενος Solon 37, trim. κυκλε-  
Lobeck), but in 136, eleg. κυκόμενον, κακόν- Lobeck and Bergk. λωβέοντα  
Hippokr. IV 158 (-ῶνται many MSS.). Cf. λωβεῖμαι Hrd. 300. μαργάω (?)  
in καταμαργέων Hdt. VIII 125. This example may however be a case of  
variation between μαργέω and -όω (Pindar, Aeschylus). ἐμηχανέοντα  
Hdt. VIII 6 -εω- d, VIII 52 P R, -ω- A B C b, VII 172 C P, -εω- d t, -ω- A B R,  
-εόμενοι VII 172 P, -εω- C d 2, -ω- A B R, 176 P, -εω- R 2, -ω- A B C. Cf. ἐμηχανεῖτο  
V 63 (-έοντο Stein). Elsewhere -ω-. -έσθαι Aret. 192 (-ῶσθαι Hippokr. IV

<sup>1</sup> On this point, see Spreer p. 13, Merzdorf p. 195. On verbs with long  
stem vowels such as χρη-, κτη-, see § 687.

<sup>2</sup> Cod. Pal. ἐρεόμενος, a vicious form. The accus. in δ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐρεῶν  
ἐρεόμενος, τὰ θεϊότερα ἐρέεται is suspicious. Orelli conjectured ἀρεόμενος,  
ἀρεεται. Cf. Cobet's ἡρέθης for ἡρέσθης in Alkiphron I 18.

<sup>3</sup> ἐρατῆς Anakr. 94, eleg. Cf. also ἔραμαι Anakr. 44, ἐράσμιος Anakr. 20,  
Sim. Amorg. 7m.

<sup>4</sup> Κληροπέρη l. l. 1648 is an error for -ἀρέτη.

252, -*āstāi* Littré). *ruḥānti* Demokr. 200, *ruḥānti* Hrd. 121. In Aitolian we have *ruḥānti*. Hdt. contracts *ruḥā* 31 times. In respect of *ḥupā*, the forms in Hdt. II 36, 37, 65, 66, III 8, 12 are divided between -*ā*, -*ev*, -*ee*, -*er*. Since *ḥupā* is not classic, the forms with -*er* (which are adopted by Stein, Kallenberg) may be explained as derived from *ḥupā*, abstracted from *ḥupānti*, which seemed to come either from -*ee* or -*ee'*. The only other form of the verb is *ḥupā*, on whose -*ev* (adopted by Holder), see § 690, 1 (B). *ḥuvānti* Aret. 141, *ḥuvānti* Hippokr. IV 166 in C, -*er* vulgo, but *ḥuvānti* V 714, *ḥuvānti* II 424 (*ḥuvānti* VII 70, *ḥuvānti* V 206). *ḥpā* is the better attested reading four times in Hdt. (I 89, 207, V 20, VIII 140 §). In VII 236, only AB support *ḥpā*. Stein's *ḥpā*<sup>2</sup> is found only once in all the MSS. (I 111). Hippokr. has *ḥpā* IX 340 (epist.), but *ḥpā* II 314 (in A, Demokr. 185. Hdt. *ḥpā* correctly, but Lukian, *Syr. des* 29, *ḥpā*. In the plural (present and imperfect) Hdt. has -*ānti* once in all MSS. (I 20), elsewhere (5 times) ABR have -*er*, C -*ee*, P -*ee*. *ḥpānti* occurs in Hippokr. VII 548 (*ḥpānti* vulgo), Arrian 151<sup>3</sup>, but the same form in Melissos 17 is a conjecture of Mullach. In Herakl. 64 it has the authority of Clement. In the third pl. Hdt. has *ḥpānti* I 124 (CP -*er*), 138 (C -*er*). In the subjunctive we find *ḥpānti* *Syr. des* 32, Aret. 30, *ḥpānti* (?) Hippokr. V 480 (*ḥpānti* A), *Syr. des* 32 (elsewhere *ḥpānti*). In the plural we have *ḥpānti* Hdt. IX 66 (Stein -*ee* with *s*). *ḥpānti* appears in Aretaios 187. Imperfect, 1 sing. and 3 pl. in Hdt. 20 times, with *ḥpānti* 10 times in all MSS.; elsewhere there is fluctuation between -*er*, -*ee*, -*ee'*, but ABR have *ḥpānti* 7 times. In the third sing. we have *ḥpānti*, whereas Hippokr. has *ḥpānti* II 708; see § 582. Participle *ḥpānti*, 18 times out of 38 in all MSS. in Hdt.; *ḥpānti* once (VII 44) in all. Elsewhere AB usually have -*ānti*, CP -*ee*, while R fluctuates, thus making *ḥpānti* attested more frequently than the *ee* forms elsewhere. *ḥpānti* Hippokr. III 138 (BMN, -*er* vulgo), IX 332, Astrol. 24, Aret. 10, and Protagoras. Hippokr. has *ḥpānti* III 256; *ḥpānti* Aret. 10 (*ḥpānti*); *ḥpānti* is not the better reading in Hdt. ABR -*ānti*, -*ee* C, -*ee* Pd, *ḥpānti* in all MSS. VII 36. *ḥpānti* Hippokr. III 214 BM, -*ee* N, -*er* vulgo, and on same page *ḥpānti*; *ḥpānti* Aret. 207; the nom. plural (31 times in Hdt.) varies greatly. In VI 68, VII 206 all the MSS. have -*ānti*, and the contraction is well supported in I 82, 96, 99, VII 212. Elsewhere ABR have -*er* generally, the other MSS. either -*ee* (C sometimes -*ee'*), or, when they divide, -*ee* Pd and -*ee* C. In Demokr. frag. physio. 4 Mullach edits *ḥpānti*, but Sextus has -*ānti*; *ḥpānti* is edited in Hippokr. VI 44, IX 374, -*ānti* IX 358, 376 (-*ee* many MSS.), and Aret. 42; *ḥpānti* Hdt. III 41 in Pd only; ABR -*er*, C -*ee*; *ḥpānti* Hdt. I 99 (-*ee* CP); *ḥpānti* Hdt. IX 37 Pd, -*er* ABR, -*ee* C; *ḥpānti* Hdt. I 185, IX 76 in all MSS., VI 61 in AB<sup>1</sup> Cd; *ḥpānti* VI 61 in all; *ḥpānti* Aret. 167; neuter: *ḥpānti* Hdt. VII 167 (all MSS., Stein *ḥpānti*), *ḥpānti* Astrol. 21; *ḥpānti* Hippokr. IX 382 (epist.), Vit. auct. 5 (-*ee* in B). Forms with *s* appear in Alkman, Archytas, and Theokritos. From *ḥpānti* we have -*ānti* Hdt. VII 209 in all MSS., -*ee* VII 88 in ABR, -*ee* C, -*ee* Pd. *ḥpānti* is found 4 times in all except C or Cd, and in 21 other passages -*ānti* has the support of ABR, -*ee* of C, -*ee*

<sup>1</sup> So *ḥpānti*, abstracted from *ḥpānti*, in *ḥpānti* Plutarch Mor. 734 E. Sütterlin, *Verba denominativa* p. 91, suggests that *ḥpānti* helped the creation of an *ḥpānti*. With these late forms in -*ee*, cf. *ḥpānti* in Hippokr., *ḥpānti* in Ailian.

<sup>2</sup> Greg. Kor. § 15, Et. M. 621<sub>2</sub> (*ḥpānti*).

<sup>3</sup> It is very unusual for Arrian to accept the *s* forms.

of *P*. In 5 other places there is greater variation. Forms in *ε* (or *ι*, occur in Archytas and in Kretan. *πειράομαι* usually yields *-ω-* forms in Hdt except I 46, III 73, 128, IV 3, VII 211, where the MSS. vary between *-ω-*, *εω* *εω-*, *πειρεύμενος* appears Hippokr IX 354 (*-ω-* many MSS.). In Rhodian we find *πειρούμενοι*. *πηδέων* *Syr. dea* 36, *πηδεῦντα* Hrd. 300. In Hdt. VIII 118 *R* has *ἐκπηδέειν*. *πλανέονται* Hdt. II 41 *Pz*, *-εω-* *C*, *-ω-* other MSS. Elsewhere *-ω-* in Hdt. *Astrol.* 11, 24 *πλανέμενος*, but in Arrian 7, this form is not in the MSS. *σκορδινέηται* Hippokr VIII 486. Whereas *σταθμέω* contracts *εω* in Hdt. usually, we have *-εόμενος* VIII 130, *-εόμενος* II 150 (*εω* *dz*, as in Hippokr. VII 532. Since forms from *σταθμέω* also exist, it is difficult to decide whether the forms in *-εω-* or *-εω-* are variations of the *-ω-* verb, or false inflections of a verb in *-εω* (§ 690, 1 (*B*). But *εω* for *εω* is very rare when from an *-ω-* verb. *συλέω* appears in a c.l. E 48 *ἐσύλεον ἐσθλοὶ ἑταῖροι* for *ἐσύλεον θεράποντες*). In Xanthos, frag. 1, Müller edits *συλοῦσιν* which is not in the MSS. We prefer the *συλλοῦσιν* of *A*. Hippokrates IX 406 (epist.) uses *συλλόντες* of the Krisnians. Cf. the numerous examples of *συλέω* in Delphic inscriptions. Hrd. has *ἐσύλεον* *Class. Rev* V 481, frag. 31, [Theokr.] XIX 2 *συλεύμενον*, Quint. Smyrn. I 717 *σύλεον*. The only evidence in Hdt. for *τελευτέω* is the reading *-έοντες* in *CPz* and Celsus in III 38. Eberhard reads *προτελευτέουσιν* in Arrian 14, which we think wrong. *τιμέω* Hdt. VI 39 (all MSS.), but in other passages the open forms are not well attested: *-έοντες* V 67 *Pd*, *-εω-* *Cz*; *-έοντες* II 37 *C*; *-έωσι* II 50 *CPz*; *-εόμενοι* V 20 *P*, *-εω-* *Cdz*. Elsewhere only *-ω* forms. In 13 Herakl. has *τιμέω* Hippolytos), but in 102 *τιμῶσι*. Lukian puts *τιμέων* into the mouth of Hdt. *de Ikon* 20), and has *τιμέουσιν* *Astrol.* 1, *τιμέοντες* 10. *τιμέω* is attested in the dialect of Delphi, Phokis, Rhodes, Krete, Agrigentum, and perhaps in Boiotian. *τολμέω* Hdt. VIII 77 in all MSS., but *-όντες* IV 150, *τολμώντων* VII 10 in all MSS. Stein edits *-εω-*. Hippokr III 450 and IV 166 *-εω* *MX*, Aret. 67 have *τολμέουσι*, Hippokr. IX 332, Aret. 200 *τολμέοντα*. In the subj Demokr 215 has *τολμέωσι*. *φοιτέω* occurs in *φοιτέεις* epist. Thal. 1 (Diog. Laert. I 43), *φοιτώσι* Hdt. VII 103 all MSS. (Stein *-έουσι*. In 6 other passages II 22, 60, 66, III 69, IV 180, 182, the MSS. vary between *-έουσι*, *-έωσι* and *ῶσι*; *φοιτῆ* subj., Aret. 76, 168; *φοιτοῖη* Aret. 285; *φοιτέων* *Syr. dea* 15, *-έων* Hrd. 300. Hdt. III 6 except in *AB*, II 174 except *BR*; *φοιτώσα* Hdt. IV 116 *lis* in all MSS.; III 119 *ω* *ABR*, *-εω-* *C*, *-εω-* *Pd*, *φοιτέων* Hippokr V 646, 652, Aret. 114, but *φοιτῶν* Hdt. VII 15 *R* *-φοιτον*; *φοιτέοντος* Hdt. I 97 (*-εω-* *C*); *φοιτέοντα* Hdt. I 37, VII 126 (*-εω-* *d*), Aret. 21 (neut pl.); *φοιτέοντες* is certain in Hdt. I 60, but in I 78, 186, II 63, 172, IV 172, VI 49, VII 125 there is variation. In IX 28 *-όντες* is certain; *φοιτέοντων* Hdt. I 73, VI 125; *φοιτέοντας* Hdt. I 37. The *εω* forms are therefore well established. It is noteworthy that *φοιτέοντος*, &c. remain open while *ἐρωτώντες* is closed. *ἐφοίτων* Hdt. VII 22 in all MSS., but variation in I 96, IV 1, IX 25, 49; *ἐφοίτεον* VI 126 in all MSS. In *Asios apud Athen.* 525 *F* we find *φοίτεσκον*. *φυσέοντων* Hdt. IV 2 *Pdz*, *-ω-* *ABR*; *-εόμενος* IV 2 *P*, *-εω-* *Cdz*, *-ω-* *ABR*; *φυσῆται* Hippokr VIII 484, *φυσέωνται* 320, but *-ῶ-* in *θ*; *-όντες* V 598, *-όμενος* V 596, 616, *φυσῶσι* Hdt. IV 2.

The preservation in all the MSS. of Hdt. of *ε* for *α* (contracted) is exceedingly rare: *ἐπιτιμέων*, *τολμέω*, *ὀρμεόμενος*, *ἐμηχανέοντο* (in all except *d*), each of which occurs once, *ὀρέωτες* (once), *ὀρέω* (once), *ὀρέων* (18 times), *ἐρώτεω* or *-εον* (twice), *ἐφοίτεον* (once), other cases than the nom. sing. of *φοιτέων* (five

times). Not one of these verbs does not show other forms in which all the MSS. contract *a* with the following *o* sound. In general when the MSS. diverge, *ABR* (Stein's archetype<sup>1</sup>, which is however not infrequently deserted by Stein) have -ω-, *CP* the ε forms, *C* having -εω-, *P* -εο-, -εου-, -εω- as the case may be.

The problem of the dialect of Herodotos is thus fraught with peculiar difficulties. First it is impossible in certain cases to discover the reading of the archetype, and, secondly, we have to face the question whether the inconsistencies of the archetype reproduce the text of Herodotos. That there should have been such confusion in Herodotos himself as there exists in the archetype in the case of ὀράω may safely be denied; certainly it would be unparalleled in any other monument of prose literature. Lack of consistency between two *different* verbs may be admitted, and is a phenomenon known to us from other departments of Greek and from the modern languages. But an absolute diversity of inflection in one and the same verb must be viewed with suspicion. To preserve uniformity tradition must be deserted at some point. Thus if τολμέω is correct in VIII 77, τολμῶντες IV 150 and τολμώντων VII 10 would seem to be wrong. Yet both sets of forms have the support of all the MSS. Stein adopts -εο- in the participial forms of τολμάω, while Kallenberg and Holder retain the MS. readings in both cases. In the case of the participle of ὀράω, all editors would be forced to rely at times upon the slightest MS. support, or to desert the MSS. altogether, in order to adopt a uniform system of inflection.

From a survey of the MS. tradition in reference to the inflection of all the -αω verbs, it will be seen that the burden of proof is thrown on the adherents of the ε forms. No less than 38 verbs invariably contract *a* with a following *o* sound, and in a large majority of those which show any trace of ε (in *CPd*), the testimony is such that we may fairly conclude that they were contracted<sup>2</sup>. In respect of the others, notably ὀράω, εἰσπράω, φοιτάω, the archetype was in a state of such confusion that we are utterly unable to discover the original readings of an inflection consistent with itself. Thus ὀρῶ, ὀρῶμεν, ὀρῶσα but ὀρέων, φοιτέοντος, &c., but φοιτῶσα would seem to have stood in the archetype.

With our present evidence it is impossible to demonstrate whether the ε forms of *CPd* are survivals of the original scheme

<sup>1</sup> See footnote, p. 93. We have been unable to compare throughout the readings of *s* and *r*, which undoubtedly deserve a higher place than that accorded them by Stein. Their contractions support those of *AB* and *R*.

<sup>2</sup> These are ἀμιλλάομαι, ἀράομαι, δαπανάω, δοκέω, κείμαι, μέδομαι, πορεύομαι, πλανάομαι, τελευτάω, τιμῶ, φυσάω. In the case of τελέω, μηχανάομαι, ὀρνέω the fluctuation is greater, but the bulk of the evidence tends towards contraction.



of inflection not adopted by the archetypal MS., or whether they are mere errors of μεταχαρκτηρισμός. We incline to the belief that the readings in question in *P* and *C* (apart from the question of the peculiar *ew* in *C*) do not antedate those of *A B + Rec.* The attempt has been made to refer *C*'s *ew* to an original type, but it failed; and was in fact withdrawn (in part) by its author<sup>1</sup>. It is significant, as regards the *ew* of *C*, that the hyper-Ionic *ew* appears in the inflection of nouns in this MS. Cf. § 480. We have little hesitation in regarding the *ew* as the work of a copyist who thought to give a specially Ionic tone to the inflection of verbal forms. If ὀρέω is a genuine form in Hdt., it may have been the exemplar followed in the construction of *C*'s *ew*.

*Verbs in -aw in the pseudo-Ionists.*

689.] *a + ε, ει* become *ā* regularly in the imitators of Herodotos and Hippokrates with but few exceptions (§ 688, 2, 3). In 39 out of 56 verbs *a* contracts with an *o* sound to *ω*. There is no complete agreement between Herodotos and the pseudo-Ionists as to which verbs have *ε* in place of *a*; nor do the later Ionists agree with each other. Arrian contracts ὀράω, while Aretaios prefers ὀρέω. When Arrian does not have *-ew* for *-aw*, he contracts. Many of the forms used by him are those which are usually, or invariably, contracted in Herodoteian, as well as in Attic, prose. Arrian has ὀρώμενα 30<sub>6</sub> and καθορώσω 32<sub>6</sub>, 37<sub>4</sub> which vary as to their form in the MSS. of Hdt. The *Vita Homeri* always contracts. In Herodotos there are 13 contracted verbs which are used in the contracted form by the Ionic writers of the age of Hadrian.

*Forms in *ev* from Verbs in -aw.*

690.] In a few *-aw* verbs, and chiefly in those in which the *o* of the stem is preceded by a vowel or a diphthong, the MSS. of the prose writers contain forms in which *oo*, *oov*, and *oe* are apparently contracted to *ev*. Most of these peccant forms occur in Herodotos, all modern critical editions of whose text are disfigured by their adoption. To cite merely those examples which have the unanimous support of the MSS.<sup>2</sup>:

(1) *oo*, *oov* = *ev*. (A) A vowel precedes. ἀνδρευμένω Hdt. I 123, ἀγισμένω V 106, -μεθα IX 26, -μενος I 199, VII 16 (inst.), IX 111, δικάσενω I 133. II 47, III

<sup>1</sup> Johansson, *De derivatis verbis contractis* pp. 139 ff., but see *B. B.* XV 174.

<sup>2</sup> See Spreer p. 17, Merzdorf, *Studien* VIII 218.

8, IV 186, -εόντες IX 42, δικάειν III 79, VI 73, 138, IX 19, -όντες III 29, ἀπαιέμεθα IX 26, ἐξομαίευντες III 24, ὁμοιούμενοι VII 50, ἀπαιέμενοι IV 148, ἀποσιέμενοι IV 203. Variations in favour of *ev* are found in the case of θηίδης (V 89 in *r*), παριστάμαι (VIII 140 *a* in *R*). (B) A consonant precedes. In Hdt. VIII 78 *Ps* have περικυλόντες, the other MSS. -όντες (*A B C b*), or -όντες (*B*), and in VIII 16 *R* has ἐκυλόντες, the other MSS. -όντες; III 131 μι-σθύνται in *CPds*, VIII 59 στεφανύνται in *R*. On σταθόμενοι, ξυρέμενοι, see § 688, 4.

(2) *oe = ev*. A vowel always precedes in Hdt. An attempt has been made in certain MSS. to contract *oe* to *ev*: δικάειν I 100 (-*ev* in *A*), III 52 and 148 (*CPds*, -*ev* *A B R*), 118 (*C?*, *s*), IV 154 (*s*), δικάειν VI 82 (*ds*). No form has the support of all the MSS.

In Hippocrates we find δικάίεσσι, the vulgate reading, III 524 and 526 (-*ούσω* in 10 MSS.), ἀποκληρέουσιν IV 192 (-*ούσω* gloss *FG*), πληρέμενοι I 624 (-*ev* *A*), VI 84 (Galen -*ev*). Perhaps these forms are from *-ow*. In VIII 78 Littré edits πλεγειόμενον where *θ* has the *ev* form.

In the pseudo-Ionists we find δικάεισι *Syr. des* 54, ἐξιδέσι Euseb. Mynd. 17, 29, ἐξιδέστας 42, ὁμοιούμενοι 63.

All of the above mentioned forms are the result of hyper-Ionizing tendencies which affected even the archetypal MS. of Herodotos. This is certain from the following reasons: (1) Of the verbs in question almost all have many forms, in other passages than those cited, in which *oo*, *oov*, *oe* contract to *ov* in all the MSS. The remainder show in the aorist or perfect that they are *-ow*, not *-ew* verbs. (2) Even if some of these forms can be explained from *-ew* verbs, this would not apply to such cases as ἐδικαίειν (for *-oe*). (3) In the case where it is known that doublets in *-ow*, *-ew* existed, we are prevented by other reasons from assuming the presence of an *-ew* verb. The rule of Thomas Magister (κυκλέω τὸ στρίφω, κυκλόω τὸ περιλαμβάνω) is not in place. (Cf. Hdt. III 76 and Anacr. 129.)

The forms in *ev* instead of *ov* < *oo*, *oov* are due to the ignorance of grammarians who did not distinguish between Ionic *ov* < *oo*, *oov*, *oe* and Attic *ov* < *oo*, *oov*, *oe* and *eo*. *ev* thus seemed specifically Ionic. That *ov* < *oe* was not changed to *ev* in the archetype of Hdt. is evident from the fact that the comparison of an *-ew* verb<sup>1</sup> deserted the theorist. ἐδικαίειν had to be compared with ἐποίει (-*ee*), δικάειν with ποιεῖν (-*eeiv*) and not with \*ἐποίειν, \*ποιεῖν. The forms in those MSS. in which *oe* is contracted to *ev*, are merely analogues of those in which *oo*, *oov* became *ev* in the archetype.

<sup>1</sup> ποιεῖσι (ποίησιν : ποιεῖσι (ποίησιν) :: δικάεισι (δικαίειν : δικαίεισι (δικαίειν)). The confusion may have been assisted by the knowledge that there did exist verbs in both *-ow* and *-ew*. Examples are: ἀνείω, ποιεῖω I 242, ὀργίω Hippokr. IV 248, ὀργίω Hdt. VI 121, μαστιγέω Hdt. I 114, μαστιγέω III 16 ὀργίω, -*ew* § 687, 3. For other doublets (facitiven) in *-ow*, *ow*, see von der Horden, *Denominativa* p. 121.

In three cases in Herodas *ev* is written for *ov*: *χασκεύσῃ* 4<sub>41</sub>, *τεμεῖσα* 4<sub>41</sub>, *δραμεῦσα* 5<sub>41</sub>. This *ev* stands for *εov* *καλεῦσα* &c. The confusion is then between *ev* (= *εov*) and *ov*, and is different from that discussed above.

### MI Conjugation.

In the following §§ attention is directed chiefly to the substitution of the *ω* inflection for that in *μi*. This substitution does not occur in the first person present indicative, and in general is such that the older co-exists with the younger conjugation, never abandoning the field to its successor.

691.] Indicative Present. 1. Second Person Singular: *δίδoίς* (*Iliad* I 164) *Hdt.* V 18, VIII 137. *Theog.* 1162 has the non-epic *δίδως*, according to the reading of *Stobaios* (*δίδου* *Bergk.*). *δallύεις* *Archil.* 27<sub>2</sub> (the uncompounded verb is poetical in early Greek, and occurs in the present only), *προσαπολλύεις* *Hdt.* I 207. *περνᾶς* is a conjecture for *περνᾶς* in *Hipponax* 52 (cf. frag. 46 and *Hesychios*' *περνᾶς*). On *ἐξεπίστεαι* *Hdt.* VII 104, 135, see §§ 605, 688, 1.

2. Third Person Singular: *τίθησι* (*Δ* 83) *Sim. Amorg.* 1<sub>2</sub>, *Theog.* 589, *Solon* 4<sub>34</sub>, 13<sub>61</sub>, 26<sub>2</sub>. *τιθεῖ* (*N* 732) *Mimn.* 1<sub>1</sub>, 5<sub>7</sub>, *Theog.* 282, *Xenophan.* 1<sub>2</sub> (conj.), *Hdt.* I 113, 133, IV 73 (*παπατιθεῖ* in *R*, other MSS. -*τίθησι* retained by *Stein* only), V 95, VII 35, *Hippokr.* I 622. *Merzdorf's* *τιθέει* is out of place in *Hdt.* and *Homer* never has *τιθέει*. An uncontracted form is unknown in those forms of *τίθημι* which represent the substitution of the *ω* for the *μi* conjugation.

*ἴησι* (*η* 130) *Xenophan.* 1<sub>7</sub>, *ἀφίησι* *Hippokr.* II 38, 152, III 256, *μεθίησι* VIII 310; *ἀπίησι* *Hdt.* VI 42 in *ABCd* (*ἀπiei* *Stein*, *Abicht*, *ἀπιεῖ* *Holder*, *Kallenberg*). *ἴει* (*προῖει* *B* 752, *μεθiei* or *-iei* *K* 121) occurs in *Hdt.* as follows: *ἀνίει* II 113, III 109, IV 28, *ἀπiei* II 96, *ἐξiei* I 6, 180<sup>1</sup>, 191, II 17, VI 20, VII 124, *κατiei* V 16, *μετίει* II 70, VI 37, 59. This, the traditional accentuation, is retained by *Bekker*, *Gaisford*, *Dindorf*, *Stein*, and *Abicht*. *Holder*, and *Kallenberg* (except in II 113) circumflex the forms. The paroxytone accent is often found in the MSS. in the subjunctive. *Hippokrates* has *ἀφiei* I 616, VI 370, 474 (*ἀφίησιν* *C*), VII 56, 572. *ἐξαιiei* VI 46, *δίiei* II 34 (*Littre* *διiei*), 38 (*δίiei* *vulgo*, *διiei* *E*, *Littre*; *ἀφίησιν* in the preceding line), V 492 (*Littre* *δίiei*), *μεθiei* VII 474, 572 *ter*.

*ἴστησι* *Hdt.* II 95, V 16, *Hippokr.* II 28, 32, V 608, 624, 710,

<sup>1</sup> Hence *ἀνίη*, *Cauer* 174, *Abu-Simbel*), should not be changed to *ἀνiei* with *Baunack*, *R. M.* XXXVII 472, who sees in this form the verb *ἴσθαι* = *εἶμαι*.

VI 558, 560, 566, 574; *ιστῆ* Hdt. II 143 (*ισταται ABCd*, Dindorf, Abicht), IV 103. Bredow would adopt only *ιστησι*.

*κίρνα* (*ἐκίρνα* η 182) Hdt. IV 52, 66.

*δίδωσι* (ρ 287) Archil. eleg. 16, Solon 13<sub>ss</sub>, Theog. 149, Hippokr. V 684, VI 556, Pherek. Leros 48 (?), Hdt. II 2 (-οῖ *Rdz*), 154, VIII 24. Against 70 occurrences of *δίδοι*, *δίδωσι* (Dindorf, Stein, Abicht, Holder) cannot maintain its ground in Herodotos<sup>1</sup>. *δίδοι* (I 519, δ 237, ρ 350<sup>2</sup>) Miletos 100<sub>γ</sub>, Samos 221<sub>18</sub>, Mimn. 2<sub>16</sub>, Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>44</sub>, Hdt. II 29, 48, III 119, and often, Hippokr. II 54, 676 (*ἐπαναδίδοι A*), VII 8, VIII 282, Pherek. Leros 44, Aretaios 6, 108, Lukian *Syr. dea* 8 (*τίθησι* in same chapter).

*ρήγνυσι* Hippokr. I 616, III 196, VII 486; *πήγνυσι* II 410, VI 574 (*πηγνύουσι* same page), *βώννυσι* IX 98. *σβέννυσι* Hippokr. VII 474 but *σβεννύει* II 342 (-νω *R*<sup>1</sup>, *S*<sup>1</sup>, Galen).

*δεικνύει* (Hsd. *W. D.* 451) Hdt. VII 37.

3. Third Person Plural<sup>3</sup>: *τιθείσι* (Π 262, β 125, and *Agamem.* 465, ch.) Hdt. I 20, II 91, 96, III 53 (-έαςι Stob.), IV 34, 67, VII 197; Attic *συντιθέαςι* IV 23 (-τιθείσι *R* and the editors), *προτιθέαςι* V 8 (-τιθείσι *r*). Hippokr. has *τιθέαςι* II 66, 76, 84. In VI 12 *A* has *ἀνατίθησι* which suggests *ἀνατίθεισι*. Lukian *Astrol.* 7 has *τιθέαςι*.

*λείσι* (Γ 152) Hdt. I 133, II 36, 87, IV 30 &c., Attic -άσι in *ἀπιάσι* I 194 (*Rdz*) and II 41 in all MSS. (rejected by all later editors except Dindorf). Hippokr. VI 368 has *ἀφιάσιν*, 488 *ἐννιάσιν* in θ, and so *vulgo* IX 332, Lukian *Syr. dea* 49 *ἐννιάσι*, 58 *ἀπιάσι*, 60 *bis* *ἀπιάσι* or *ἀπλάσι* (in one case *ἀπιάσι* in *r*, in the other in *Aa*; Jacobitz edits both forms). In 29 the MSS. have *κατιάσι*. *ιστάσι* (N 336) Hdt. I 167, II 65, III 24, IV 160, V 16, 27, VI 38, but *ἀνιστρέαςι* V 79, in all MSS. (now rejected). Hippokr. V 680 has *ἐξιστάσι*, VI 374 *καθιστάσι* (θ has *καθίστασι*). Ktesias, *Pers.* 6, has *ιστάσι*, 52 *ἀφιστάσι* (cf. *qz* in Hdt. III 24, *d* in VI 38) with the same transference to the -ω conjugation that we observe in *παπαρινώσι* Samos 220<sub>ss</sub>, *περνάσι* Theog. 1215, Hippon. trim. 46<sub>1</sub> (*περνάσι C*), cf. 52. On *πιμπλάσι* see below (note 4).

*διδούσι* (T 265, a 313) Theog. 446, 514, 575, 591, 861, Hdt. II 30, 89 &c., Demokr. 13. The solitary case of -ούσι in Hdt.

<sup>1</sup> Cobet, *Mnem.* XI 124, says that in compounds we always have -οῖ, but the uncompounded -σι is sometimes found. *ὑπεδίδωσι* VIII 24 is one of the few cases of -σι, and that in a compound.

<sup>2</sup> *δίδοι* in Aeschylus' *Suppliants* 1010 is the only occurrence in Attic. Kirchhoff thinks the verse is interpolated.

<sup>3</sup> *τιθείσι*, *διδούσι*, *ζυγνύσι*, *ιστάσι* Choerob. 859<sub>ss</sub> (Hdt. II 133<sub>ss</sub>, 1860<sub>ss</sub> = An. Ox. IV 356<sub>ss</sub>, 357<sub>ss</sub>). Because of the open *ss* the Attic forms in -έαςι are called Ionic by Et. M. 177<sub>16</sub>, Theodos. Canon. p. 84, Hilgard Bekk. Anecd. 1046, . This mistake was not made by Apollonios. A *έαςι* is often assumed by the grammarians as Ionic.



(ἐκδιδάσσι I 93 in all MSS.), in view of the occurrence of -οῦσι nineteen times, should not have been retained by Dindorf. διδοῦσι is found in Hippokr. II 80 (ἀποδιδάσιν Littre), VI 60 (διαδίδουσιν A, -όασσι *vulgo*), VII 14, but διδύσσι is certain in II 240, VIII 480. The Κοινή frequently adopted διδοῦσι (Lobeck on Phrynich. p. 244).

δεικνῦσι Hdt. I 171, IV 8, V 45; δεικνύουσι I 209, II 86 *bis* (-ύασσι ABC<sup>1</sup>), III 119 (*Rde*), IV 168, V 45.

ἀπολλῦσι Hdt. IV 69 but προσαπολλύουσι VI 138. ἐσεργνῦσι II 86 (-ύουσι *Rd*; cf. δεικνύουσι II 86), κατεργνῦσι IV 69. ὀμνῦσι Hdt. IV 105 (-ύουσι *Rz*), ὀμνύουσι IV 172, V 7. Cf. ὀμνύετω T 175, ὤμνυε Ξ 278. ὤμνυον appears in an Attic inscription after 336 B.C., but ὀμνύναι is the regular form till the second century B.C. ὀμνυμι is the only -νυμι verb in Attic inscriptions before 200 B.C. that has passed into the -νω inflection. πηγνύουσι Hdt. IV 72 (-ῶσι *R*, Dindorf), Hippokr. VI 574. ῥηγνῦσι (P 751) Hdt. I 80 (this accent in *CP* only), -ύουσι Hippokr. V 632. Eurip. *Elektra* 1323 (anap.) has ζευγνῦσ'. Moiris and Thom. Mag. say that the forms in -ύουσι are Κοινή.

1. Reference has been made in § 585 to -αται, -ατο for -νται, -ντο, and to -εαται, -εατο. After ν, Hdt. always has -νται, never -αται; -ατο is found once (ἐναπεδεικνύατο IX 58), elsewhere ντο. ἀπόλλανται is found in Hippokr. V 676, *Syr. dea* 47, διασκεδαννύαται Euscb. *Mynd.* 63.

2. The accent of the 3 singular Present. In the above list of forms from post-Homeric Ionic the MS. accentuation has been retained. Barytone forms occur only in the compounds of ἵημι, as in Homer<sup>2</sup>, who has ἀνέεις E 880, μεθίεις Z 523, δ 372, ποτεῖ B 752 (and Hesiod frag. 202, μεθίει K 121 V. n. A &c.), but τιθεῖ α 192, N 732 (τίθει has slight support, διδοῖς I 164 Aristarchus, διδοῖ I 519, δ 237, δαμνῶ λ 221. Later modern editors, where they do not adopt the μι forms, edit -εῖς, -εῖ, except in the case of μεθίεις δ 372 (La Roche, Ludwig)).

Though there is no τιθεῖ or ἰεῖ, τιθεῖν in Theog. 286 and στυγεῖν in 565<sup>3</sup> show that both verbs have passed into the -εω inflection<sup>4</sup>. The perispomenon accent should therefore be introduced in Ionic texts in all cases, even in that of ἵημι, as there is no good reason why the present should be formed from ἰεω, while the imperfect is formed from ἰέω. The paroxytone<sup>5</sup> forms

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Et. M. 177, 37. Athenag. and Thom. Mag. support δεικνύασσι here.

<sup>2</sup> La Roche on E 880, H. T. k. 125, *Zeitschr. f. oesterr. Gymn.* 1876, p. 584 ff., von Bamberg, *Zeitschr. f. Gymn.-Wissen* XXVIII 28, Ahrens, *Gymn. auf μ* § 8 (= *Kl. Schr.* I 14, Cobet, *Misc. Crit.* 281, Mourou, *Hom. Gram.* § 18).

<sup>3</sup> Also in 1237 by Lachmann's conjecture, adopted by Bergk.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. also ἐτίθειν Gorgias 500 B (-ην is the better reading) and in late Greek.

<sup>5</sup> G. Meyer, *Gram.* § 71, says merely that if ἀνέεις, ἀνέει are correct, their accents are due to those of φέρεις, φέρει cf. Modern Greek διδω, διδεῖς, διδεῖν. Blass, *Gram.* § 286, accepts only the paroxytone accent as correct, but his explanation is as faulty as that of Ahrens. That there should be any parallelism between τιθεῖ, διδοῖ and the Attic forms, the latter should be τίθη, διδω (not τίθη, διδεῖ as they are reported) in which the long vowel could be shortened. And σι, assimilated from τι, does not lose its σ. If the



may be explained as possibly due to one or more of several reasons, (1) Influence of the accent of *τίθης*, *ἴης* &c., supported by a misapplied reference to the fact of the late shifting between *η* (*ηι*) and *ει*. (2) Influence of the accent of *τίθεισι*, *ἴεισι*, supposing the survival of a knowledge of this original accentuation; see under 3 below. (3) The difference in the MSS. between the paroxytone accentuation of *ἴημι* and the perispomenon of other *μι* verbs might be explained as due to a mistaken tendency to equate the present with the imperfect; since these two tenses, in the case of *ἴημι* alone, are alike, apart from the quantity of the augmented syllable. Cf. *πρῶτοι* A 326 and 336, B 752 and Γ 118, imperfect and present. (4) Confusion with *εἴμι*<sup>1</sup> may have assisted the vicious accentuation in the singular. In the plural we find cases of *-λασι* (*sic*) in Hippokrates (rarely), Lukian, and Athenaios. That the transformation of *ἴημι* to *ἴω* has been accomplished in late Greek is beyond doubt. Cf. *ἀφελόμεν* = *ἀφίλομεν* in the N. T. and on an inscription from Ampa, C. I. G. 2131 B 15. The difficulty lies in the substitution of *ἴω* for *ἴημι* in an early period of the language<sup>2</sup>. *ἴω* for *ἴημι* would be parallel to *ἔω* for *εἴμι*, but *ἴω* lacks analogies. If genuine, *ἴω* took its rise in the indicative, not in the optative; for, in Ionic at least, *ἀφίεσθε* could suggest only *ἴω*, not *ἴω* which might be sought in Attic *ἀφίετε*. At all events the existence of *ἴω* once assumed, *ξύνει* and *μεμετειμένος* (§ 701, 3) were constructed from the stem *ι*, and eventually displaced the genuine *ξυνίει* and *μεμετειμένος*. *ξυν-ί-ε-τε*, it may be remarked, could be analyzed as *ξυν-ί-ε-τε*.

3. The accent of the 3 plural Present. The original forms of the 3 plur. of *τίθημι* and *δίδωμι*, *\*τίθᾱτι* and *\*διδᾱτι* (cf. Skt. *dādāhāti* and *dādāti*), were supplanted in primitive Greek by *τίθεντι* and *δίδουσι* (retained in Doric). Their direct descendants would be *τίθεισι* and *δίδουσι*, which may have been thus accented in Homer<sup>3</sup>. So too *ῥήγνυσι* from *\*ῥήγνυντι*. When *-νν-ασι* < *-νν-αντι*<sup>4</sup> had displaced the older ending of the verbs in *-ννμι*, *-ασι* was transferred thence to *τίθεισι* &c., and *τιθέᾱσι*, *διδᾱάσι*, *\*ιστᾱάσι* came into existence. *\*ιστᾱάσι* became *ιστᾱάσι*, and in its train followed *τιθεῖσι*, *διδούσι*, *ῥήγνυσι*, i. e. the accent of *ιστᾱάσι* was adopted, the form of *τίθεισι* &c. retained. See Osthoff, *M. U.* IV 289.

paroxytone forms are correct, I should find in *διδούσι* the cause of the perispomenon; for *διδούσι* is apparently = *δηλούσι*. Then *ἀνεί* could follow as an analogue of *διδού*.

<sup>1</sup> Frequent in cod. C of Hdt. in the imperfect. Cf. Hippokr. II 686 (*δίλει*, *δίλει*, Hdt. V 107 (*ἀνεί*, *ἀνεί*) and in many other places. In the subjunctive the interchange of the forms of the two verbs is especially common in the MSS. The existence in late Greek of a present *ἴω* and *εἴω*, by-forms of *εἴμι*, also brought with it the possibility of confusion with *ἴημι*. Cf. the following glosses of Hesychios: *πρῶτοι*, *ἀνεί*, *ὄπαιτοι*, *ὄπαιτοι*, *δίλειται*, *ἴεται*, *πρῶτοι* and *πρόσιμιν*; *ἐνείτω* (Cauer<sup>1</sup>, no. 30), *εἴλει* (C. I. G. IV 9540), *ἐνείτω* = *εἴλει* (Gortyna Code, V 36). Homeric *λέλην*, though probably an analogue of *εἴλει*, presents a resemblance to *λέλην*. Scholars who accept *ἀνεί* in the present indic. in Hdt., accept, as a rule, *ἀνίη* in the subj. But Bredow and Blass defend both *ἀνεί* and *ἀνίη*.

<sup>2</sup> *ξύνει* c. l. A 273.

<sup>3</sup> Holder adopts the proparoxytone accent even in Hdt. The MSS. of Homer (cf. Schol. Ven. A on Γ 152) and Hdt. have the circumflex forms. Traces of the acute are very slight. We are ignorant of the accent of the Homeric period, and when, if correct at all, *-εῖσι*, *-ουσι*, *-νσι* were changed to *-εῖσι* &c.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Skt. *-nur-anti*, and *nu-anti* = *ν-αντι*.

4. *πίμπλημι* has four sets of forms in Ionic. (1) *πίμπλημι* in *ἐμπλήσθω* Hippokr. VII 10, cf. Hesiod frag. 173<sub>2</sub> and W. D. 301 MSS) where *πλήσθω* is now unnecessarily read; *ἐμπιπλεῖς* Hippokr. VII 26, *πιμπλεῖσαι* in Hesiod, Theog. 880 is the preferable reading *Μ* to *πιμπλεῖσαι*, *Γα* = *-εουσα*. *ἐμπιπληθι* or *ἐμπίμπληθι* Φ 311 is formed like *δίδωθι*. *πιπλη* was Doric and Attic (cf. Suidas s. v.). Forms containing *πλά*, weak ablaut form of *πλη* *ἀναπλάμεν* Hdt. VI 12, *πίμπλαται* Hesiod, Scut. 429, Hippokr. VII 8, 12, 30, 124, 244, Hdt. II 93, Aret. 111, *ἐπίμπλατο* Hdt. III 108, *-ετο* *PR* as *πιμπλάντι* 3 662, κ 248, υ 349. *ἐπιμπλέατο* for *-πλάντο* occurs in Hdt. III 88; Dindorf, Abicht *-πλάτο*. *ἐμπιπλάσθω* Hippokr. VII 30, *πίμπλασθαι* Hdt. II 93, *ἐμπιπλάμενοι* I 212, VIII 117. Cf. *πιμπλάνεται* Iliad 1679. 2 *πίμπλαμι* in *πιμπλάω* Φ 23, Hdt. II 40, *ἐμπιπλάω* IV 72, *ἀποπιμπλάω* II 129. (3) *πιμπλῶν* in *ἐμπιπλῶντα* Hippokr. VII 20 (*ἀντα* in θ; cf. Republic 586 B, *πιμπλῶσαι* V 244. Cf. *πιμπλάω* in Plutarch, Diodoros, Dio Cass. 4 *πιμπλέω* in *ἐμπιπλεῖ* Hdt. VII 39 (*-έει* R, *-πιπλά* Stob., *-πιπλά* Maximus., Hippokr. VII 18, *-πιπλά* J. Korte (n.), the same treatise as that containing *ἐμπιπλεῖς*, *ἐμπιπλῶντα* or *-άντα*. Some forms cannot be referred positively to one of the above classes, e. g. *πίμπληται* Hdt. VII 37 (*-ήται* *PCorr.*, ε), *ἐμπίπληται* Hippokr. VII 30 ε. *-ήται* Littré, *πιμπλῶνται* VI 102.

Whatever the relation of *πίμπλημι* with pan-Hellenic *η* and *πίμπλάμεν* to Skt. *pipraṃi*, *pipraṃas*, and the probability or improbability of the existence in Indo-European of an inflection *-ημι*, *-άμεν*<sup>1</sup>, there is no doubt that *πιμπλάμεν*, *ἐπίμπλατο* &c. were regarded as parallels of *ἵσταμεν*, *ἵστάτο*. Hence *πιμπλημι* = *ἵστημι*, with Ionic Attic *η*, and *πιμπλάω* *ἵστῃ*. Dindorf indeed would adopt in Hdt. only the forms from *-άμι*, *-αω*. The analogy with *τίθημι*, on the other hand, led to the type *πιμπλέω* *τιθεῖ*. The coexistence of *πιμπλέω* and *πιμπλῶω* is therefore not to be explained on the principle mentioned in § 688, 1.

5. *πίμπρημι* is inflected like *ἵστημι* in *ἀντενέπιμπρασεν* Hdt. V 102, *ἐμπιπράς* VIII 109, *ἐμπιπραμένου* I 19. *ἐνέπιμπρη* I 17 recalls the v. l. *ἐμπιπρῆς* A B in VIII 109 and *ἵστη*, which is not above suspicion. Dindorf (*Principatio XXXVIII*) would read *-πίμπρα*.

692.] Imperfect. 1. *ὑπερετίθεα* (1 Person) Hdt. III 155. 2. Improper 'uncontracted' forms of the 3 Person are *προετίθεε* Hdt. I 206 (*R* alone has a different reading: *προετίθετο*), VIII 49. Following Bredow, the recent modern editors (Stein, Abicht, Kallenberg, and Holder) wrongly edit *περιετίθεε* in VI 69 against all the MSS. (*περιετίθει*: adopted by Dindorf). Homer has *ετίθει*, never *-εε*. *ἀρίεε* is found in IV 125 (*R* correctly *ἀρίει*, and so the editors), *ἀρίει* IV 152, *ἀρίει* IV 157, V 42, 107, *ἡρίει* Hippokr. V 414, *ἡφίει* V 228 (cf. *ἀφίει* C. I. A. II 306<sub>15</sub>—287 B.C.).

*ἵστα* Hdt. II 106 (*R* *ἵστη*), VI 61, *κατίστα* VI 43, but *ἀρίστη* I 196, *ἐρίστη* II 102. Dindorf edits *ἵστα* throughout, Stein, Abicht (except in II 102), Kallenberg, Holder (*ἵστη* in II 106) retain the MS. readings. Bredow would adopt *ἵστη* throughout.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Brugmann, *M. U.* I 44, *Gram* § 115 c, *Grundr.* II, p. 935, Bechtel, *Lauflehre*, pp. 191, 242, Fröhde, *B. B.* IX 119, Collitz, *B. B.* XVIII 217 note.

Homer has *ἀνίστη*, but *ίστη* and *καθίστα* in the imperative. A like variation is not to be denied to Herodotos.

*ἐδίδουν* Hdt. VI 86 a (first person), Hippokr. V 126, VIII 446 (third), *ἐδίδου* Theog. 916, Hdt. I 208, III 128 &c., Hippokr. V 158, IX 380, as C. I. A. II 811 C 110, 323 B.C. Homer has *ἐδίδους*, *ἐδίδου*.

*ἐδείκνυε* Hdt. I 112, II 162, IV 150, cf. § 699; *ἐζεύγνυε* (cf. T 393) Hdt. IV 89. The third plural has *ἐτίθεσαν* Hdt. I 144, *ἔσαν* IX 135, Hippokr. III 94 &c., *ἐδείκνυσαν* Hdt. I 30, II 144, IX 80, not *ἐδείκνυνον*, *ἐζεύγνυσαν* (Ω 783) VII 33, 36, *ἐπεζεύγνυνον* VII 36, *ἀπώλλυνον* Hippokr. VII 576.

693.] Aorist. 1. Forms with  $\kappa^1$  are *ἔθηκα* Archil. 74<sub>2</sub>, Solon 13<sub>22</sub>, 36<sub>13</sub>, Theog. 196, Sim. Keos 120<sub>4</sub> &c., Hdt. I 113, IV 196, *ἀνέθηκαν* Olbia 129<sub>11</sub> (late), Naukratis 139 C 3 (fourth century); *ἔθήκαο* Hdt. VII 15, -ατο I 26, V 69 (Lukian, *Syr. dea* 25), -αυτο Hdt. II 160, IV 65, VI 21, 108, VII 125, IX 53, *θηκάμενοι* Theog. 1150. Cf. *θήκατο* K 31. *ἔξυνῆκεν* Anakr. 146; cf. Alkaios *ἔσυνῆκε*; *ἐπῆκαν* Hdt. VII 176 &c., *μεθῆκε* Hippokr. VII 570, *μετήκαν* Hdt. V 120. *ἔδωκαν* Hdt. I 89, Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>22</sub>, Theog. 813, 1057.

2. Second Aorists are *ἔθεσαν* Archil. 9<sub>6</sub> eleg., Bechtel no. 261 of uncertain provenance, Miletos 93, 94, Keos 40 (*ἀνHΘHσαν*), Hippokr. VI 486, *ἀνέθεν* (poetical) Sim. Keos 134<sub>2</sub>. *ἔδοσαν* Theog. 272, 463, Iasos 105<sub>8</sub>, Hdt. VI 21. Middle *ἔθεν* Hdt. VII 209.

3. Aorist Passive: *ἔθέθην* Kumai, Roberts I 174 = *ἐτέθην* Hdt. IV 45, *μετείθη* I 114, *ἀπείθην* VII 122.

694.] Perfect. *προέστατε* Hdt. V 49 (-έατε 2). *ἔστᾱσι* occurs over 20 times in Hdt. without any variant; hence we may correct *ἀρεστέασι* III 62, *κατεστέασι* I 196 (CP, other MSS. -εστεαται for -εστανται<sup>2</sup>), II 70 (-εᾱσι 2), II 84 (-εᾱσω C), IV 63 (-εᾱσι d). Mimn. 12<sub>10</sub> has *ἔστᾱσι* (-εστήκασι 2<sub>8</sub>) Pluperfect *ἔστασαν* Hdt. IV 79.

*τέθειμαι* (by analogy with *εἶμαι*) is foreign with Attic inscriptions; but in a Smyrnaian inscription (Dittenb. *Syll.* 171), we find *συντέθειμαι* l. 62, 71, 93, with which cf. Kretan *προεκτεθείμεθα*. The Smyrnaian inscription cannot be regarded as Ionic evidence, though it contains not a few non-Attic forms.

*ἀρέωιται*<sup>3</sup> Hdt. II 165 contains the ω(η) ablaut of *ἵημι* trans-

<sup>1</sup> Attic inscriptions employ, with rare exceptions, till 300 B.C., the forms without  $\kappa$  in the dual and plural.

<sup>2</sup> *ἔσταμαι* is very unusual: Plato, Polybios.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Hdn. II 236, = Et. M. 176<sub>15</sub>. The Et. M. and Et. Gud. 96<sub>11</sub> call the *eo* forms Attic. Suidas (s.v. ἀφείκα) says that ἀφείκα is Doric, but also used by the Ionians (Herodotos). Bekk. Anecd. 470<sub>11</sub> calls ἀφείκα Doric, ἀφείκατε Attic. Hdn. compares πέπτηκα πέπτακα with ἔφακα ἔφακα. ἔφακα would be paralleled by τέθηκα, which might have been the exemplar for πέπτακα.

ferred from the active  $\xi\omega\kappa\alpha$  to the middle. Cf.  $\alpha\pi\epsilon\acute{\omega}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$  Herakl. Tables I 153,  $\alpha\phi\epsilon\acute{\omega}\sigma\theta\omega$  Arkadian C. D. I. 1222<sub>14</sub>,  $\alpha\phi\epsilon\acute{\omega}\nu\tau\alpha\iota$  in Matthew IX 2, 5, Mark II 5, Luke V 23.

Hdt. has elsewhere  $\epsilon\iota$ :  $\alpha\pi\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha\iota$  II 65 Hrd. 4<sub>34</sub>,  $\alpha\pi\epsilon\iota\tau\omega$  VIII 49,  $\alpha\pi\epsilon\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$  II 167, VII 103,  $\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\iota\sigma\theta\omega$  IV 98 from  $\ast\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$  &c., but  $\mu\epsilon\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\mu\epsilon\nu\omega\varsigma$  § 701 3). Bredow regarded  $\alpha\pi\epsilon\iota\omega\tau\alpha\iota$  as a Dorism and wished to read  $\alpha\pi\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha\iota$ .

**695.] Subjunctive Present.** 1. Singular. The MSS. of Herodotos have  $-\iota\eta$ , not  $-\epsilon\eta$ , in the 3 sing. of  $\iota\eta\mu\iota$  ( $\alpha\pi\iota\iota\eta$  IV 190,  $\epsilon\pi\iota\iota\eta$  VII 161,  $\pi\alpha\rho\iota\iota\eta$  III 72), and Hippokr. has  $\alpha\phi\iota\iota\eta$  VI 24,  $\mu\epsilon\theta\iota\iota\eta$  VI 222, VII 474,  $\alpha\iota\iota\eta$  VII 56 ( $-\iota\eta$  *E H*  $\theta$ ,  $-\eta$  *ru*  $\theta\alpha$ ). The perispomenon accent is correct, since the plur. is  $\alpha\pi\iota\acute{\epsilon}\omega\tau\iota$ . In Attic there are a few instances of  $-\iota\eta$  in the books. In Theog. 94 the MSS. have  $\iota\eta\sigma\iota$ , for which we substitute  $\iota\eta\sigma\iota$  with Bekker, not  $\epsilon\iota\eta\sigma\iota$  with Bergk. Homer has  $\mu\epsilon\theta\iota\eta\sigma\iota$  N 234.  $\iota\sigma\tau\eta\mu\iota$  yields  $\alpha\iota\iota\sigma\tau\eta$  Hdt. VII 53. From  $\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\omega\mu\iota$  we have  $\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\omega$  Theog. 186, Hdt. II 13 (MSS.  $-\omega\iota$ , cf. Hrd. 2<sub>50</sub>, Aret. 26 where the analogy of the  $-\acute{\omega}\omega$  verbs gives us  $\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\omega\iota$ ), Hippokr. II 142, 260,  $\acute{\omicron}\mu\iota\iota\eta$  Thasos, *J.H.S.* VIII 402, 15.

Middle:  $\epsilon\pi\iota\sigma\tau\eta\tau\alpha\iota$  Hdt. VI 59,  $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\omega\tau\alpha\iota$  III 117 ( $-\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\omega\tau\alpha\iota$  *R*)<sup>1</sup>. For  $\rho\eta\iota\iota\eta\tau\alpha\iota$  Hippokr. VII 26, the older form is  $\rho\eta\iota\iota\eta\tau\alpha\iota$  Hipponax 194, the plural of which is  $\rho\eta\iota\iota\eta\tau\alpha\iota$  Hesiod *Scutum* 377. See § 618, 1, *a*.

2. Plural.  $\alpha\pi\iota\acute{\epsilon}\omega\sigma\iota$  Hdt. VII 226 ( $\alpha\phi\iota\acute{\omega}\sigma\iota$  *R*). Dindorf's  $\alpha\pi\iota\acute{\omega}\sigma\iota$  is wide of the mark.  $\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\omega\sigma\iota\omega$  Theog. 45, Hdt. III 45 &c.

Middle:  $\pi\rho\omicron\tau\iota\theta\acute{\omega}\mu\epsilon\theta\alpha$  Hdt. V 18 in all MSS. ( $-\epsilon\omega$  ?),  $\alpha\nu\alpha\pi\tau\eta\sigma\theta\epsilon$  IV 132 ( $\alpha\nu\alpha\pi\tau$ -Holder),  $\epsilon\pi\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omega\iota\tau\alpha\iota$  III 134,  $\alpha\phi\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omega\iota\tau\alpha\iota$  Hippokr. VIII 280, but  $\kappa\alpha\theta\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\omega}\iota\tau\alpha\iota$  in  $\theta$ , same page. On  $\delta\upsilon\nu\epsilon\acute{\omega}\mu\epsilon\theta\alpha$ , see § 618, 1, *b*.

**696.] Subjunctive Second Aorist.** 1. Singular. (1)  $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\theta\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ <sup>2</sup> Hdt. I 108, Hippokr. II 346, 358 ( $\theta\acute{\omega}$  in Hrd. 5<sub>11</sub>, 7<sub>113</sub> (?) should be  $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ ).  $\alpha\phi\acute{\epsilon}\omega$  Hipponax 75, Hrd. 5<sub>74</sub>,  $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\delta\acute{\omega}$  Hdt. V 106. (2)  $\theta\eta\varsigma$  Theog. 276, Hrd. 5<sub>13</sub>,  $\alpha\phi\eta\varsigma$  Hippokr. VII 30,  $\delta\eta\varsigma$  Theog. 244,  $\delta\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  Hdt. III 53. (3)  $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\theta\eta$  Teos 158<sub>7</sub> (late).  $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\theta\eta$  Hdt. VI 109,  $\mu\epsilon\theta\eta$  Hippokr. VII 570, 572,  $\alpha\phi\eta$  572, VIII 112,  $-\sigma\tau\eta$  Hdt. VII 53, VIII 130, Hippokr. VI 368,  $-\beta\eta$  Theog. 974, 1014, Hdt. II 13, 68, VII 209,  $\delta\acute{\omega}$  Theog. 13<sub>55</sub>,  $\gamma\eta\acute{\omega}$  990,  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\acute{\omega}$  Hdt. I 84. For  $\eta\iota\nu$ ...  $\delta\acute{\omega}\eta$  Hippokr. II 256 (cf. 318) read  $\epsilon\iota$ ...  $\delta\acute{\omega}\epsilon\eta$ .

(4) Middle:  $-\theta\acute{\epsilon}\omega\mu\alpha\iota$  Hdt. V 24 &c. (and so to be read Hrd. 8<sub>9</sub> for  $\theta\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha\iota$ ),  $-\theta\eta$  VI 109,  $-\theta\eta\tau\alpha\iota$  Halikarn. 238<sub>33</sub>, Hdt. I 29, &c.,  $-\delta\acute{\omega}\tau\alpha\iota$  Erythr. 204<sub>1</sub>.

2. Plural. (1)  $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\omega}\mu\epsilon\nu$  Hdt. III 81,  $\sigma\acute{\tau}\acute{\epsilon}\omega\mu\epsilon\nu$  Hdt. IV 115,

<sup>1</sup> In this accent nothing Ionic is to be sought. it is the ordinary variation from Herodian's rule

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Hesychios s. v.

Hippokr. VI 112, -βέωμεν Hdt. VII 50, -δῶμεν V 91. (2) -δῶτε IX 87. (3) θέωσι IV 71, -στέωσι I 155, III 15 (but φέωσι IV 68), δῶσι Solon 139, Hdt. VI 133, &c., ἀλλῶσι II 93.

(4) Middle: θάμεθα Theog. 983 should be θεάμεθα; -θέωνται Hdt. I 194, VII 191, VIII 4.

697.] **Subjunctive Aorist Passive.** εω is left open in the 1 and 3 plural (exceptions are to be corrected, § 634, 2), while εη is always contracted in prose and poetry. Hippokrates agrees with Herodotos.

698.] **Optative.** δίδοιη Hdt. I 86, Hippokr. II 168, VIII 480, -δίδοι VII 562; δοίην Hdt. IX 111, δοίη IX 94, δοίητε (not δοίτε) VII 135 (cf. φθαίητε VI 108), δοίεν Hippokr. II 240 but δοίησαν Hdt. 31, γνοίη Hdt. I 134, IV 74, γνοίησαν Hippokr. I 622; ἐπέη Hdt. III 113; ἀποδεικνύοιμεν II 15; καθιστήκοι Hippokr. IX 380.

τιθείμην Tyr. 121; προθείτο Hdt. III 148 is opposed by προσθέοιτο I 53 *dis*, ὑποθέοιτο VII 237. In III 41 Aldus' ὑποτίθοιτο was adopted by Bredow, Dindorf, and Abicht. προθείτο is abandoned by Bredow, Krüger, Abicht, and Kallenberg, retained by Bekker, Dindorf, Stein, and Holder, but not to the exclusion of -θείτο. The latter's εοι recalls Hom. εἰς, εἰ, and ἐνέοι in Hdt. VII 6, where οι from the ω verbs is added to the stem. If Attic -θοίτο, &c. are formed, as Curtius, *Verbum* II 107, maintains, by the substitution of ο for ε, Attic and Ionic adopted different methods of breaking down the μι inflection. Rather than accept such a conclusion, we prefer to explain the Attic forms as arising from εοι.

ξυνιστῶτο occurs in Hippokr. VI 82. In Hdt. IV 166 Schweighäuser read ἐπαισίστατο (for -έαιτο *AB*, -εαιτο *CPR*).

699.] **Imperative.** 1. Present. τίθει (A 509) Archil. 56, (*vulgo*), Hippokr. VII 440, VIII 170, 380. Archil. 43 has ἴστη as Φ 313 (καθίστα I 202); δίδου Theog. 4, 1303, Hdt. III 140. As if from ἴω, ξύνιε Theog. 1240 (better ξυνίει, as a 271, Buttmann, *Gram.* I 523), but ξυνίετε<sup>1</sup> Archil. 50, as Kratinos II 123, *Peace* 603. ὅλλυ' Archil. 27, shows that the μι form may be abandoned even before a short vowel<sup>2</sup>.

Middle: τίθεσο Theog. 1096, ἐπίστασο Hdt. VII 39, 209.

2. Second Aorist. στήθι Theog. 1366, ἐπίβῃ 847, μέτεσ Hdt. I 37, 39.

<sup>1</sup> The long ι is due to the confusion, which began as early as Homer (A 234) with *φλεμαί* Hdt. II 70, IX 78).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *δελκνυ* Hesiod, *W. D.* 502, Plato, Xenoph., Demosth., *δελκνυ*, *δελκνυ* § 692, 2. *δελκνυ* Babrios 50, 10, Antiphon, &c., *δελκνυ* T 178, *δελκνυ* Attic inscriptions (δελκνυ Theog. 1195), *δελκνυ* μ 303, ε 437, ε 58, Thukyd., Attic inscriptions, *δελκνυ* κ 345, τ 288, Lysias, Babrios 50, 6.



Middle: ἐνθεο<sup>1</sup> Theog. 1321, ἔξεο Hdt. V 39.

3. Perfect. ἐστάρω Tyrt. 11<sub>28</sub>, μετέσθω Hdt. IV 98.

700 ] Infinitive. 1. -vai is the termination of the (a) *Present*, e.g. εἶναι (§ 709), τιθέναι, λέναι, ἰσθάναι &c., σβερύναι Hdt. II 66, μιγνύναι Hippokr. VII 142, VIII 502, ὀμύναι Hdt. IV 68, ζευγνύναι IV 189, δεικνύναι II 148, Theog. 771, κιννάναι Hippokr. VIII 244 (-άναι C G A). (b) *Second Aorist*. θεῖναι Hdt. IV 179, Theog. 577, κατεῖναι Hdt. VII 35, δοῦναι Theog. 561, 861 (from θεσεναι, ἔφεναι, δόφεναι)<sup>2</sup>; -δρῆναι Aret. 112. (c) *Aorist Passive*. τεθῆναι Hdt. II 42, Iasos *Mith.* XV 154, l. 2, 4, φαιῆναι Hippokr. I 624. (d) *Perfect*. ἐστηκέναι (rare) Hippokr. VIII 498, in Demosthenes and Attic inscriptions (C. I. A. II 812 C 149). Older forms are: ἐσθάναι Hdt. I 69, &c., Hippokr. III 324, -βεβάναι Hdt. III 146, V 86, τεθνάναι I 31, Sim. Amorg. 31 (the trimeter ends τεθνάναι χρόνος), Amphipolis 10<sub>10</sub>.

In *Mimn.* 210 the MSS. have αὐτίκα δὴ τεθνάναι βέλτιον ἢ βίωτος. Bergk, following Bach, read αὐτίκα τεθνάναι, Cobet (*Var. Lect.* 390, cf. *Mnem.* XI 124) suggested αὐτίκα δὴ θάνατος—not a felicitous emendation of Tyrt. 10<sup>1</sup>. Stephanus conjectured τεθνάναι. It is, however, possible to retain the MS. reading, since, though θν usually makes position, it need not do so. Cf. Sim. Keos 99<sub>1</sub> (eleg. : οὐδὲ τεθνᾶσι θανόντες, ἐπεὶ σφ' ἀρετῇ καθιπερθεῖν and τεθνᾶσιν *Septem* 805. Cf. Fick, *B. B.* XIII 175. τεθνάναι is well supported in Theog. 181 *dehn*, -άναι *hsgm*, -άμεναι *A*, and by a passage in the *Agamemnon* (539)<sup>3</sup>. We demur to Fick's displacement of τεθνάναι, Tyrt. 10<sub>1</sub>, by τεθνᾶναι. See below 3, note.) The evidence of the grammarians<sup>4</sup> in favour of τεθνάναι is all late and therefore untrustworthy, but the form is nevertheless correct. τεθνάναι is from τεθνᾶ-*fenai* (as ἀήναι from ἀη-*fenai*), not from τεθνᾶ-*vai* (Renner) or τεθνη-*enai* (Paley), both of which had given -ῆναι in Ionic. τεθνάναι is a younger form, since it contains the ending -vai, which was abstracted from the forms containing -*fenai*. No form in -vai present, aorist, or perfect, is archaic. -vai usurped the place of the older -μεν

2. -ειν<sup>5</sup> (by transference to the ω conjugation) τιθεῖν Theog. 286, Oropos 18<sub>26</sub>, 41-42, συντιεῖν Theog. 565, and 1237 by Lachmann's

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Tzet. *Exeg.* II 118.

<sup>2</sup> From these aorists and from λέναι, the -vai form spread, usurping the place of the older -μεν. Thus τιθέμεν preceded τιθέναι; otherwise we should have had a form τιθῆναι.

<sup>3</sup> χαίρω τι τεθνάναι δ' οὐκ ἀντερῶ θεοῖς, where Hermann has χαίρω θεοῖσι τεθνάναι δ' οὐκ ἀντερῶ, Dindorf χ. τι τεθνάναι δ' οὐκέτι δ. θ.; Euler χ γε &c. Ahrens, *Philologus*, Suppl. I 539, defends the genuineness of the MS. reading, which is not to be impeached because of the presence of this archaism.

<sup>4</sup> Et. tūd. 637, appendix, schol. *Frogs.* 1012, Thom. *Mag.* 355, Hort. *Adon.* 186, *Drakon* 39<sub>13</sub>, 108<sub>24</sub>. See Hermann on *Agam.* 517-539.

<sup>5</sup> Whatever the relations of the inf. in -ειν to that in -ειν, the suffix -ειν did not hold over into a later period of the dialect. Johansson's defence (*D. V. C.* 202) of I. E. *en* in Thasian ΟΦΕΙΑΕΝ (Bechtel, no. 71<sub>11</sub>) is vitiated by the parallel ΑΓΟΔΑΝΕΝ C. I. A. II 804 A 33 (334-33 B. C.), the last Attic inscription containing Ε = *en*.

conjecture for συνιδεῖν; καθιστᾶν Hippokr. VIII 498 (cf. ἰστᾶν in Eust. on N 745), διδοῦν Oropos 18<sub>21</sub>, 33, Theog. 1329 (διδόντ' MSS., διδοῦν<sup>1</sup> Hermann). ζωννύειν Hippokr. VIII 144, σβερνύειν Herakl. 103 (-ύναι Cobet) and in Diogenes' (IX) *Life of Herakleitos* § 2 (-ύην L, -ύναι M, Cobet). In the aorist we have μεταδοῦν Theog. 104 (Buttmann). We do not accept the elision, though it is indicated in many MSS. and attested elsewhere<sup>2</sup>. When διδοῦν was substituted for διδόναι, δοῦναι gave way to δοῦν (cf. δόμεν, δόμεναι). δ' οὖν has been emended to δοῦν in Phoinix of Kolophon (1<sub>20</sub>). Parmenides (66) has φῶν, an Erythraian inscription (*Berichte der Wiener Akademie* 1872, p. 335 f.) προστᾶν, Isyllos of Epidaurus ἐ[πι]θῆν, Hesychios φᾶν λέγειν<sup>3</sup>. ΕΙΔΕΙΝ, Epidaurus C. D. I. 3325<sub>118</sub>, is regarded by Prellwitz as = εἰδέραι. We expect the aorist however. Cf. the Aiolic inf. pass. ἀντέθην, &c.<sup>4</sup> On εἶν see § 709.

3. -μεναι is foreign to classic Ionic prose.

-μεναι is found occasionally in MSS. of Hdt., e.g. ἐστόμεναι I 17 (in all MSS. except A), ἀπιστόμεναι I 76 (Cds), IV 189 συζευγόμεναι (d). The pseudo-Ionists affect the form, e.g. Aretaios ἀνελθόμεναι 10, ἀνελθόμεναι 45, εἰδελθηόμεναι 207, and in θέμεναι 332, where its appearance would be more justifiable. From elmi we have ἔμεναι 68, 75, ἔμμεναι 11, 37, 38, 39, 47, 53, 97, 151, and Lukian, *Syr. dea* 4, 10, 14, 15, 17, 18, 33, 35, 46, *Astrol.* 26. In fact, while Arrian refuses to adopt ἔμμεναι, both Aretaios and Lukian prefer it to εἶναι; thus making of it one of the most strongly marked hyper-Ionisms of the late Ionic literature. Apart from these traces in Ionic, -μεναι scarcely exists in prose: ἀλεξόμεναι in the Spartan treaty preserved in Thukyd. V 77 is a poetical, not a Lakonian prose form. Hesychios has γισόμεναι εἰδέραι for which γισόμεν should be read. εἶμεναι in Acharn. 775 is not a Megarian prose form, whatever else it may be.

In the lyric (but not iambic) poets of Ionic birth -μεναι occurs rarely: ἔμμεναι Phokyl. 9, 14, 16 (εἶναι 12), ἔμναι Evmenos of Paros 9, (μεῖναι Fick) with εἶναι in verse 2, τιθέμεναι Anakr. 91<sub>2</sub> (-μενοι Götting, Hiller). Of the non-Ionic poets, Theognis uses -μεναι in θέμεναι 152, ἰόμεναι 221, φυλασσόμεναι 806, τεθρόμεναι 181 (in A only). [Solon] 13<sub>30</sub> has ἔμμεναι. In 22, Bergk edits εἰπέμεναι, following the scholiast and Proklos on *Timaios* 25 F. Aristotle, *Rhet.* I 15, who also quotes the passage, has, however, εἰπεῖν μοι (cf. Hdt. VIII 68 a), and this is correct. The longer form was taken from Ξ 501 (εἰπέμεναι μοι) and the pronoun

<sup>1</sup> διδοῦναι is an uncouth form handed down in A 415, where see Leaf. A parallel instance appears to be διδοῦναι θῆναι in Hesychios (διδεῖν<sup>2</sup>), but cf. διδοῦναι Delphi, Causer 230<sub>25</sub>.

<sup>2</sup> B. C. H. XIII 315, no. 22, (Paphlagonia): θρέντρα φίλοι ἀνδοῖσιν, οἱ ἑμὲ πότμον γούοντες. In l. 5 διδοῖσιν. Hesychios has ἀνδοῖν ἀνδοῦναι.

<sup>3</sup> On the range of these inf. in -ν, see Nauck *Ad. gramm.* IV 29.

<sup>4</sup> Brugmann, *Grundr.* II 2, p. 1417, thinks that δαῖν, εἶν, Aiolio -θην were originally locatives in -φαι.

omitted. Tyrtaios 10<sub>1</sub> has *τεθνάμεναι*, a conjectural form in *Mimn.* 2<sub>10</sub>. Wherever *-μεναι* occurs it is an epic reminiscence<sup>1</sup>.

According to Fick (*B. B.* XI 252, XIV 253, cf. *Class. Rev.* 1889. pp. 37. 91) *-μεναι* does not occur in the Ionic and Attic lyric before 540 B. C. This is true only if we expel *τεθνάμεναι* from Tyrtaios. See on *τεθνάω* § 700, 1.

4. *-μεν*<sup>2</sup> is not found except in poetry<sup>3</sup>: Theognis has *ἐρθέμεν* 430, *θέμεν* 845, 846, *δόμεν* 919. In 960 Bergk reads *εἶμεν* despite the fact that *Δ* has the more usual *ἦμεν*, a Doric form which reappears in the *Acharnians* 741, 771, though in the inscriptions the Megarian dialect has always *εἶμεν*. Dindorf has adopted *εἶμεν* in Aristophanes. *διδασκέμεν* seems sufficiently well attested, Phokyl. 13. Sim. Keos 31<sub>2</sub> has *μυγύμεν*. In Doric *-μεν* is widely used, but in the above mentioned poets it is an epic reminiscence.

701.] **Participle.** 1. *Present.* *τιθείς*, *ίείς* (*διείς* Hippokr. VIII 434, *διέντα* VIII 170, IV 162 are second aorists<sup>4</sup>), *ιστάς*, *διασκιδράς* Hdt. II 25, *κιννάς* Hippokr. VII 256, *ρήγιγς* Hdt. II 14, *ζευγνύς* I 206, but *-ύων* I 205, *δεικνύς* II 78 (*-δεικνύτες* Chios 174 B 14), but *-ύων* III 79, *-σβεννύων* Hippokr. VIII 162, *μυγνύς* VIII 504, *-μυγνύων* VIII 340, *-αγνύων* VII 530; *ὁμοίητες* Hdt. I 153 should be *ὁμνύτες* (cf. II 118), and *ἐκκρεμαίνετα* Hippokr. VIII 482, *-αννύτα*. 2. *Aorist.* *θείς*, *εἷς*, *στάς*, *ἀποκλάς* Anacr. 17<sub>1</sub> (only case of the second aorist of *κλάω*. Cf. *δύω*, *δύς*). *ἀνασταθείσα* Hdt. 6<sub>2</sub> = *ἀναστασα*, a use alien from prose. 3. *Perfect.* *ἔστεώς* from *\*ἔστηφώς* (Attic *ἔστώς* from *\*ἔστᾱφώς*) Hdt. I 132, &c., Ion of Chios 1, *ἔστεώτος* < *-ηφότος*, Hdt. II 38, &c., Hippokr. III 288, *ἔστεώτα* Hdt. I 65, &c., Hippokr. VIII 50. Attic forms are found occasionally in the MSS., e.g. Demokr. 205. Neuter *ἔστεός* Hippokr. IV 298. Fem. *ἔστεώσα* Hdt. V 92 (δ) is probably an analogue of *τιμῶσα*. *ἔσταότες* Aret. 121 is one of the epic<sup>5</sup> forms of late Ionic literature. On *τεθνεώς* (also Attic) and *τεθνηκώς*, &c., see § 604. The later perfect participle with *κ* is found in Halikarn. 238<sub>28</sub>, Teos 158<sub>5</sub>, Hdt. VI 140, VIII 79 (*-κότων*), II 126 (*-κνίαι*), Hippokr. II 44 (*-κνιῶν*, not *-κονσῶν*<sup>6</sup> *ru/go*).

The perfect middle of *ἵημι* is regularly formed with *-ει-* < *εε* in all cases but two: *ἀφέωνται* § 694, and *μεμετιμένος* = Attic

<sup>1</sup> Ionic: An. Par. IV 145<sub>13</sub>.

<sup>2</sup> The grammarians called *-μεν* either Ionic and Doric An. Par. III 346<sub>2</sub>, Et. Gud. 283, or Ionic and poetic An. Ox. I 132<sub>2</sub>, cf. 131<sub>1</sub>, Et. Gud. 220<sub>2</sub>.

<sup>3</sup> *εἶμεν* in Bywater's Herakl. (81) cannot be the original reading. *εἶσαι* in frag. 1 is a correct conjecture.

<sup>4</sup> So *διέσθαι* VIII 504 [Littre *διέσθαι*].

<sup>5</sup> Ionic: Chorrob. 829<sub>11</sub>.

<sup>6</sup> Older Ionic did not develop a present *ἔστηκω*. Note *ἔστηκῃ* Aret. 282.

μεθεμένος, Hdt. V 108, VI 1, VII 229. Apart from the irregular reduplication<sup>1</sup>, μεμετεμένος is difficult because of the form of the radical. In view of the existence of ἀρεμένος (II 167, VII 103) we are tempted to read -εμένος with *A B C* in V 108. But this form is not elsewhere directly supported (-ημένος *Ppr. d r* V 108, *Rd* VI 1, where *A B C P corr.* have -μενος, *d* VII 229). As it stands therefore, the form in -μένος is from the perplexing *λω* (§ 691, note 2).

702.] οἶδα. οἶδα Archil. 77<sub>1</sub>, Hdt. I 209; οἶδας (a 337) Theog. 491, 957, Hippon. 89, Hdt. III 72 (*R*), Hippokr. II 370; οἶσθα (A 85, &c.) Theog. 375, Hippokr. IX 332; οἶσθας<sup>2</sup> Hrd. 2<sub>38</sub>; οἶδαμεν<sup>3</sup> Hdt. II 17, IV 46 (same chapter as ἴδμεν), VII 214, IX 60, Hippokr. I 622, V 196, VI 120; Antiphon II A 3 an Ionizing tetralogy. ἴδμεν (Hom.), Hdt. I 6, 142, 178, IV 46, &c. (over 30 times, with an occasional *v. l.* ἴσμεν, e.g. II 12); ἴστε Tyr. 117, Hdt. IX 42; οἶδασι<sup>4</sup> Hdt. II 43; ἴσασι (Hom.) Theog. 598, Sim. Keos (?) 85<sub>11</sub>.

*Subjunctive.* εἰδέω<sup>5</sup> Hdt. III 140 (correct -ω II 114 to -έω), εἰδῆς Theog. 963, εἰδέωσι Halikarn. 238<sub>21</sub> (fifth century), Demokr. 87. The Attic contraction appears in εἰδῶσιν Ephesos 147<sub>17</sub>, 300 B.C., and perhaps εἰδῶ Hrd. 6<sub>23</sub> (Crusius, -ήσω Bucheler). *Optative.* εἰδείης Theog. 641, Hdt. I 206, εἰδείη Theog. 770, Hippokr. I 624 (not -οίη with Littré), εἰδείεν Hdt. IX 42 (-οίεν 2), -είησαν III 61 (-οίησαν 2). *Imperat. &c.* ἴσθι Anakr. 75<sub>3</sub>, Hdt. VII 159, εἰδέναι Anakr. 75<sub>2</sub>, Hdt. III 21, Hippokr. I 622 (ἴδμεναι Hom., Theog. 221), εἰδῶς Theog. 193, Hdt. VIII 13. *Pluperfect.* ἤδεα<sup>6</sup> (Hom.) Theog. 853, Hdt. II 150. ἤδεω is Attic in Theog. 667 (unless we read ἤδεγ, or ἤδη since *A* has ἤδη) and Hippokr. III 500. ἤδεε<sup>7</sup> (Hom.) Hdt. II 100, IX 94, &c. (ἤδει?). Later Ionic does not use the Homeric forms in ἤδεω- (*v. l.* Hdt. I 45). συνῆδέαρε Hdt. IX 58; ἤδεσσαν Theog. 54, Hdt. VII 175, VIII 78.

<sup>1</sup> *μμετεμεν* *v. l.* I 12, *μμετεμεν* *v. l.* I 114 are accepted by none.

<sup>2</sup> Hesychios calls both *οἶσθας* and *οἶδας* Attic. Moirais calls *οἶσθα* Attic, *οἶδας* Hellenic. Cf. Rutherford's *Phrynicus*. 227, and above § 544. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Kirchhoff thinks *οἶδαμεν* in Hdt. is an importation from post-classical Greek. *οἶδας* occurs in tragedy, comedy, and Xenophon.

<sup>4</sup> *κοιῶσι* Moirais.

<sup>5</sup> In Homer we should read, with Tyrannio and Pick, *εἰδῶσι*, *εἰδῶσι*, *εἰδῶσι* &c., not the forms with the circumflex, because *ew* is not contracted after consonants. See W. Schulze, *K. Z.* XXIX 251.

<sup>6</sup> Apoll. *Adv.* 191, Schn., Hdn. II 310<sub>18</sub> = Choiseb. 561<sub>19</sub> (cf. 601<sub>11</sub> = An. Ox. IV 417<sub>10</sub>), II 326<sub>1</sub>, Et. Gud. 236<sub>20</sub>, An. Ox. I 68<sub>20</sub>, An. Par. III 297<sub>1</sub>, 326<sub>20</sub>, Eust. 50<sub>20</sub>, 718<sub>17</sub>, 881<sub>20</sub>, 1946<sub>20</sub>. *ἤδεας* is a sigment in An. Ox. I 68<sub>20</sub>, An. Par. III 297<sub>1</sub> (cf. *ἤδεας* a 237 Zenodotos, and now removed from Attic poets to the advantage of *ἤδεσθα*. Demosthenes has however *ἤδεας*).

<sup>7</sup> Hdn. II 310<sub>18</sub> = Choiseb. 561<sub>19</sub>, II 326<sub>1</sub> = Choiseb. 561<sub>20</sub>, An. Ox. I 69<sub>20</sub>, IV 186<sub>20</sub>.



*ῥῑδεα* is generally explained with Brugmann, *M. U.* III 16 ff., as an aorist = *\*ῥῑδεσα*<sup>1</sup>, of which *εἰδέω* < *\*ῥῑδέσω* is the subj. (cf. *videro*, *εἰδείην* < *\*ῥῑδεσθην*, *εἰδείμεν* < *\*ῥῑδεσόμεν* the optative, cf. *viderimus*). This explanation supposes that the *ε* before *σα* is the minimum *\*hwa* vowel. A simpler means of dealing with the form is to hold to its pluperfect character. In Homeric *ῑσαν* < *\*ῑδσαν*, -σ- was added directly to the weak stem, in *ῥῑδεα* -ε- was added, as in the 3 sing. of the pluperfect (-ει < -εσ-ε, *ῥῑδείμεν* is from *\*ῥῑδεσμεν* and as its analogue appears *ῥῑδείτε* for original *\*ῥῑδεσσε*. *ῥῑδεν*, *ῥῑδεις* have their -ειν, -εις as the rest of the pluperfects. Cf. Wackernagel, *K. Z.* XXV 266, XXIX 126.

To the above may be added the formations from the stem *ῥῑδε-*, Future *εἰδήσω* (Hom.) Theog. 814, Hdt. VII 234, Hippokr. VII 476, VIII 430, Herodas 5<sub>78</sub> and Aorist *εἰδήσα* Hippokr. II 436, V 352, IX 230. *εἰσπαί* (Hom.) is also Hippocratic (I 622, 626).

703.] *εἰμι*. I. 1. *Present Indic.* *εἰμι* (Hom.) Theog. 579, 1203, Anakr. 34; *εἷς* not attested in later Ionic (Hesiod *W. D.* 208, *εἷσθα* Hom.); *εἶσι* (Hom.) Sim. Amorg. 7-4, Theog. 1204, Hdt. VII 197, Hippokr. VIII 148, Hrd. 2<sub>78</sub>; *εἶουσι*<sup>2</sup> in *ἐπ[ε]ῖουσι[τ]* Hrd. in *Class. Rev.* V 481, frag. 6<sub>4</sub>; *ἵμεν* (Hom.) Theog. 844, Hdt. IX 42, *ἴασι*<sup>3</sup> (Hom.) Hdt. VIII 60, for *\*ἄσι* < *\*ἄρι* = Skt. *y-ānti*. *ἴασι* is -*āσι* plus the *ι* of *ἵμεν*, *ἴτε*, *εἶσι eunt*, Hesiod *Scutum* 113, Theog. 716, is too uncertain to be made the basis of conjectures as to the primitive form of the 3 Plur. in Greek (Osthoff, *M. U.* IV 288 ff., Schmidt *K. Z.* XXV 591). 2. *Subj. ἴω* (Hom.) Theog. 912, instead of *\*ἔ(ι)ω* (cf. Skt. *āyānti*). *ἴω*, with the *ι* of *ἵμεν*, follows the thematic conjugation; *ἴης* Theog. 766; *ἴη* Olynthos 8 A 6, B 17, Hdt. II 41, &c., Hippokr. IV 268, poetical *ἴομεν* (Hom.) Solon 2<sub>5</sub>; *ἴωσι* Samos 221<sub>30</sub>, Hdt. I 67, &c. 3. *Optat. ἴοι* (Hom.) Hdt. II 108, &c. (for old *\*ἴη*: *\*ἴ-ιη-ν* = Skt. *-iyām*): *παρεξῖοιεν* IV 120. 4. *Imperat. ἴθι* (Hom.) Hippokr. 152, Hdt. VII 234. 5. *Infin. ἴναι* (Hom.) Theog. 352, &c., Hdt. VI 134 &c. 6. *Particip. ἴών* (Hom.) Tyrt. 11<sub>20</sub>, Theog. 71, &c. Hippokr. 42<sub>2</sub>, Hrd. 4<sub>41</sub>, 45, Hdt. III 25. *προσειῶσαν* Hippokr. IX 340 is a mistake for *-ιούσαν* (in many MSS.). Cf. Herodas' *τεμεύσα*, &c.

## II. Imperfect<sup>4</sup>.

1 Sing. *ῥῑα* (Attic) Hdt. I 111 (*ῥῑα A B*, *ῥῑα C*), IV 82 (*ῥῑα A B*, *ῥῑα C d*), I 42 (*ῥῑα B*). In V 62 all MSS. have *ῥῑα*, which is the

<sup>1</sup> *ῥῑεῖ* contracted to *ῥ* as *\*ῑῥῑῥῑεσσε* to *ῑῥῑῥῑε* Hdt. IX 93 *A B C*, Schulze, *K. Z.* XXIX 251.

<sup>2</sup> On *εἶω* for *εἰμι*, see Baunack in Curtius' *Studien* X 97, *U. M.* XXXVII (1882) 472.

<sup>3</sup> *Att. Ox.* I 128<sub>30</sub>, *Et. M.* 301<sub>11</sub>, Ionic for *ἴσι* cf. Hdn. II 828<sub>12</sub> = Choerob. 849<sub>11</sub>. Brunck and Hermann read *ἴσι* in Theog. 716.

<sup>4</sup> See Wackernagel, *K. Z.* XXV 265, *Philol. Anzeiger* XVII 139, Brugmann, *Grundr.* II 2, § 836.



reading in I 42, 111 of the MSS. not mentioned above. The editors read *ῆια*, the form found δ 427, 433, 572, κ 309<sup>1</sup>. *ῆεν* Hippokr. IX 350. *ῆιον* Syr. dea 25 (*ῆιον* E, *ῆον* A, *ῆον* a). Cf. *ἀνῆιον* κ 146, 274, 446, a form for which Nauck<sup>2</sup> substitutes *ῆια*.

3 Sing. *ῆε* (M 371, σ 257, *ῆεν* σ 253, τ 126, υ 89), though the correct form in Hdt., is but poorly supported: I 111 (*ῆε* A B, *ῆε* C), VIII 37 (C), V 12 (-*ῆε* B). *ῆει* (θ 290, K 286, N 247) Archil. 89, though *ῆε* would suit the verse, Hippokr. V 388, *διῆει* II 686, 688, 692, 694, 704, III 94, 128, 142, 144, V 164, *ὑπῆει* V 232, -*ῆει* Hdt. I 116 (-*ῆει* C P, -*ῆει* ε, -*ῆει* A B R d), 192 (-*ῆει* C P according to Stein, -*ῆει* *reliqui*, -*ῆε* Holder) and v. l. in some other places (I 109, III 90, 91, 96, V 12 (Suidas), 32, VI 46). *ῆι* (A 47 and very often) Hdt. I 119, II 26, V 51, &c. (about 50 times without v. l.), *ῆεν* Syr. dea 24 (*ῆεν* E, *ῆεν* A a, *ῆι* *reliqui*). The editors of Hdt. adopt *ῆι* everywhere.

3 Plur. *ῆσαν* (*ἐπῆσαν* τ 445, *μετῆσαν* Knights 605) is the correct form in Archil. 81 (Meineke, *ῆσαν* *vulgo*). In Hdt., though in the MSS. of the latter it occurs (in exactly this form) only in II 163 (in all MSS. except A B, which have *ῆισαν*). *ῆσαν* is found in all MSS. I 62, III 19, VIII 129. In III 14 all have -*ῆσαν* except R (-*ῆεσαν*), and in IV 123 *ῆσαν* is found in B R. Elsewhere<sup>3</sup> support for the genuine form may be sought in the reading *ῆισαν* (or *ῆισαν*) varying with *ῆσαν*. We cannot believe with Bredow that the latter reading is due to a confusion with the imperfect of *εἶμι* (*constructio praeognans*). *ῆσαν* also occurs in the MSS. of Attic writers (Thukyd. I 1). *ῆεσαν*<sup>4</sup> Xenophan. 33, where Bergk adopts *ῆεσαν* with Meineke and Renner; *ἐπεξῆεσαν* Hippokr. II 226 in many MSS., *ῆεσαν* IX 340, as Arrian 36, *ἐπῆεσαν* Arrian 24. Attic *ῆεσαν* (or *ῆεσαν*) is a v. l. in Hdt. (I 80, 158, 191, III 14, 76, IV 201, 203, V 92 (η), 108, VII 210, 211, 223, VIII 130, 138, IX 5). *ῆισαν* (τ 436 and in 7 other passages) Hdt. I 43 (in over 10 passages without v. l.), Hippokr. III 212 (*vulgo* *εἶσαν*, Scaliger *εἰσῆσαν*, Littré and Ermerins *ῆισαν*). The editors of Hdt. adopt *ῆεσαν*<sup>4</sup> throughout. *ῆεσαν* Syr. dea 28 (cf. cod. d Hdt. IV 123, VII 211, 223, 233).

The original inflection (A) in the 1 Sing. was *ῆα* = I. R. *ῆα*, whose direct descendant would have been \**ῆα*. This, after passing into \**ῆα*, regained its *ι* from that of the plural<sup>5</sup>. *ῆ*, the 3 Sing., has been lost and in its stead we have *ῆε*, inflected like a thematic verb. *ῆεν* from augment + *εἶ* + *σαν*, is the

<sup>1</sup> For *ῆεν*, by Ionic *ῆα* Eust. 50. Suidas s. v. *ῆα* calls *ῆα* Ionic, and s. v. *ἐπῆμεν* cites Hdt. VII 121 with *ῆα*.

<sup>2</sup> Met. *greco-rom.* III 255.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. I 105, III 18, IV 140, VII 71, 178, VIII 130, 138, IX 5, 56. Here A B generally have *ῆισαν*, C sometimes P and d) *ῆεσαν*.

<sup>4</sup> Suidas s. v. *ῆα*, calls *ῆεσαν* and *ῆεσαν* Ionic.

<sup>5</sup> On the *ι* of *ῆεν*, see Brugmann, *Grundr.* II 1, § 481, note 1.

most ancient form of the 3 Plur. As old as Homer is B) a second formation of a pluperfect or aoristic<sup>1</sup> character, the mark of which is -σ-α added to the verbal stem: *ῥεα* (or perhaps *ῥεα* &c. from augment + ε(ι) + σ(α), *ῥεε* (*ῥει*), *ῥεσαν*. Of these forms one only (*ῥεε*, in *ῥει*) has been preserved. C) *ῥιον* in Hom. 1 Sing. 3 Plur. has passed into the thematic conjugation *ῥια*, *ῥιε*, *ῥισαν* in Homer, Herodotus and elsewhere<sup>2</sup> are vicious forms. Augment + the verbal stem εἰ cannot become *ῥι*, because an hiatus is thereby created which is opposed to the laws of the language<sup>3</sup>, *ῥια* &c. would be conceivable only if the present were *ῥιμι*, a form as impossible as Herodian's *διδα*. For the misshapen words *ῥια*, *ῥιε*, *ῥισαν* in the text of Homer we must substitute, when we need trisyllabic forms, *ῥεα* or *ῥεα* &c. *ῥεε* = *ῥει* N 247<sup>4</sup>, *ῥεσαν*, and *ῥεον* for *ῥον*). For these archaisms<sup>5</sup> were substituted in course of time *ῥεα*, *ῥε*, *ῥσαν*, which, to conform to the verse, suffered a 'distraction' that had the advantage of apparently restoring the radical vowel: *ῥμεν* &c. The text of Hdt. with its *ῥεα*, *ῥε*, *ῥσαν* was then equated with that of Homer, *διδυσις* being a chief feature of the later, as of the older, dialect according to the grammarians<sup>6</sup>. A similar case of the disturbance of tradition is that of *ἐπῆσε* Hdt. IX 93. Here the genuine reading in ABC is *ἐπῆσε* which was lengthened to *-ησε* in order to show Ionic diaeresis. Just so Apoll. Rhod. I 1023 &c. introduced diaeresis in *ἐπῆσα*<sup>7</sup>.

*ῥει* and *ῥεσαν*, having apparently pluperfect endings, *ῥεον* and *ῥεισαν* were constructed to fill out the type.

**704.] φημί.** This verb presents few noteworthy forms. *φήσ* (Hom.) occurs in Hdt. I 39, where AB have *φήσις*; Hrd. 1<sub>44</sub> *φή[ς]*? Anakr. 41 has *φή* (*sic*)<sup>8</sup> for *φησι* (Hdt., Hippokr. c.g. IX 360); subj. *φήσι* *sic* Hrd. 2<sub>44</sub> = *φή* Hippokr. VII 422; *φῶσι* Hdt. IV 68; *φαίεν* Hippokr. II 242; *φάσαι* Hdt. I 27, &c., Hippokr. VII 222, *φάς* (Hom.) Hdt. I 111, &c., Hippokr. IV 78, Zeleia 113<sub>15</sub>; *ἔφασαν* Hdt. II 118; *φήσω* II 49; *ἔφησαν* Hippokr. IX 358, subj. *φήσω* VI 36; *φάσθαι* Xenophan. 6<sub>31</sub>, *φάμενος* (Hom.) Hdt. II 18, Hippokr. VI 342, *ἐφάμεν*<sup>9</sup> (Hom.) Hdt. VI 69.

### εἰμί.

**705.] Present Indicative.** *εἰμί* Archil. 1<sub>1</sub>, Hippon. 83<sub>3</sub>, Anakr. 15, Theog. 314, &c., Hdt. VI 86 (α), &c. *εἰς*<sup>10</sup> (Hom.)

<sup>1</sup> The type is represented by *ῥεα* < \**ῥφεῖδεσα*; cf. § 702, note. Hdn. II 794<sub>30</sub> called *ῥεα* perfect, *ῥεον* pluperfect.

<sup>2</sup> EIE, Gortyna Code II 47, is either *ῥε* or *ῥει*, not *ῥιε*. *ῥια* is even found in the MSS Xenophon, *Kyrop.* V 4.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Schmidt, *K. Z.* XXIV 304, note.

<sup>4</sup> *ῥει* was retained because of its apparently modern look. Nauck would displace *ῥει*, which occurs at the verse end, by *ῥεον*.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Eust. 50<sub>39</sub>.

<sup>6</sup> See Schulze, *K. Z.* XXIX 252.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Apollon. *Adv.* 133<sub>4</sub> Schn., Hdn. I 431<sub>1</sub>, II 210<sub>1</sub>, Joh. Alex. 21<sub>1</sub>).

<sup>8</sup> *ἔφασ* Ionic Chourob. 882<sub>25</sub> = An. Ox. IV 378<sub>25</sub>; so too imperat. *φάσ* An. Ox. IV 213<sub>15</sub>, Chourob. 882<sub>38</sub>.

<sup>9</sup> In Hrd. 3<sub>71</sub> the grave accent appears in the papyrus. On this accentuation in Homer, cf. Hdn. II 131<sub>17</sub>, 140<sub>15</sub>, La Roche, *H. T. K.* 241. In Homer *ἔσσ'* can be read everywhere except in ρ 388.

Archil. 107 (MSS. εἶς), Hrd. 1<sub>5</sub>, 374, 798, Hdt. III 71, &c., and perhaps in Anakr. 7 (MSS. ἦς).

Attic εἶ (morphologically an older form than εἶς; cf. φῆ- for \*φῆσι) has been introduced into Theog. 456, Anakr. 57, Hrd. 500, Hdt. III 140, 142 &c., Hippokr. IX 338, Ion 1.

ἔσσι Homeric and Syrakusan, not later Ionic, Theog. 875 (epic reminiscence). ἔσσι Archil. 39<sub>1</sub>, Anakr. 92, Theog. 376, &c. εἰμέν Hdt. VII 9, &c., Hrd. 670 (εἰ[ι]μέν). Attic ἔσμεν is to be displaced in Archil. 59<sub>2</sub>, Diog. Apoll. 6. ἔστέ Tyrt. 11<sub>1</sub>, Anakr. 84, Hrd. 2<sub>1</sub>. εἰσί (Hom.) Hipponax 29<sub>1</sub>, Hrd. 110, Archil. 34, Theog. 163, Phokyl. 15<sub>1</sub>, Hdt., Hippokr., &c. ἔασσι<sup>1</sup> (Hom.) Xenophan. 7<sub>1</sub>, Theog. 623, Hrd. 494 (the only example in Hrd., and that in the prayer of the temple custodian), not in Hdt. (v. l. I 125), but often in the pseudo-Ionists (Aretaios at least 12 times, Euseb. Mynd. no. 58).

706.] Subjunctive. ἔω (Hom.) Hdt. IV 98. ἦς Theog. 1208, Hdt. VIII 102, Hippokr. IX 338. ἦ (ἦσι Hom.) Kallin. 1<sub>13</sub>, Xenophan. 1<sub>20</sub> (conj.), 5<sub>1</sub>, Phokyl. 10, Theog. 154 and 10 times elsewhere, Solon 430, Sim. Amorg. 799, Sim. Keos (?) 85<sub>10</sub>, Ananios 56, Hrd. 27, 345, 381, 792, Hdt. IV 66, &c., Hippokr. II 14, 368, III 236, 240, 506, IX 480, &c., Aret. 35, 36, 46, 59. Always in the inscriptions: ἦ Halk. 238<sub>37</sub>, εἶ Oropos 18<sub>28</sub>, 24 (εἶ < ἦ < ἦσι, cf. § 239), παρ(ἦ) Chios, Paspates 9<sub>11</sub>. εἷ in the subjunctive was contracted in all branches of the later Ionic. The uncontracted form ἦ (Hom.) is found in Theog. 466, 1354, as an epic reminiscence. It has been wrongly introduced into Hippokr., e.g. I 606, IV 80, V 482, VI 62, and Aret. 5, 158 (ἦ same page) and very often elsewhere. ὤμεν Theog. 595, 597, 1243 (ἔωμεν?). ἔωσι (Hom.) Teos, *Mittl.* XVI 293, l. 4, Hdt. II 39, IV 66, &c., Demokr. 205, Hippokr. II 18, 20, 58, 66, 74, 142, 156, 232, 266, 730, III 236, V 730, Aret. 37, 74, 106, 158. For ὤσι (Hom.) in Hdt. II 89 read ἔωσι. ὤσι occurs in pseudo-Hippocratic treatises (VII 422, ἔωσι same page).

707.] Optative. εἴην (Hom.) Theog. 653, εἴης (Hom.) Theog. 1177, εἴησθα Theog. 715, εἴη (Hom.) Xenophan. 2<sub>1</sub>, 10, Tyrt. 12<sub>3</sub>, Theog. 349, 979, 1153, &c., Archil. 58<sub>3</sub>, Hdt., &c., but ἔσσι Hdt. VII 6 (the only case in Hdt.), εἰσι Aret. 169 (cf. Hom. εἰσι, εἰσι), εἴερ (Hom.) Theog. 327, Hdt. I 63, 170, &c. εἴηται Hdt. I 2, II 6, 102, IV 46, &c., Hippokr. II 16, 88. The -ηται form becomes more frequent after the time of Hdt. In early Attic poetry it is nowhere metrically certain.

708.] Imperative. On Hekataios' ἔσθι, see § 144, 1; ἔσθι

<sup>1</sup> An. Ox. I 130<sub>2</sub>, 162<sub>2</sub>, Choirob. 860<sub>2</sub> = An. Ox. IV 387<sub>2</sub>.

Theog. 301, Hdt. I 118. ἦτω appears in Hippokr. VIII 340 (where θ, C, H have ἔστω) and Aretaios 203. It is not Ionic, only late Greek (N. T., &c.). Curtius, *Verbum* I 177, regarded it as contracted from \*ἑάτω<sup>1</sup>. It is rather a 'springing' analogical form (cf. ἦτω, ἔστω with ἦστην or ἦτην, ἑστόν). εα would not have been contracted in Ionic. ἔστω Olynthos 8 B 1, Chios 174 A 15, ἔστων Chalkidian 137, Chios 174 A 21, Thasos *J. H. S.* VIII 402, 6, 9. Attic ἔστωσαν appears in the MSS. in Hdt. I 147, Hippokr. VII 222.

**709.] Infinitive.** εἶναι Eretria, 'Εφημ. ἀρχ. 1890 1, pp. 195-6, Erythr. 199<sup>5</sup>, 10, Amphip. 10<sup>12</sup> and often, Mimn. 51, Phokyl. 41, Anakr. 73, Solon 27<sup>9</sup>, Theog. 129, 405, 1283, Hdt., &c. εἶν in Eretria, 'Εφημ. ἀρχ. 1887, p. 77, l. 10, Olynthos 8 A 3, ἐξείν Oropos 18<sup>50-31</sup> (εἶναι l. 32). For εἶναι πεφυκέσαι in Hesychios, Baunack in his *Studien* I 176 happily suggests that we read εἶν. This form is an analogue of δοῦν, &c., § 700, 2. On ἐμμεναι, see § 700, 3; on εἶμεν § 700, 4.

**710.] Participle<sup>2</sup>.** 1. *Inscriptions.* ἐών Arkesine 35 twice (metrical), Paros 58, ἐόντος Oropos 18<sup>12</sup>, 24, Halikarn. 238<sup>33</sup>, ἐόντι Zeleia 114 C 3, ἐόν[τα] Halikarn. 238<sup>35</sup>, ἐόντες Chios 174 B 26, ἐόντας Thasos 71<sup>8</sup>; ἐούσης Mylasa 248 C 5.

Attic ὄν appears in Thasos 72, (after 300 B.C.), ὄντι Mylasa 248 A 6 367-66 B C<sup>1</sup>, ὄντας Halikarn. 240 A 6 (fifth century<sup>3</sup>); ὄσα Erythr. 206 C 40 (after 278 B.C.)

2. *Lyric Poets.* ἐών Kallin. 1<sup>21</sup>, Tyrt. 10<sup>30</sup>, 12<sup>32</sup>, Mimn. 31, 72, Solon [13<sup>30</sup>], 27<sup>1</sup>, 18, Theog. 28, 122, 570, 866, &c. ἐών Xenophan. 2<sup>11</sup>, Hrd. 2<sup>38</sup>; ἐόντος Theog. 21; ἐόντι Theog. 1060; ἐόντα Archil. 80, Phokyl. 13, Solon 4<sup>15</sup> (neuter). Theog. 502, 1368, Hrd. 7<sup>109</sup>; ἐόντες Phokyl. 9<sup>2</sup>, ἐόντες Hrd. 2<sup>31</sup>, the only case in Hrd. of the writing εο when εο is closed (elsewhere ευ), εἴρων Hrd. 2<sup>81</sup>, 6<sup>38</sup> with an unusual ευ; ἐούσα Archil. 31, Theog. 267, Hrd. 6<sup>32</sup>; ἐούσαν Theog. 193.

Forms from the monosyllabic stem: ὄν Theog. 92, 102, 407, 516, 666, 668, 916, 1118, 1380, Hrd. 5<sup>12</sup>, 1<sup>2</sup> (read ἐών, <sup>4</sup>; ὄντα Sim. Amorg. 7<sup>34</sup>, Theog. 9<sup>8</sup>, ὄντων Theog. 515, 517; ὄσι Theog. 1133, ἐόσαν Hrd. 1<sup>2</sup> ?, 5<sup>12</sup>, ὄσαι Solon 4<sup>2</sup>. Homer has only two cases of the shorter form: ὄντας η 94, ὄσης τ 489.

<sup>1</sup> So too Brugmann in Curtius' *Studien* IX 310 (1876).

<sup>2</sup> Greg. Kor. § 17, Tzetz. Ex. II. 115<sup>15</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Dittenberger no. 6. places this document only slightly later than the Lygdamis inscription Bechtel 238 which is earlier than 454 B.C. Other scholars do not regard no. 240 as so old. In any case this instance of ὄντας is the earliest in the inscriptions.

<sup>4</sup> ὄν in Hrd. VI is now shown to be wrong (cf. 1<sup>18</sup>).

3. *Prose.* εἶν, εἶντος, εἶνσα &c., are the proper<sup>1</sup> forms in Hdt. (cf. Lukian *de Domo* 20), Herakl. 2, 7, 62, 92, Anaxag. 1, 4, 6, &c., Melissos, 1, 2, &c., Diog. Apoll. 2, 6, Demokr. 207, 12, 21, 31, 214, Hekat. 362, Ion 1, Hippokr. II 68, 78, 238, 256, 334, 626, 690, 698, III 36, 50, 72, 190, 222, Menekrates (Dion. Halik. I 77). In the pseudo-Ionists we find the same forms: Lukian 33 times, Arrian 13, Abydenos 2, Eusebios once, Euseb. Mynd. 17, *Vita Hom.* 18, Aret. very often. Attic εἶν in Lukian 7 times, Arrian 11, Euseb. Mynd. 2, *Vita Hom.* 2.

711.] *Imperfect.* 1. εἶα<sup>2</sup> (Hom.) Hdt. II 19 is derived from Hom. ἦα (= I. E. *ēam*) by shortening of the latter's η, not by *metathesis quantitatis*, though in Hom. the α of εἶα appears to be long (Δ 31, E 887, ξ 222<sup>3</sup>, 352). Contracted from εἶα is Attic ἦ which appears in Hrd. 514, where we may read εἶα, perhaps the original reading in the intention of the copyist. 2. εἶας Hdt. I 187 and εἶαε are later forms constructed from εἶα. Cf. εἶεας, εἶεαε. ἦς Anakr. 7 (εἶς?). ἦσθα (Hom.) Theog. 1314 is a perfect form. 3. ἦν Theog. 700, 788, 900, Archil. 32, 115, 126, 139, Sim. Amorg. 162, Hippon. 38, 514, Hdt., &c. εἶν<sup>4</sup> in an epigram of the fifth century, Chios 1751, is a poetical (Homeric) form which was adopted in the late Ionic, e.g. Lukian *Syr. dea* 18, Aret. 43; it is out of place in Hdt., though found in all MSS. VII 143. Hom. ἦεν is also foreign to New Ionic. εἶκε<sup>5</sup> (Hom.) Mimn. 1410, Hdt. 4. ἦμεν Hippokr. IX 340, 350. 5. εἶαε Hdt. IV 119, V 92 (a). 6. ἦσαν (Hom.) Xenophan. 31, 73, Anakr. 85, Hdt. (Hom. εἶσαν often in Aldus). εἶκον Hdt.

712.] *Future.* εἶσμαι Theog. 872, 878; εἶσῃ (cf. Hom. εἶσεαι) Theog. 239, 252, εἶεαι<sup>6</sup> (Hom.) 884, Hdt. II 5, 78, &c., Lukian *F. A.* 4, 5, Euseb. Mynd. 63; εἶσῃ (Hom.) Theog. 1106, 1242; εἶσεαι (Hom.) Kumai, Roberts I 173, Hdt. III 134, Theog. 659, 1048, Solon 1338; εἶσεσθαι (Hom.) Kallin. 1, Tyr. 107, Theog. 801, 1280, Archil. eleg. 33, Hrd. 211, *Syr. dea* 20; εἶσεσθαι 19, 25; εἶσομεθα Theog. 1246; εἶσοσθαι Hdt. III 134, Theog. (Mimn.) 877; εἶσοιτο Hdt. VII 226; εἶσεσθαι VII 219, Hippokr. II 42, Theog. 1077; εἶσομέσθαισιν (Hom.) Theog. 251.

713.] κείμαι.

1. *Present (Perfect) Indicative.* From the analogy of Sanskrit

<sup>1</sup> Attic forms occur as v. l. in Hdt. I 20 &c., Hippokr. III 58, VII 430 (next line εἶεν) *εἶεν* is cited from Protagoras.

<sup>2</sup> Hdn. II 533 (Schol. Ven. A on E 887), 336, cf. Choerob. 601, and 364, 607, 866, Eust. 618, 1759, 1761, and 477, 583.

<sup>3</sup> See Monro, *H. G.* § 12.

<sup>4</sup> Of obscure origin: generally compared with *eram*. Brugmann, *Gram.* p. 164, derives it from *εἶρεν*.

<sup>5</sup> An. Ox. I 159.

<sup>6</sup> El. M. 281.



we expect in Greek two types of inflection: (1) *κείται* = *ḱélē*, with a surprising retention of the strong stem, (2) *κέεται* < *κε(ι)εται* = *ḱáyatē*. Whether Hom. *κέονται* (= Vedic *ḱáyanā*) and the New Ionic forms with *εε* are a direct inheritance representing the second type of inflection, or whether they are innovations within Greek itself, cannot be determined beyond doubt. The fact that Homer rejects *κέεται*<sup>1</sup> and *κέεσθαι* makes for the view that these two forms at least are late analogues of *κέονται*. *κέονται* itself is suspicious for the additional reason that it occurs only at the verse end<sup>2</sup>; but it will have to stand. Cf. *ἔοι, ἑών* with thematic vowel. Nauck's *κέενται* occurs in Aretaios 141, but it is there a *vox nihili*, made from *κεῖνται* to match *κέεται* and show Ionic *διάλυσις*. After its appearance in Homer, *κέονται* does not occur again until Hippokrates.

1 Singular: *κεῖμαι* Hdt. IV 11.

2 Singular: *κεῖσαι* (Hom.) Hrd. 447, 53. *πρόκειαι* epist. Thales is an error for *-κειαι* or *-κεισαι*. In the Hymn to Hermes 254 all MSS. have *κατάκειαι*, which Gemoll emends to *-κεισαι*.

3 Singular: *κεῖται* (Hom.) Sim. Amorg. 74 (cf. Sim. Keos(?) 85<sub>11</sub>). Hrd. 712, and without a variant in the following chapters of Hdt.:—I 9, 50, 51, II 123, IV 18, 22, 99, VII 198, 200, 216, VIII 60. In II 149, 155, III 57, VII 11 *κεῖται* is supported by *ABR*, in VIII 135 by *ABCD*, in IV 45, 59, VIII 138 by *AB*, in IV 62 by *R*, &c. In Hippokr. III 190, V 674 Littré and Ermerins adopt *κεῖται*. In the letters IX 322, 338, 416, 418, 422, 424 *κεῖται* may be Attic.

*κέεται* occurs in the MSS. of Hdt. over 30 times without a variant, e.g. I 14, 118, 142, 178, 181 *bis*, 183, II 17, 34, 38, 83 *bis*. Littré adopts it in Hippokr. II 12, 14, 54, 70, 90, &c. But in II 14, 54, 70 (L.) Ermerins reads *κεῖται*. *κέεται* occurs in Lukian *Syr. dea* 39 (*v. l.* *κέαται*), Arrian 31, Aret. 3, 15, 60, 251, 282.

*κέαται* in the 3 Sing. is a mistaken form, found in the MSS. of Hdt. (I 183, II 83, III 31, IV 62, 64)<sup>3</sup>, and frequent in Lukian: *Syr. dea* 6, 8, 27, 30; in 28, 29, 35, and 45 there is found the *v. l.* *κέεται*. In 10, 28, 51 a neuter plural is the subject.

3 Plural: *κεῖνται*, the original and Attic form, does not appear in Ionic until Hippokrates, where in II 24 codex *E* and the vulgate adopt it (Littré *κέονται*). Cf. VII 442, IX 406 epist. (*v. l.* *κέονται*). It also occurs in Hrd. 320, 460.

<sup>1</sup> The indicative *κεῖται* never has its penult in the thesis. The only possible occurrence of *εε* in Homer is where, for *κῆται* or *κεῖται* of the MSS., *κέεται* may be read. This is however the subjunctive, see below. *κεσκετο* is not from *κέσκετο* according to Schmidt, *K. Z.* XXVI 381.

<sup>2</sup> X 510, A 341, π 232.

<sup>3</sup> *κέεται* is even written for *κέαται* (plural) in *R* in Hdt. VIII 27; and in Hippokr. II 22 one MS. has *κεῖται* for the plural.

κέαται = κε(ι) + αται for -νται (§ 612) appears in Homer, Archil. 169, Hdt. I 14, 105, 133, VI 58, VIII 27, Lukian *Astrol.* 3, Aretaios 295 (276?), Euseb. *Mynd.* 63.

κέαται (Hom.) is found in Mimn. 116. It is a later form than κείαται, its ι having been reinstated from the analogy of κείται, κείμεθα, κείσθε.

κείνται (Hom.) Hippokr. II 18, 22 *bis*, 24, 48, Aretaios 51, 131. Ermerins reads κέαται, not κείνται, in Hippokrates.

False forms are κένται *v. l.* Hdt. I 133, a supposed plural to κέαται (cf. § 585), and κένται Aretaios 141 (see above).

2. Subjunctive. κήται<sup>1</sup> occurs in Hippokr. VII 40, 206, but κείται in IX 40, 50 as in T 32, Ω 554, β 102, τ 147, ω 137, and according to Hermann in ε 395. Here κήται is usually read since the time of Wolf, except by Ludwig who adopts κείται. κήται has the support of Ven. A in the passages from the Iliad, but is not well attested in those from the Odyssey. Curtius regarded κείται as contracted from κείαται (*Studia* VII 100, *Verbum* II 85; cf. Hartel, *Hom. Stud.* III 11). It is better to explain it as representing an older κέαται. κέατ' would seem to be required in Ω 554, where the verse begins with κείται *vul.* Its position here is however due to a late shifting of the word from the place in the verse where it might stand with propriety.

κείωνται<sup>2</sup> Hippokr. III 438, Aretaios 19, 147. In 220 Aretaios has κένται (*G V*, κήται *H*).

3. Optative. κείοιτο<sup>3</sup> Hdt. I 67, Hippokr. IV 122.

4. Imperative. κείσθω Hdt. II 171 *bis*.

5. Infinitive. κείσθαι (Hom.) Hdt. II 127, IV 22, VI 57, IX 105 in all MSS., and to be adopted in II 2 (no *R d*), III 34 (*R*), IV 11, 195 (*A B R*) where κέσθαι is found in some MSS. This holds even in III 22, where no MS. has κείσθαι. Littré accepts κείσθαι in Hippokr. III 438, V 694 *bis*, but κέσθαι II 24, 118 (*vulgo* κείσθαι). Aretaios certainly has κέσθαι 9, 49, 214, 236, 285.

6. Participle. κείμενος in Hdt., Hippokr., &c., Aretaios 237, 317, 318 has κέόμενος but κείμενος 53.

7. Imperfect (Pluperfect). έκειτο (Hom.) is found nearly 20 times in Hdt. without any variant, *e.g.* I 119, 123, VII 158, VIII 41, IX 40. έκειτο is generally not well supported: I 51 (all MSS. except *A c*), 196 (*C*), III 12 (all except *R* which has κέαται), VI 61 (-έκειτο *A B C d*), VII 36 (*R*). Hippokrates has

<sup>1</sup> The open vowels do not here violate the laws of contraction. When a non-thematic verb passes into the α conjugation, contraction need not occur.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. παρακείμεθα έγείμενοι όμω in Hesychius.

<sup>3</sup> προκειόμην προκείμενος έη, Hesychius.

ἔκειτο often, e.g. II 644, 650, 666, 694, 698, 704, 712, 716, III 32, 46, 56, 58, 62, 102, 112, 122, 124, 142; Aret. 184, Arrian 28.

ἐκέατο (Hom.) Hdt. I 167, III 83, VI 49, VII 229, VIII 25, 84, IX 22, 57 without variation. In Lukian's *Syr. dea* 20, 45, this form is used in the singular. Cf. v. l. Hdt. VI 61.

ἔκειντο (Hom.) Hippokr. II 660.

8. **Future.** (κέσεται Hom.) κέσεται is to be read in Hippokr. III 438 where Littré has κέσσηται.

Great inconsistency exists in the recent editions of Hdt. in respect of the inflection of κείμαι.

κέεται only, S (Stein), K (Kallenberg), and B (Bredow); κέεται and κείται H (Holder), A (Abicht); ἐκέετο only, A B; ἐκεετο only, K; ἐκέετο and ἐκεετο S H; κέσθω B S H K, κέσθω A; κείσθαι only, B; κείσθαι and κέεσθαι S H A K. Dindorf admits no variation from κέε-.

The only objection to the adoption throughout of κεί- which we favour, is the preponderance of κέεται over κείται. It looks as if the open forms were due to the grammarians<sup>1</sup> who, misled by κέονται and the open subjunctive and optative forms, regarded κεί- as contracted from κέε-<sup>2</sup>.

714.] ἦμαι.

1. **Present Indicative.** κάθημαι Archil. 87<sub>3</sub>, Theog. 1281, κάτῃσαι Hdt. III 134 (καθ- A B d), ἦσται (Hom.) Hdt. IX 57, κάθηται Hrd. 341, ἔσται (Hom.) Hrd. 747 (?), κατέσται Hdt. I 199, II 86, IV 66, 196. εἶσται K 100 (where ἦσται<sup>3</sup> is correct) has forced an entrance into Lukian's *Syr. dea* 31.

κάθημαι is from \*κάθησ-μαι, κάτῃσαι from \*κάτῃσ-σαι; but κάθηται follows the analogy of κάθημαι. We should expect κάθησται. ἔσται represents ἔσται < ἦσ-νται, Skt áśate; § 612, 1.

2. **Imperative.** κάθησο (Hom.) Hrd. 61, Hippokr. IX 354.

3. **Participle.** κατήμενος Hdt. VIII 73, καθ- Eusebios §§ 8, 9.

4. **Imperfect.** καθῆστο in all MSS., Hdt. I 46, III 83 where κατ- is now generally adopted<sup>4</sup>. So too καθῆστο Hippokr. IX 350. Hdt. does not use the later form καθῆτο. In the plural (see § 616, 3) we find -εατο in κατέατο III 144, VIII 73, IX 90, περικατέατο

<sup>1</sup> Apollonios Dyskolos *Adv.* (Bekk. Anecd. II 553<sub>25</sub>) cites κείω; but it is a figment.

<sup>2</sup> κέεσθαι has even been introduced into the text of Archimedes (II 142, 18, cf. 168, 12) and of the pseudo-Pythagoreans.

<sup>3</sup> Reported as Ionic: Gram. Vat. 694, Eust. 1893<sub>16</sub> from Herakleides.

<sup>4</sup> On the uncertainty in reference to the breathing in such compounds, see §§ 406, 407. Homer has καθῆστο A 560, κατήμενος E 2. The unoriginal asper is due to association with ἔζεσθαι, ἔζειν, ἔζεσθαι which complement the inflection.

VI 23, VIII 111, though the MSS. often have the augmented forms (all MSS. in III 144, VI 23, VIII 73) and  $\theta$  for  $\tau$ . Homer has  $\epsilon\alpha\tau\omicron$  H 414, and Eusebios § 8  $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\epsilon\kappa\alpha\tau\epsilon\alpha\tau\omicron$  according to Müller. Epic  $\eta\upsilon\tau\omicron$  (footnote 2, p. 513) and Attic  $\kappa\alpha\theta\eta\upsilon\tau\omicron$  do not appear in Hdt.

### *Prepositions.*

715.]  $\delta\upsilon\acute{\alpha}$ . The form with apocope appears in  $\delta\mu$   $\pi\epsilon\delta\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$  Mimn. 14, and in  $\delta\mu\pi\alpha\upsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$  12. Homer uses neither  $\delta\upsilon\alpha\pi\alpha\upsilon\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$  nor  $\delta\mu\pi\alpha\upsilon\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ , but Hdt. (§ 322) has the latter as well as other words with  $\delta\upsilon-$ . Solon has  $\delta\upsilon\tau\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\xi\alpha\varsigma$  ('Aθ. πολ. 12, 5), Herodas  $\delta\sigma\tau\eta\theta\iota$  8<sub>1</sub>, 14 but  $\delta\upsilon\alpha\sigma\tau\alpha\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\alpha$  6<sub>2</sub>,  $\delta\upsilon\alpha\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\sigma\eta$  14<sub>3</sub>. Forms showing the disappearance of  $\upsilon$  before  $\sigma$  occur as  $\upsilon$ .  $\iota$  in K 32, 176 (cf. B 398, 694) and in the dialects of Attika, Boiotia and Argos.  $\delta\mu\pi\omega\tau\iota\varsigma$  (cf. § 367) is found once in Arrian (21<sub>3</sub>), who usually employs the form without apocope (29<sub>3</sub>, 30<sub>3</sub>, 37<sub>3</sub>).  $\delta\mu\pi\omega\tau\iota\varsigma$  is frequent in late literature (Dio Cass., Longinos), and, in fact, is more common than  $\delta\upsilon\acute{\alpha}\pi\omega\tau\iota\varsigma$ <sup>1</sup>. Even in the dialogue parts of tragedy we meet with apocope, which occurs in Xenophon alone of the classic Attic prose writers ( $\delta\mu\pi\omega\tau\iota\varsigma$ ,  $\delta\mu\beta\omicron\lambda\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ , &c.).

$\delta\chi\rho\iota$  of space, Hdt. II 138, Hrd. 11<sub>4</sub>, Chios 174 A 3-4, of time Solon 13<sub>25</sub>, Hrd. 74<sub>1</sub>. From the prepositional use has been developed the use as a conjunction (Hdt., Hippokr., Hrd. 33, 24). In all the above passages Hrd. has  $\delta\chi\rho\iota\varsigma$  (cf. § 366).  $\delta\chi\rho\iota$   $\omicron\upsilon$  or  $\delta\chi\rho\iota$  as a conjunction appears neither on Attic nor Ionic inscriptions.  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\chi\rho\iota$  is preferred to  $\delta\chi\rho\iota$  in the inscriptions and in Herodotos.

$\delta\iota\acute{\epsilon}$ , Archil. 5 (one MS.  $\delta\iota\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$ ), 164 before a consonant; cf.  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\epsilon\acute{\xi}$ .

$\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$  takes the form  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\upsilon$  in  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\upsilon$   $\text{Μακεδονίης}$  Olynthos 8 B 9, the stone-cutter having first engraved  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$ , and then bethought himself of the pronunciation. Cf.  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\upsilon$   $\text{Μαγνησίας}$  Smyrna, Dittenb. *Syll.* 171<sub>100</sub>, 108,  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\upsilon$   $\text{Ναυπάκτου}$  Delphi, *ibid.* 189<sub>3</sub>,  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\upsilon\delta\eta\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$  Lampsakos, 200<sub>12</sub> (but  $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\delta\eta\mu\acute{\eta}\sigma\alpha\varsigma$  L 15). On  $\acute{\epsilon}\chi$ - for  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$ - see § 351, 1, on  $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma$ - for  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$ - see § 411.  $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\alpha\lambda\alpha\mu\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\varsigma$  =  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$   $\Sigma\alpha\lambda$ -, Priene 141<sub>1</sub>, an inscription in Ionic orthography, not in Ionic dialect.  $\acute{\epsilon}\chi$  is not used when  $\sigma$  follows.

$\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\nu$  occurs first in Pindar, *Isthm.* VIII (VII) 35, and in fact as a conjunction ( $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\nu$   $\pi\epsilon\pi\rho\omega\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\nu$   $\eta\nu$ ), where we do not hesitate to accept Donaldson's  $\omicron\upsilon\acute{\nu}\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\nu$ . No passage before the Alexandrian period which contains the conjunction in any of its various forms

<sup>1</sup> See Lobeck's *Phrynichus*, p. 340.  $\delta\upsilon\acute{\alpha}\pi\omega\tau\iota\varsigma$  ( $\upsilon\alpha\pi$ -,  $\kappa\epsilon\tau$ -) are Ionic: Bekk. An. 719<sub>2</sub>.



is free from error. See below. As a preposition, *ἐννεκεν* occurs nearly 30 times in Herodotos without a variant. In about 40 passages it varies with *ἐννεκα*, the advantage being on the side of the form in *-εν*<sup>1</sup>. Bredow contended that *ἐννεκεν* alone was correct in Hdt., and Dindorf and Abicht adopt it throughout. Hippokrates uses it in II 270 (*ἐννεκεν D S<sup>1</sup> K R<sup>1</sup>*), 290 (*Α Δ<sup>1</sup> K, ἐννεκα Flor., ἐννεκεν vulgo*) according to Littré. There are also traces of its presence in IX 404 (epist.). Aretaios adopts it in 94, 102, 178, 333, 344; so too Archimedes II 294, 6 according to the MSS.

*ἐννεκεν* is found on very late metrical inscriptions from Attika: 'Αθήν. VIII 531, Kaibel, *Epigram.*, 152, eleg., 953 trim. Epigrams in iambs of the imperial period do not hesitate to introduce a form that belongs properly to the elegiac epigram. In Demosth. 45, 11 it is not to be adopted. Attic prose inscriptions have no trace of its occurrence till a very late date: C. I. A. III 697, 9, 1318, 5. *ἐννεκεν* was elsewhere used in very late prose inscriptions (Siphnos, C. I. G. 2423 b, 3, Thespiai l. 1630, 2, Lakonia 1445, 6, Kephallenia 1929, 7; and in Keil's *Anall.* p. 96 ff., l. 8). In all these cases it owes its presence to the influence of Ionic upon the Κοινή.

*ἐννεκε* is probably a mistaken form in Aret. 201, c. f. Hdt. VII 133 (so Aldus I 73, 80), though it is paralleled by *ἐννεκε*.

*ἐννεκα*<sup>2</sup> is employed by Homer, Hesiod, Theog. 46, 730, 1202, Sim. Amorg. 711, (*ἐννεκ'*), Anakr. 451, [Sim. Keos] 1841. It is found in Herodotos about 80 times without any variant. Stein confesses his inability to decide whether *ἐννεκα* or *ἐννεκεν* is more in harmony with the genius of the dialect, and gives a place to both forms; a procedure adopted by Kallenberg and Holder. *ἐννεκα* is found in Demokr. 184 and in *Α* in Hippokrates II 248 (Littré *ἐννεκεν*; some MSS. *ἐννεκα*) In Hippokr. epist. 1719 Ermerins adopts *ἐννεκα*. Hercher *ἐννεκεν* (the word is omitted by Littré IX 358). In IX 328, 356 Littré adopts *ἐννεκα* despite variants, and this form is read by Kühn in Aret. 288. Lukian's *Syr. dea* has 9 cases of *ἐννεκα* in all MSS., Arrian only one (330), and Euseb. Mynd. one (frag. 24).

Aischylos has *ἐννεκα* in *Prometh.* 395, Suppl. 188, but 4 cases of *ὀννεκα* in *Μ*; Sophokles has not a single case of *ἐννεκα*, 25 of *ὀννεκα* in *Ζ*; in Euripides *ἐννεκα* rests on the evidence of inferior MSS; Aristophanes and the other comic dramatists have 12 cases of *ἐννεκα* to 30 of *ὀννεκα* (apart from 11 cases of fluctuation). Undoubtedly *ἐννεκα* has usurped the place of *ὀννεκα* in tragedy. In Attic metrical inscriptions *ἐννεκα* may be followed from 450 B.C. to the empire. In Attic prose *ὀννεκα* prevails except in Demosthenes, but there are sporadic occurrences of *ἐννεκα* in Thukydides, Xenophon, Antiphon, Plato, Isaios, &c. When Demosthenes desires to avoid the tribrach form he prefers

<sup>1</sup> On the terminations *-εν*, *-ε*, *-α*, see under *ἐννεκεν*, § 716.

<sup>2</sup> On this form in its relation to *ὀννεκα*, see Wachernagel, *K. Z.* XXVIII 109 ff.



*εἰς* (at least 20 times in *Σ*) to *εἰς*. *εἰς* does not make its appearance on an Attic prose inscription till 30 B.C.—68 A.D. (C. I. A. III 785, 3, where *εἰς* is written), nor on a Lakonian inscription till the period of the empire (C. I. G. 1446, 17). In Attic prose the presence of the non-Attic form, if correct at all, can be explained only as an indirect reflection, through tragedy, of the epic. In the language of the *Καὶ* it is borrowed from the Ionic dialect represented by the prose writers of the fifth century.

*εἰς* appears in Homer (twice only: *ρ* 288, 310), and in Pindar (except *Iskhm.* VIII (VII) 35, *Ol.* II 5). On an inscription from Erythrai (204<sub>3</sub>), slightly older than the oldest Attic epigraphical document containing the form (see the note), we find *εἰς*. This form reappears in Thasos 72<sub>6</sub> (300–250 B.C.) and in Priene 141<sub>6</sub> (metrical), an inscription in Ionic orthography, not in Ionic dialect. Neither of the two inscriptions in dialect is free from Atticisms; and the initial *ε* for *εἰ* makes for the conclusion that *εἰς* is one of these Atticisms. It is immaterial whether a vowel or consonant follows the form. It is also an occasional *v.l.* in Hdt. (I 80), and was adopted by Littré in Hippokr. II 248, IX 320, 360 (both letters).

The oldest occurrence of *εἰς* in Attic inscriptions is C. I. A. II 987 A 2 (*εἰς* l. 5) dating after 350 B.C. The next oldest is Dittenb. *Syll.* 427<sub>π</sub> (302 B.C.). Both documents deal with the religious affairs of the *ἑκαστα*. In the third century *εἰς* first appears in state decrees and in the following century is three times as frequent as *εἰς*. It is not in good odour in Attic prose, but as it occurs on fourth century inscriptions, we see no reason to reject it. Aristophanes uses *εἰς* often, and Euripides in anapaests and lyric measures. *εἰς* (and *εἰς*) appears on late Doric inscriptions: Astypalaia, C. I. G. 2488<sub>1</sub>, Kalyмна 2671<sub>10</sub>, Kalauria, C. D. I. 3379<sub>1</sub>.

*εἰς* is known from a Samian inscription in Dittenb. *Syll.* 132<sub>18</sub> (from about 302 B.C.) whence it may be read in *Mith.* IX 196 l. 7 (322 B.C.) though only the final letter is to be seen on the stone. It also appears in Kyzikos (C. I. G. 3655<sub>12</sub>, second or third century B.C.) and in a Spartan document (*l.l.* 1347<sub>6-7</sub> whence it is conjectured in 1404). None of the inscriptions from Ionia contain any trace of Ionism. Only late literature admits the presence of *εἰς*.

*εἰς* is used by Homer<sup>1</sup>, Theog. 518, [Sim. *Keos*] 186. In Ionic prose it is to be regarded as an Attic intruder: Hippokr. II 248—see under *εἰς*—, epist. IX 428 (*εἰς* C), epist. Herakl. in Diogenes' Life § 14, Lukian *deol.* 27, Arrian 15<sub>6</sub>, 23<sub>4</sub> (Eberhard *εἰ*), Euseb. *Mynd.* 5 times.

<sup>1</sup> Because his theory of the Homeric dialect will not permit the coexistence of *εἰς* and *εἰς* from *εἰς*, Schulze in his *Quest. Hom.* pp. 135, 494 conjectures *εἰς* in place of *εἰς* (about 30 times in Homer). *εἰς* is simply not Ionic.

In connection with the above we may here mention *οὐνεκεν* and *οὐνεκα*, both preposition and conjunction. As a preposition *οὐνεκα* took its rise from such combinations as *ἐκείνουνεκα*, *ἐμοῦνεκα*, i. e. *ἐκείνου* + *ἐνεκα*, &c., and in contradistinction to *ἐνεκα* is postpositive. The forms in Ionic are derived from the contraction of *-ου* + *ει* (spurious). The conjunction *οὐνεκα* is formed from *οὐ* + *ἐνεκα*, as *τοῦνεκα* from *τοῦ* (= *τούτου*) + *ἐνεκα*. As *οὐνεκα* as a preposition usurped the function of *ἐνεκα*, &c., so *εἵνεκεν* and *ἐνεκα* finally usurped that of *οὐνεκα* the conjunction<sup>1</sup> in Kallimachos frag. 287 and 471. Cf. *μέχρι* as preposition and conjunction. *οὐνεκεν* (1) prep.<sup>2</sup> Hrd. 1<sub>34</sub>, Demosth. 289 (322) epigram l. 5, and even in prose: *Phaidros* 259 D according to three MSS. followed by Bekker where the Bodleian, according to Thompson, has *οὐν ἐνεκεν*. (2) conj. Pindar, Hrd. 2<sub>21</sub>, 6<sub>15</sub>, Aret. 102. Cf. *ὁτοῦνεκεν* Hrd. 7<sub>103</sub> with Attic *οὐ* for *εὐ* (cf. 4<sub>40</sub>), *Prometh.* 330 *ὁθοῦνεκα*. *τοῦνεκεν* Xenophan. 2<sub>19</sub>, Sim. Keos 513. *οὐνεκα* (1) as a prep. occurs in the drama (see under *εἵνεκα*) and Attic prose. On poetical inscriptions we find it in C. I. A. IV 6, 422, no. 4 (perhaps before 600 B.C.), IV 6, 491, 8 (fifth century). Wilamowitz (*Herakl.* II 83), alluding to the fact that the last named inscription has reference to an hetaera, regards *οὐνεκα* as plebeian. It is used by Solon (37<sub>8</sub>, trim.), and in Kaibel 241 a, 12, 821<sub>6</sub>, 869<sub>1</sub>, 888 a, 6 (Roman). (2) conj. Homer, Pindar, tragedy, Theog. 854, 1349, Hippokr. As a conjunction *οὐνεκα* is very rare in ordinary Attic. *τοῦνεκα* Theog. 488, Lukian *Syr. dea* 33, 39, 54; cf. *ὁρεῦνεκ'* Hrd. 5<sub>20</sub>, 6<sub>22</sub>, 7<sub>45</sub> which is probably for *-νεκα*, not *-νεκε*.

*ἐς*, *εἰς*<sup>3</sup>. The question arises whether only one of these forms is Ionic, or whether both are the property of the dialect.

1. *Inscriptions*: On the inscriptions from the Kyklades and the Asiatic mainland and neighbouring islands we find ΕΣ invariably before 400 B.C. A (metrical). Samos 215<sub>2</sub>, a certain example of *ἐς*. B (Prose). Naxos 26, Keos 43<sub>14</sub>, Prokonnesos 103<sub>10</sub>, Ephesos 145<sub>6</sub>, Teos 156 A 6, 7, 10, Chios 174 A 2, 4, 8 (*ἐσω*), B 3, 8, Halikarn. 238<sub>40</sub>. In those later inscriptions in which ΕΙ represents the spurious diphthong *ει*, ΕΣ may be transcribed *ἐς*: Olynthos 8 A 6 (389–383 B.C.), Amphipolis 10<sub>17</sub> (*ἐστήλην*; 357 B.C.), Erythrai 202<sub>18</sub> (*ἐστήλην*; about 350 B.C.), 202<sub>19</sub>, 203<sub>2</sub>, 9 (about 350 B.C.), 204<sub>21</sub> (*ἐστήλην*; not much earlier than

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Apoll. Dysk. 239, Schn. and Kallimachos I 187, Schneider. In the ancient grammarians there is scarcely a trace of the preposition *οὐνεκα*.

<sup>2</sup> L. & S. are in error when they deny the existence of *οὐνεκεν* as a preposition.

<sup>3</sup> *ἐς* is Ionic, Attic, and Doric, according to Greg. Kor. § 13, but *εἰς* is Ionic according to Joh. Gram. 241.

345 B.C.<sup>1</sup>), Mylasa 248 B 5 (361 B.C.), Teos, *MittH.* XVI 292, 12, 18, but [ε]ιστορε[φε]ιν, l. 9 (perhaps before 350 B.C., but referred to the early Hellenistic period by its editor). The other example of EI=spurious ει in this document is ΕΙναι, a word which was so written at an early date (§ 224, 10). Less certain is the transcription of ΕΣ in Keos 47<sub>10</sub> (about 400 B.C.), because of φερΕν and the Attic ἐνοικοῦντα and Ποιασσοῦν. While the document has μΗ=μη, the fact that it still preserves two cases of E=pan-Hellenic η (§ 166), may justify the form ες<sup>2</sup>. Another doubtful transcription is the ΕΣ of Zeleia 113<sub>23, 34, 36, 31</sub> (after 334 B.C.), because the adulterine ει is represented by E as well as EI. We find ες (ΕΙΣ) in Thasos, *J. H. S.* VIII 401, 16 (an inscription referring to the oligarchy of 411 B.C.), Iasos Bechtel 105<sub>10</sub> (about the end of the fourth century), Oropos 18<sub>2, 13, 20, 23</sub> (411-402 or 387-377 B.C.), Erythrai 201<sub>2, 5, 12, 17, 21, 23, 24</sub> (400-350 B.C.), Samos 221<sub>17, 18, 21, 30</sub> (after 322 B.C.), Priene 144<sub>7</sub> (εἰς στήλην), 8 (about 350 B.C.), Ephesos 147<sub>4, 5, 12, 13, 14, 16</sub> (about 300 B.C.), Teos 158<sub>9, 10, 23</sub> (very late), Chios, in Paspates' *Chian Glossary*, 9<sub>1, 2, 12</sub>.

From the foregoing it appears that ΕΣ disappears after 350 B.C., and that ΕΙΣ, which is occasionally found before that date<sup>3</sup>, supplants the spelling with E. The transcription of ΕΣ in the oldest inscriptions by ες is supported by the η's of Chios 174 A 2 (cf. μη 'λάσσοις Chios 174 B 24), though η's in *Frogs* 86 should warn against attaching undue importance to cases of aphaeresis. Aristophanes usually has ες. No difference in the treatment of the two forms is noticeable in respect of their occurrence before vowels or consonants.

As regards the date of the occurrence of ΕΙΣ in the inscriptions, we may observe that the earliest cases do not occur on the Ionic mainland. The two instances of ΕΙΣ that deserve notice are those in Oropos and Thasos. In all the others Attic influence cannot be gainsaid. Since the Oropian document has EI throughout, it is more probable that the later (387-377 B.C.), and not the earlier date (411-402 B.C.), is correct. The same inscription contains several spellings that recall those that came into vogue in Attika

<sup>1</sup> ΕΣ in an Aiolic inscription, C. D. I. 215<sub>24</sub> (about 150 B.C., in honour of Erythrai, may possibly be Ionic, because of the Aiolic ΕΙΣ in lines 13, 21, 48. But ες occurs in Aiolic Pordoselena as early as 319-317 B.C., where it is probably Hellenistic. It should be noted that ες in Aiolic has a genuine, Ionic-Attic ες a spurious, diphthong.

<sup>2</sup> In the contemporary inscription from Oropos (no. 18) we have ΕΙΣ.

<sup>3</sup> The Thasian ΕΙΣ is the only certain case of this writing before 400 B.C. either in Ionic or Attic. Though this spelling is unusually early, it must not be forgotten that we find ΕΙΝΑΙ in Bechtel 71, 2, an inscription which cannot be placed much later than the fourth century, because of ΟΦΕΙΑΕΝ, and that in the Thasian inscription containing ες, the hybrid ει is everywhere represented by EI; cf. also (δ)ῆμῳτ l. 21, ΕΛεοδῆμῳτ 23.

about 380 B.C. The Thasian decree is noteworthy because of ΕΙΩΣ = εως, l. 12, and other fourth century spellings. The glide *iota* (§ 22c) does not appear on any Attic<sup>1</sup> or Ionic inscription before 400 B.C.

The construction *θεῖναι ἐς* (ἰερόν) occurs in Zeleia 113<sub>30</sub>, Erythrai 202<sub>19</sub>, 203<sub>9</sub>. *παπαρομέω ἐς* occurs in Hdt. VII 238, Mylasa 248 B 5.

2. *Lyric Poetry*: A. *ἐς* in the thesis before vowels occurs as follows. (1) Iambographs: Hrd. 308, Phoinix 2<sub>22</sub>, Aischrion 1<sub>6</sub>; (2) elegists: Archil. 5, 9<sub>7</sub>, Mimnerm. 5<sub>2</sub>, 12<sub>9</sub>, Tyrt. 11<sub>37</sub>, Simon. Keos 174<sub>1</sub>, Solon 27<sub>12</sub> (Clemens), Theog. 58, 127, 386, 426, 630, 780, 858, 863, &c. (sixteen times in all); (3) melic: Anakr. 20<sub>2</sub>, 25<sub>1</sub>, 34, 43<sub>5</sub>, Simon. Keos 58<sub>4</sub>. B. Before consonants, when the metre permits either form, we find *ἐς* as follows. (1) Iambographs: Archil. 52 (tetram.), Simon. Amorg. 7<sub>105</sub>, 108, Hipponax 6, 20<sub>2</sub>, 66, Herodas 1<sub>73</sub>, 2<sub>59</sub>, 37<sub>2</sub>, &c. (in all twenty-two times); (2) elegists: Mimnerm. 9<sub>3</sub>, Tyrt. 11<sub>12</sub>, Theog. 12, 16, 136 &c. (in all twenty-four times in Bergk's text<sup>2</sup>); (3) melic: Anakr. 1<sub>9</sub>, 19<sub>2</sub>. C. Before vowels and in the arsis we find *εἰς* as follows. (1) Iambographs: Archil. 74<sub>6</sub> (tetram.), 78<sub>3, 5</sub> (tetram.), Hrd. 1<sub>23</sub>, 7<sub>65</sub>, Solon 36<sub>17</sub>; (2) elegists: Mimnerm. 2<sub>14</sub>, 12<sub>4</sub>, Xenophanes 3<sub>3, 4</sub>, Tyrt. 10<sub>12</sub> (*vulgo*), 12<sub>38</sub>, Solon 27<sub>10</sub>, Theognis 162, 194, 244, &c. (thirteen times in all, including *εἰσω* 917, 1001)<sup>3</sup>. D. Before vowels and in the thesis there is one instance: Tyrt. 12<sub>43</sub>, where we read *εἰς ἄκρον κείσθαι*. Cf. Hesiod *W. D.* 291 *εἰς ἄκρον ἵκηται* and *εἰς ἄκρον* Hipponax 48 (see under E). E. Before consonants, when the metre permits either form, we find *εἰς* as follows: (1) Iambographs: Hipponax 46<sub>2</sub>, 48 *εἰς ἄκρον* at the beginning of the choliambus, Herodas 1<sub>77</sub>, 2<sub>82</sub>, 370, 444, 532 (cf. *ἐς* 533), 766, *Class. Rev.* V 481, frag. 2<sub>5</sub>, Solon 36<sub>6</sub>, Phoinix 1<sub>12</sub>, 13; (2) elegists: Tyrt. 11<sub>4</sub>, 10, Solon 36<sub>6</sub>, 418, 93, Theog. 311, 372, 1359 in Bergk's text. See the footnote to B (above) for the *v. l.* *εἰς* before consonants.

From the foregoing it is evident that the iambographers and elegists of Ionic birth used both *ἐς* and *εἰς*, but that the latter is employed only before a vowel, and in the arsis. The use of *εἰς* in thesis seems foreign to pure Ionic lyric. *ἐς* is to be adopted before consonants, and before vowels when either a short or a long syllable is possible. Hipponax 46<sub>2</sub>, 48, as well as the seven passages in Herodas, are to be freed from the Attic *εἰς*.

<sup>1</sup> Νηλεὺς, Ἐφημ. ἀρχ. 1884, 161-162 (418 B.C.) is a blunder. Λαμπερεὺς, C. I. A. IV B 491, 35, b 1, is regarded by Kirchhoff as dating from the fifth century. This is, we think, doubtful.

<sup>2</sup> The variant *εἰς* occurs in 175, 404, 563, 588 (well supported), 607, 755, 783, 974, 1105 (all MSS.).

<sup>3</sup> To be noted are the cases of *ἐς* in one or more MSS.: 566 (but *οἶκον* follows), 726, 1054.

Solon used *eis* except when *es* was called for in thesis. Theognis used *es* or *eis* before vowels as the metre required, and seems to have almost excluded *eis* before consonants.

Homer has both *es* and *eis*, the former more frequently than the latter according to the received text, and usually before consonants; *es* in Homer is almost eight times more common than *eis*. Fick's attempt (*Stoa* 537 ff.) to exclude the Ionic *es* from the Homeric epics is a failure. His allegiance to an Aiolic *eis* is purchased at the price of emending many passages in the *ae* *judice* older books, and by regarding the unavailable cases of *es* as substitutes for an (original) Kyprian *is*. Wecklein *Curios epigraph.* 59 concludes that Homer and the other epic poets have *eis* in passages metrically authoritative.

3. *Prose authors:* Herodotos adopts *es*, though *eis* occurs frequently as a variant (*eladayerai* III 70 in all MSS.), and likewise *es* (*es* *A B C d* VI 36). *es* and *es* are also Hippocratic according to Littré, I 494, who shows that *eis*, *es* are far less frequent. *es* is found in II 92, 130, 156, 252, III 134, 298, V 598, 600, and often where the vulgate has *eis*, e.g. II 68, 70, 76, 128, 234; cf. also II 282, III 96, 140. Littré reads *es* III 84, *es* V 606. The oldest MS. (*θ*) pronounces in favour of *es*, e.g. VI 366; but all MSS. have *eis* in V 662. Pherekydes of Leros 33 *A* has *es*, Ion 1 *eis*. In Lukian's *Vita auct.* we have twenty-four cases of *es* to two of *eis*, in the *Syr. dea A* has twelve cases of *eis*, the remaining MSS. 134 of *es*; in Arrian's *Indikè* there are 232 occurrences of *es*, nine of *eis*, and three places where the MSS. vary; Eusebios has *es* three times; Eusebios Myndios sixteen cases of *es*, and but two of *es*; Abydenos three cases of *eis*. Philip of Pergamum (*B. C. H.* II 273) has *es*. In the Ionic letters we have *es* at least 76 times, *eis* 18 times. In the *Vita Homeri* the proportion is 50 to 20. Aretaios adopts *es*.

1. The form *es* is the result of a displacement of *eis* (= *es* + *s* as *es* = *es* + *s*) when followed (in primitive Greek) by a consonant; whereas *eis* arose from *eis* before a vowel<sup>1</sup>. Later on either form was used before vowels or consonants. If Attic adopted *es* < \**es* before vowels, and abandoned *es* < \**es* before consonants, it may be asked why *eis* is not the only form of the preposition. Because the preposition, as a proclitic, could not attain the same fixity of form as the accusative, which may stand in a free position. *eis* cannot exist in absolute 'pause.' See Brugmann *Gramm.* I 485 ff. It is incautious to say, with Rutherford *New Phrygians* p. 432, that *es* is the older, *eis* the younger, Attic form. All we know is that *es* is written in the fifth, *eis* in the fourth century. The difference, as will be stated in note 2, may be one of spelling, not of pronunciation. The supposed rule that *es* appears before consonants, *eis* before vowels, is not borne out by the inscriptions. *es*, from \**es*, is an analogue of *es*, and not from \**eis* (Bezenberger in *B. B.* IX 334). *es* was formed from *es*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Brugmann *Berichte d. säch. Gesell.* 1882, pp. 181 ff. The Oertyna code has *es* before consonants, *eis* before vowels.



2. *εἰς*, *ἐς* in Attic. Solon seems to prefer *εἰς* to *ἐς* even before consonants, adopting the latter form only when he needs a short syllable. In tragedy *εἰς* is more frequent than *ἐς* before vowels, but before consonants we find it impossible to formulate any rule (see Dindorf's and Ellendt's Lexicons). **ΕΙ** was written, and no one but the dramatist himself can tell us whether he meant *εἰς* or *ἐς*. That the form of popular speech was in general *εἰς* may be inferred from two facts: (1) that Aristophanes avoids *ἐς* except in paratragic passages and when he adopts the form with aphaeresis 's before vowels or consonants, and (2) that the inscriptions, which uniformly have **ΕΙ** in the fifth century, adopt **ΕΙ** as soon as the new orthography has an opportunity to display the pronunciation. In fact by 350 B.C. **ΕΙ** was practically an obsolete spelling. Meisterhans (note 1459 a) argues from the spelling in the Ionic and Attic inscriptions that *εἰς* is the only form proper to Ionic and Attic prose; and even asserts that, from the point of view of morphology, *ἐς* can be only a Doric form. Kaibel's *Epigram* 26 is no doubt a Doricizing inscription (*ἐς* in l. 6, but *εἰς* l. 9) of the fourth century, but C. I. A. IV 477 C 1, of the sixth century, contains an indisputable case of *ἐς*, which Meisterhans cannot explain away. And, apart from the *ἐς* of tragedy, it is impossible that *ἐς* in late Aeolic inscriptions should be anything but an Hellenistic form<sup>1</sup>. Furthermore, the existence of *ἐς* in Attic is guaranteed by *σκοπαίσειν* < *ἐς* *κόρακας*, and rendered probable by the phrase *ἐς* *μακάριαν*. It is stated by many scholars that Thucydides used *ἐς* only<sup>2</sup>. Heretofore, we believe, this form has been regarded simply as one of two forms current in the fifth century. Admitting Thucydides' exclusion of *εἰς*, another explanation presents itself of the contrast between his diction and that of Aristophanes. In discussions upon the Attic *εἰς*, *ἐς* it has been overlooked that in the exclusive adoption of *ἐς*, nascent Attic prose may have followed the same literary convention that has introduced, through tragedy, forms unfamiliar to the ordinary language of the fifth century.

*κατά*. From the scant occurrence of the apocope of *κατά* in the poetry representing popular speech, it may be inferred that the ordinary dialect used only the full form. The only example in point is *καταθανοῖσι* Archil. 64, which is trochaic tetrameter (cf. § 52). Here *καταθαν-* is possible (cf. 66<sub>η</sub>). Anakr. 80 has *καθ' δέ*, but the fragment contains *μέσσην* which is not a prose form (cf. § 373). In the elegy, where Homeric<sup>3</sup> forms are reproduced, we find *κάλλιπον* Archil. 6<sub>2</sub>, and *κακκέμενος* Tyrt. 11<sub>10</sub> (*κατακει-* has MS. support).

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps derived, like so many other Hellenistic forms, from Ionic.

<sup>2</sup> Thucydides wrote **ΕΙ** invariably. If the *ἐς* of the MSS. is correct, their archetype may be derived either (1) from a MS. in the older orthography, or (2) from an unknown source which was informed of the historian's distaste to *εἰς*. Plato doubtless used **ΕΙ** after he grew to manhood, and his MSS. have the form *εἰς* almost invariably. To Isocrates and Demosthenes **ΕΙ** must have seemed an old-fashioned spelling; and their MSS. have *εἰς*. The genuineness of the MS. orthography is, however, doubtful in the case of the tragic poets, if we suppose the archetype was made from a pre-Eukleidean text. The constant variation between *εἰς* and *ἐς* before consonants looks more like an arbitrary variation than the reproduction of an official state text dating between 400 and 350 B.C.

<sup>3</sup> Joh. Gram. 241 B cites *καρτεσος* as Ionic, Bekk. Anecd. 719, *καρθεσος*.

μέμφε Aret. 167, 297 prep. with the genitive, also used by Aret. as a conjunction (342).

μετά is frequent in the inscriptions, e.g. Mylasa 248 C 12 (cf. σὺν τῷ Διῷ I. 6), Erythr. 204<sub>23</sub>, Teos 158<sub>19</sub> (late).

μέχρι. Oropos 18<sub>2</sub>, 10<sub>1</sub>, 15<sub>1</sub>, Chios 174 A 5 (ἄχρι A 4), Keos 43<sub>11</sub> (μ. ἐπί) before vowels and consonants, Hdt. e.g. III 5 (local), 10 (temporal), and as a conjunction IV 119 (without ἄν). μέχρι οὖ I 181, II 19 &c., is the only case, beside οὐνεκα, in which a preposition + a dependent relative is used as a preposition. Cf. μέχρι and μέχρι οὖ in Thukydides as conjunctions. Hdt. has μέχρι and no case in all the MSS. of μέχρις, whereas Homer has both. Hrd. uses μέχρι as a preposition in 8<sub>1</sub>, μέχρις οὖ in 2<sub>43</sub>, and both forms as conjunctions in 7<sub>7</sub>, 8<sub>2</sub>, 11. Theognis has μέχρι 1299, Kallinos μέχρις 1, (prep.). In reference to the statement of Meisterhans (p. 209, cf. Schmidt *Neutra* p. 349) that in Attic ἄχρι ἄν (μέχρι ἄν) occurs only in poetry, it may be said that we find μέχρις ἄν ἡλίου δύνῃ (= μέχρι ἡλίου δυσμένου C. I. A. IV 2 A 4) in C. I. G. 2360<sub>17</sub>, an inscription from Keos entirely Attic in form. Inscriptions from Attika have only the form μέχρι (preposition), and this form occurs in the Keian document, l. 26.

παρά. The form with apocope<sup>1</sup> occurs in Παρμένων, name of a Thasian, Roberts I 21. Cf. Styrian Παραμένων, Bechtel 19<sub>77</sub>, 78. Cf. Πάρφορος, Παρμενίων, Περγένης, Παραλείδης and Baunack, *Studia Nicolaitana* p. 53.

παρά. It is not clear whether παρά in Homer is Aiolic or Ionic. It is probably a form of both dialects. παραιβάτης (cf. Ψ 132) was possibly a cult word in Ionic. At least we find it in an Attic inscription C. I. A. I 5, (500-456 B.C.) dealing with religious matters. Such inscriptions are prone to take cult words from Ionic (cf. ξυρός C. I. A. I 2 C 16, according to Meisterhans). The Aischyleian παραιβασία is not sufficient to account for the presence of παρά in a prose inscription.

πάρῃς is used before consonants in A 486, μ 276, 443, ξ 168 (where some modern editors read παρέκ), Hdt. I 14 &c., Kyzikos 108 B 4, an archaistic inscription of the first century B.C. Cf. διέξ. On the accent, § 125.

πάρῃς occurs in Hdt. with genitive and accusative.

περά, by-form of μετά and πεδά, is found in πέρευρον Oropos 18<sub>42</sub> (§ 249).

πορί, if Ionic in Homer, has passed out of use in the later dialect. Cf. § 368.

σύν, not ξύν, is the Ionic form. Cf. § 380, to which may be

<sup>1</sup> πάρῃς is Ionic: Bekk. Anecd. 719.

added that Herodas has *σύν* invariably (nine times). *ξύν* in Archil. 86<sub>2</sub>, Solon 19<sub>3</sub> and Theog. 1063 [Mimnerm.] is not an Ionism. In Solon *ξύν* may be Old Attic. In inscriptions we find only *σύν*, e.g. Chios 174 A 6, Halikarn. 238<sub>1, 41</sub>, Oropos 18<sub>10</sub>, Mylasa 248 C 6 (*σύν τῷ Διί*, cf. *μετὰ Μανίτα* l. 12), Olbia 129<sub>12</sub>.

*ὑπό*, for *ὑπό*, occurring twice on an inscription from Kyme, Bechtel 3 A = Roberts I 177 A, shows that, of the Ionians, the Chalkidians at least held fast to the I.E. pronunciation of *u*. Cf. also the use of *κορρα* before *v* on Chalkidian vases (*Φόρρον*, *λήφουθος*) and the modern names *Kumi* = *Κύμη*, *Stura* = *Στύρα*, in the old home of the Chalkidians. It was from the Chalkidians of Kyme that the Italicans derived their *V* (*Υ*). See Blass *Ausspr.*<sup>3</sup> 38. The proximity of Boiotia is no cause for refusing to credit the Chalkidians with the retention of the ancient pronunciation of *v*.

*χάριν* does not occur in the lyric poets, except in Simon. Amorg. 7<sub>104</sub>. In Hdt. V 99 we find a strained use of *χάριν* with the article (*οἱ οὐ τὴν Ἀθηναίων χάριν ἐστρατεύοντο*), a usage rare even with the pronoun (cf. *τὴν σὴν χάριν* in Sophokles). We have met with *χάριν* on no prose inscription that contains a vestige of the Ionic dialect. No. 261 is metrical. Its prose use in Attic is confined to the period of the empire. In Sterrett's collections of inscriptions from Asia Minor, *χάριν* is a favourite word in the language of memorialists. *ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἑοῦ Στρατορείκου χάριν*, Paros 67 (very late), is a step towards the common use of *χάριν* in the latest period. Other impure prepositions are *δίκεν* Simon. Amorg. 12 and *μοῖραν* 7<sub>104</sub>.

### *Conjunctions, Adverbs, Particles.*

716.] The inscriptions afford us very slight information as to the conduct of the final and other conjunctions. Such as it is, the evidence has been adduced below.

*ἀγχοῦ* Hom., Hdt., not used in Attic prose, which employs *ἐγγύς*. On *ἀγχιστα*, see Rutherford *Phrygichus* p. 21.

*ἀδηνέως* Chios 174 B 12 (*κηρυσσόσωντων καὶ διὰ τῆς πόλεως ἀδηνέως γεγωνέοντες*) which Roehl regards as = *ἄδην* (*quantum opus erit*). Cf. *καὶ μοι τοῦτο ἐξαγγέλλεται σαφηνέως*, Hdt. I 140. Haussoullier, *B. C. H.* III 23, refers to Hesychios' *ἀδηνέως*· *ἀδόλως*, *ἀπλῶς*, *χωρὶς βουλῆς* which gives a preferable sense. He might have added Bekk. Anecd. I 341, where the word is glossed by *ἀπλῶς καὶ ἀταλαιπώρως, κατὰ στέρησιν τῶν δηνέων καὶ μεριμνῶν*. Hesychios

has also ἀδηνῆς· ἄκακος and ἀδηνεῖη· ἀπειρία. His ἀδηνείως is ascribed to Hippokrates by M. Schmidt. ἀδηνῆς, the conjecture of Valckenaer in Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>52</sub>, is inferior to Bergk's ἀληνῆς. L. & S. derivation of ἀδηνῆς from δῆω is incorrect.

On αἰί, αἰαί, see § 209, to which may be added that Hrd. 5<sub>6</sub> has αἰί, 6<sub>22</sub> [α]λαί, the latter of which forms is Ionic. On ἀιδιον, see § 275.

ἄλις (*vulgo* ἄλλας)=ἄλις, Hipponax 101. ἄλις (*sic*) is read by Dindorf in Ion 723 (chorus). For the ending, cf. ἀτρέμας, ἡρέμας, &c. Hdt. uses ἄλις (IX 27).

ἄλλη Zeleia 113<sub>32</sub>, Teos 158<sub>22</sub>, Hdt. I 46, &c.

ἀμβολάδην Hom., Hdt. IV 181 (cf. § 715).

ἀμισθί, Archil. 41 and in a late inscription from Teos (Dittenb. Syll. 126<sub>6</sub>), does not owe its ι to a reduction of ει or ι, but to analogy, a principle that will explain the apparent cases of ι from ει in the paper *A. J. P.* VI 419 ff.

ἄν is the conditional particle in the Ionic inscriptions and literature free from Homeric influence. Mullach (*Fulgarsprache* p. 89) asserts that κε is actually in use in the modern Chian dialect. As this assertion, if true, might be tortured into evidence for the Ionic character of κε, it may be stated that Mullach is in error<sup>1</sup>. A genuine instance of the retention of an Homeric word by the Chians of the fifth century B.C. is γεγωνέοντες (174 B 13). The omission of ἄν in εἶσαι ἔωσω, Teos, *Mittl.* XVI 292, 4 may be noted because of its rarity.

ἀνακῶς *carefully*, Hdt. I 24, VIII 109, Hippokr. VIII 614, also in Thuk. VIII 102, and Plato, the comic poet (II 687 Meineke). The word is called Doric by Erotian, p. 66. Stein, Abicht, and L. & S. refer it to ἀναξ, ἀνακός; an etymology which is not to be supported by the *ad hoc* definition βασιλικῶς in Suidas and Bekk. Anecd. I 391. The word is obscure despite the attempt of Baunack in his *Studien* I 256 to connect it with ἀσκέω.

ἀναρτίον Hdt. VII 34 (ἐναντία VI 32); cf. καταρτίον VI 103.

ἄρα, see under ἦρα.

ἀσπορδαί Erythr. 202<sub>2</sub>, 203<sub>3</sub>, Iasos in *J. H. S.* IX 341, 342, and to be restored in Amorgos in *Mittl.* XI 106, 10 (late).

ἀσπραβδα Hrd. 3<sub>64</sub> (the papyrus ἀσπράβδ'). In the dispute whether the word was oxytone or proparoxytone, Apollonios and Herodian decided in favour of the latter.

ἀσυλαί Erythr. 202<sub>2</sub>, 203<sub>4-5</sub>, Iasos in *J. H. S.* IX 341, 342, Pantikapaion in Latyshev II 1<sub>9</sub>, Amorgos in *Mittl.* XI 106,

<sup>1</sup> For this information I am indebted to the kindness of G. N. Hatridakis.



10 (late). On this word and on ἀσπονδεῖ, see *A. J. P.* VI 428, where it is shown that the spelling with -ει is correct, and that -ι is itacistic. Hdt. has πανδημεῖ.

ἀτάρ Hdt., Hippokr. *e.g.* II 650. ἀτάρ ἡδέ is peculiar to Aretaios (133, 139, 140, 303).

αὖτις, see § 355. Hdt. has μετααὖτις I 62 which is unknown to Attic prose.

ἄχρι, see § 715.

βύζην *confertim* (with ζ from σδ), Hippokr. VIII 28 and Thukydides.

δεῦτε Hrd. 411, Homeric, rare in tragedy.

δημοσίη Mylasa 248 B 11 (-ιη C 15, cf. § 240). Attic δημοσίαι is found in 261.

δηῦτε, § 320.

-δον. Adverbs in -δον are frequent in Hdt. (διακριδόν, ἐνδον, ἡβηδόν, κρεουργηδόν, κτηνηδόν, ἀρχηδόν, περισταδόν).

εἰάν, see under ἦν.

ἐβελοντήν Hdt. I 5, VI 25 (in Hdt. only).

εἶτεν is Ionic according to Ailius Dionysios *apud* Eust. 1158<sub>m</sub>, and as such used by Herodotos. But Herodotos uses neither εἶτεν nor εἶτα, the latter of which forms is not Homeric or Pindaric, but occurs in Hippokr. III 240, Aretaios 56, 57, 81. In Skymnos *Descript. orbis* εἶτεν is used both before vowels (468, 802) and before consonants (330, 502, 597, 643, 676), sometimes when the other form was metrically possible. εἶτα occurs in 275, 590, 879. Dionysios, son of Kalliphon, makes frequent use of εἶτεν and εἶτα. That the former form was a favourite in the Κοινή appears from the injunction of Phrynichos (p. 204 Ruth.): εἶτεν καὶ ἐπείτεν ἐσχάτως βάρβαρα. See under ἐπείτεν.

ἐμπλήν *except*, Archil. 111. The inscriptions have πλήν, *e.g.* Erythr. 204<sub>8</sub>.

ἐνδόσε Keos 43<sub>14</sub>, a new word.

ἐνθαῦτα, ἐνθεῦτεν, § 356; ἐντοῦθα, § 256.

ἐνιαχῇ Hdt. I 199, not -χῇ as L. & S.

ἐξαπίνης Hdt. I 74, ἐξαίφνης IX 45, the latter from -αφνι-; cf. ἀφνω in Hesychios.

ἐπειδάν makes its appearance once in Homer (N 285), where the recent editors adopt various conjectures to displace the later form. In Ionic inscriptions it occurs in Oropos 18<sub>3</sub>, Zeleia 113<sub>24</sub> (after 334 B.C.), and in Erythr. 204<sub>7</sub> (before 345-344 B.C.), documents containing traces of Attic influence. Attic inscriptions of the fourth, as well as the fifth, century show ἐπειδάρ. In Hdt. we find the form in all MSS. in VIII 144 (ἐπειδάρ τάχιστα),



where it is rejected by Abicht, Holder, and Kallenberg. The phrase was used by Xenophon *Anab.* III 1, 9 (cf. *ἐπειδὴν θάρσεν Protag.* 325 C). In I 193 (*ἐπειδὴν A*) and IV 61 (*Cd*), Stein adopts *ἐπειδὴν*, but rejects it III 21 (*CPz*), 117 (*C*), IV 22 (*Rz*). Hippokr. employs it II 12, 34, 78 (*ἐπειδ' ἄν*, treated as *δρ' ἄν*), III 238, 258, &c., Arrian 10<sub>8</sub>, 30<sub>8</sub>. In tragedy the word is rare and does not often occur in positions to show the quantity of the final syllable. But in *Septem* 734 (ch.), we scan  $\cup - \cup$  (Verrall *ἐπεὶ δ' ἄν*), and so in *Rhesos* 469 (trim.). The short ultima is surprising in view of *δᾶν*, Sophokles' *Elektra*, 314 (*L*). Cf. the MS. *ἐπειδ' ἄν* in Hippokr.

*ἐπειτα* Keos 43<sub>18</sub>, Miletos, Dittenb. *Syll.* 391<sub>12</sub><sup>1</sup>, Archil. 56<sub>6</sub>, Tyr. 4<sub>6</sub>, Theog. 735, 742, 747, 869, Herodotos over ninety times, Hippokr. II 12, 78, III 254, 310, IV 204 (-*rev* Dietz), VI 140, IX 350 and very often, Aretaios 42, 51, *Syr. dea* 20. New Ionic has also the Homeric *μετέπειτα*, which is not Attic before Aristotle. *ἐπειτα* Miletos, Dittenb. *Syll.* 391<sub>2</sub>, of the fourth century (*εἰς τὸν ἐπειτα χρόνον*, whereas in I. 12 we read *εἰς τὸν ἐπειτα χρόνον*), in Hdt. only as a *v.l.*, e.g. II 52 (*ABC*), VI 83 (*ἐπεὶ τε R*), 91 (*ἐπειτα AB<sup>1</sup> d*, *ἐπεὶ τε C*), IX 98 (*ἐπεὶ τε R*). *ἐπειτεν* is explicitly stated to be Ionic and Herodoteian by Ailios Dionysios in Eust. 1158<sub>30</sub>. Theognostos (An. Ox. II 161<sub>20</sub>) does not refer the form to any dialect. The statement of Ailios, who is generally trustworthy, is, however, vitiated (1) by the fact that, in all the occurrences (about 100) of the adverb in Hdt., there is no MS. authority whatever for *ἐπειτεν*, and (2) by the avoidance on the part of Hdt. of *εἶτεν*, a word which Ailios says was used (in this form) by the historian.

If Ailios' statement has any foundation, he must have read *ἐπειτεν* where the MSS. have *ἐπειτα* or *ἐπεὶ τε* (cf. I 146, II 52, IX 84, 98). Ailios might have been misled by the occurrence of *ἐπειτεν* in the *Kouή* into regarding it, like so many other *Kouή* forms, as Ionic; and *εἶτεν* was then rashly included because of *ἐπειτεν*<sup>2</sup>. See under *εἶτεν*.

*ἐπειτεν* appears before the *Kouή* in Pindar *Pyth.* IV 211, *Nem.* III 54, *Isthm.* VII, VI, 20 and perhaps *Nem.* III 49, Aristophanes *Acharn.* 743 in the mouth of a Megarian. In later poetry it occurs in Sphynnos *Isacript.* orbis 569, and perhaps in 947 where *ἐπειτα δ'* is foreign to the author's style, though *ἐπειτα* occurs, e.g. 461, 661, 709; in Dionysios, the son of Kalliphon, 116 (*ἐπειτα* 3 times), and in Machon *apud Athen.* 581 F (by Porson's certain emendation).

<sup>1</sup> Rhexion 5, should not be regarded as certainly Ionic.

<sup>2</sup> In his paper on the adverbs in *εἶτε*, *Ueener Jahrbücher*, 1878, p. 61) thinks that *ἐπειτεν* is to be sought in the reading *ἐπεὶ τε*. It should be noted, however, that when the copyists misunderstand the forms in *εἶτε*, they divide thus: *ἐπειτ' ἄν* Pind. *Isthm.* VII, VI, 20, *Pyth.* IV 211, *εἶτ' ἄν*, &c.

That the form was frequent in the *Κοινή* is evident from Phrynichos, quoted above under *ἐτεν*.

Of all the *certissima vestigia* of *ἐτετεν* (Dindorf *Proef.* XXXVI), in the MSS., not one is certain. Rather all speak for *ἐτετε*. Dindorf, Stein, Abicht, and Holder adopt Reiz's *ἐτετεν* in I 146, where the MSS. have *ἐτετε*. Whenever the form *ἐτετα* is not supported by all the MSS., the only variant found is *ἐτετε* (*ἐτετε*, or possibly *ἐτετ* τε even when the adverb is called for *ἐτετε*, as well as *ἐτετα*, is certainly Ionic, because attested in the inscriptions. To be distinguished from *ἐτετε* = *ἐτετα* is *ἐτετε*<sup>1</sup> = *ἐτετ* τε in VIII 22, IX 84, 93 *tes*, in one case the MSS. have *ἐτετα*. A single occurrence of *ἐτετεν* in the MSS. of Ionic prose is *ἐτετεν*, *sic θ*, in Hippokr. VII 332.

ἐπεξῆς Ephesos 148<sub>34</sub>, Hdt. II 77, V 18, &c.

ἐπήν, see under ἦν.

ἐσάπαξ Hdt. VI 125, Hippokr. VIII 28.

ἐστε (preposition and conjunction) is used by Theog. 959 (cf. v. l. 394), Hdt. VII 141, 158, 171, VIII 4, 142, Hippokr. II 138, IV 220, Arrian 20<sub>1, 5</sub> (ἐστε ἐπὶ), Aret. 52, 86, *Syr. dea* 12. Whether Eleian ἐστα stands for ἐστε or represents an original form with -τα, as Kretan μέστα, is uncertain. The nearest analogue in other dialects is ἐντε, occurring in Lokrian, Delphic, and Boiotian (ἐττε). This ἐντε may, however, be due to form-association and therefore a combination of ἐν + τε, or it may be the equivalent of Gothic *und* < *nlé*, which has the same meaning as the Greek conjunction<sup>2</sup>.

In Archil. 14 we meet with the peculiar form *ἐσσε*, whose -κε, if correct, cannot be the equivalent of the Homeric κε, because of *ἐσσε κε* in Theokr. V 22, VI 32. So far as we are aware, *ἐσσε* occurs in only one other passage: Anthol. VII 727, *ἐσσε θάψω*. Both passages should probably be corrected to *ἐστε*, unless the analogy of Thessal. *κς*, *τς*, *quis*, and *καλ*, *τε*, *que* is sufficient to prove the genuineness of the -κε form. *ἐστε* is not from *ἐς τε* because of Eleian *ἐστα*, that dialect using *ἐν*, not *ἐς*, with the accusative. The congeners of *ἐστε* are Skt. *acchā*, Slav. *čŕte*, Lat. *usque*<sup>3</sup>.

εὔτε (Hom.) Hdt. II 63, VI 27, VII 209, *Syr. dea* 25, 36, 55, Aret. 62, 89 (εὔτε ὅταν).

ἕως οὗ Hdt. II 143, where many editors adopt Struve's ἐς ὃ (§ 569). *ἕως οὗ* might be defended by the analogy of *μέχρι οὗ*<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Greg Kor § 26.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Solmsen, *K. Z.* XXIX 333.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Burda in Kuhn-Schleicher's *Beiträge* VI 89 ff., Bloomfield *A. J. P.* VI 41, Wheeler *Nominalaccent* 22, and also Zubaty *K. Z.* XXXI 12, cf. 61. The last named scholar would connect *ἐσχατος*, on the etymology of which see Wackernagel *K. Z.* XXXII 40. The etymology in the text disposes of Meisterhans' objection (note 1682) to the Attic character of the word. *Et. Mag.* 382, refers *ἐστε* to the Dorians.

<sup>4</sup> Meister *Zum etruschen, arkadischen, und kypriachen Dialekte* p. 42, would retain ἐς οὗ in Hdt. I 67, 98, III 31 &c., where ἐς ὃ is adopted, and finds here a genitive of limit. See his *Dialekte* II 198 ff.

and οὐνεκα. *ἔως* with the genitive occurs in a decree in *De corona* 108 and in Aristotle. Cf. *ἔστε* with the genitive in late Greek. *ἔως* as a conjunction occurs in Hdt. III 134 (cf. v. l. I 86, 94, II 169, all MSS. VIII 74) and often in Hippokr. c. g. II 22 (subj.), 66 *dis* and IV 222 (*ἄν* with subj.).

*ἤδέ* in late prose, Aretaios 337, also after *ἀνάρ* (303).

*ἡμέτερος*, see under *δρημος*.

*ἦν* (*ἔπην*), *εἰάν* (*ἔπειάν*), *ἄν*. 1. *Inscriptions*. *ἦν* occurs as follows: Amphip. 107, 18, Thasos 714, Miletos 1001, Zeleia 11318 (*εἰάν* l. 20, 39), Ephesos 14511, 21, 71, Teos 1588 (a very late document with *εἰάν*, l. 2, 31), Chios 174 A 9, 16, 20, B 16, B. P. W. 1889, p. 1194, Halikarn. 23816, 33, 37, Iasos in *Greek Inscript. in the Brit. Mus.* III 1, no. 440, l. 6, 7 (*εἰάν* l. 2, 3). *κάν* Ephesos 1453, 4, Chios 174 C 5 stands for *καὶ + ἦν* (by crasis through contraction, not elision, as *κῆν* in Herodas and Hippokrates). In an epigram, Kaibel 1106 IV, where the original has *κάν*, the Anthol. Pal. IX 75 has *κῆν*.

*ἔπην* is found in Keos 4317, Chios 174 C 10. *ἔπειάν*, which is preferred to *ἔπην* in Hdt., does not occur in the Ionic inscriptions.

*εἰάν* appears in Olynthos 8 B 17 and thence to be supplied in 8 A 5, B 14 (between 389 and 383 B. C.). This inscription is almost entirely free from Atticisms (*ἀμφοτέροισι*, *μιάς*). Furthermore in Teos 1582, 31 (first century B. C.), Erythr. 20412 (not much before 345-344 B. C.), in a West-Ionic document (no. 22, found south of Eretria) which is almost entirely Attic, and in a Chian inscription in Paspates' *Chian Glossary* (910). *εἰάν* appears in Zeleia 11320, 39 (shortly after 334 B. C.), with *ἦν* in l. 18, in Teos, *Mith.* XVI, 292, 19, an inscription perhaps as old as 350 B. C., and in Iasos, *Greek Inscript. in the Brit. Mus.* III 1, no. 440, l. 2, 3. Cf. § 220.

*ἄν* occurs in Oropos 189, 12, 14, 19 (between 411-402 or, more probably, 387-377 B. C.), Keos 477 (about same date as Oropos 18; both inscriptions contain traces of Atticism), Paros in Ross's *Inscr. ined.* 148, Thasos 7215, 16 (300-250 B. C.), in an Asiatic Ionic inscription (2633) found in Lykia and probably of the fourth century, and in a Chian inscription in Paspates' *Chian Glossary* (98).

Both *εἰάν* and *ἄν* are Atticisms, and there is no inscriptional evidence that does not admit of *εἰάν* being likewise regarded as Attic.

With the above we may compare the testimony of the Attic stone records. Before 400 B. C. *ἔδε* is the invariable form with only two exceptions in favour of *ἄν*. In the fourth century we find, besides *ἔδε*, the forms *εἰάν* between 387-350, and *ἄν* twice, and in the third century *εἰάν*, and *ἄν* once. *ἔδε* and *ἔδε* are foreign to all Attic inscriptions. *ἔδε* occurs first in the third century (265 B. C.).

2. *Lyric poets.* ἦν, the Homeric form, is found in Sim. Amorg. 7<sup>15</sup>, 25, 60, 97, Hipponax 43, 46, 49<sub>6</sub>, Herodas (thirty times, with no case of ἐάν), Theognis 35, 109, 186, &c., Kritias of Chios. In crasis Hrd. uses only κῆν (234, 310, &c.). ἐπῆν (Hom.) occurs in Theog. 299, Hrd. 240, 345, 527, 661, but ἐπεάν 330, 43, 584. Homer has ἐπεὶ ἄν in Z 412 (cf. Eust.), I 304, P 489, ἐπεὶ κε often. Cf. ἐπέτε ἄν Hdt. I 200.

3. *Prose writers.* ἦν is the form adopted by Herodotos, Hippokrates, e.g. II 18, III 194, 206 (ἦνπερ), V 660, VI 142 (θ), 148, VII 174, Aretaios, e.g. 50, 112, 258, 259, 288, Lukian *Syr. dea* 47, *Vit. auct.* 6, epistle of Pherekydes (twice), epistle of Thales 1 (twice), epistles of Hippokrates (three times). Noteworthy is the crasis κῆν, Hippokr. II 48, III 192, Aret. 258, 259, 261, 293, 337 (κᾶν 60), because of κᾶν in inscriptions. See above under 1. Attic ἐάν appears in Bywater's Herakleitos 7, 113, Hippokr. II 78, III 236 (Littré and Ermerins), Lukian *Syr. dea* 52: ἄν in Hippokr. III 232 (cf. ἦν 234), in A V 604, in B M N III 218. In the tractate *περὶ κεφαλῆς τρωμάτων* Littré edits ἦν, ἐάν, ἄν.

ἐπῆν is best supported in Hdt. in V 35 (all MSS. except P and :), IV 134 (A B C d), not so well in II 40 (P). We find it rarely in Hippokr., e.g. III 248, VI 140, VII 474, VIII 306 (θ), 320, 334, and in Aret. 42, 296, 303, 337. In the spurious letters of Hippokr. it occurs once, and also in the epistle of Pherekydes. ἐπεάν occurs almost fifty times in Hdt.<sup>1</sup> without a variant. Lukian has it in the *Syr. dea* 6, 29, 49, 51, 57, 60, Arrian 137, 147, 152, 160, 13, 257, 2911, Euseb. Mynd. 53, 63. ἐπαρ, not ἐπεάρ, is used by Hippokrates according to Littré (I 483), and is often written ἐπ' ἄρ or ἐπᾶν in the MSS. The Attic form was used by Aretaios in 288, &c.

1. The position occupied by ἐπεάν in Hdt. and his imitators is peculiar from the fact that in all the other monuments of Ionic literature from Homer to Herodas (who has however three cases of ἐπεάν and in all the inscriptions ἐπῆν is the only form. Hippokrates, we venture to believe, did not adopt ἐπεάν, which is a relatively late Attic production. If ἐάν appeared in any Ionic document anterior to, or contemporaneous with, Hdt., or if any case of ἐάν in the inscriptions were certainly Ionic, the coexistence of ἐπεάν on the one hand, and of ἦν on the other, would present little difficulty. It would be simply the coexistence of an older and younger form which is common enough in Greek and other languages. Compare, for example, the use of *þif* and *if* the latter after *but*, as in the Ornum *þif* 11, 139, 145, *if* 603, 3164) and of *þif* and *if* in the General Prologue of the Canterbury Tales *þif* 144, *if* 148, of the Lansdowne MS. . As it is, the retention of the uncontracted form in ἐπεάν does not carry with it the existence of an open ἐάν. In a much used word such as ἐάν the tendency towards contraction would be

<sup>1</sup> Cited as Ionic from Hdt. by Greg Kor § 55. ἐπεάν is mentioned, but not as dialectal, by Apollon. Conjug. 2157, Schol.

great (cf. § 444), though  $\epsilon + \alpha$  rarely unite in Ionic. We are tempted to regard  $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\delta\alpha$  as due to  $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\chi\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\tau\eta\rho\iota\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$ .

2. In respect of  $\epsilon\delta\alpha$  it should be noticed that the ordinary explanation (from  $\epsilon\iota + \delta\alpha$ ) fails to account for  $\epsilon\delta\alpha$  in *O. K.* 1407, *Wasps* 288<sup>1</sup>. If we adopt the explanation which sees in Attic  $\epsilon\delta\alpha$  the union of  $\eta^2 + \delta\alpha$ ,  $\epsilon\delta\alpha$ , in Ionic  $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\delta\alpha$ , was constructed after  $\alpha$  had ceased to pass into  $\eta$ , or the Ionic form is  $\epsilon\delta\alpha$  derived from  $\eta + \delta\alpha$  by shortening of the  $\eta$  before a vowel (cf. Ionic  $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\alpha$ , Attic  $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\alpha$ ). If  $\epsilon\delta\alpha$  existed alongside of  $\epsilon\delta\alpha$  in Attic or elsewhere, we must, at any rate, adopt a different explanation in the case of each form.

3. In the enormous preponderance of  $\eta\alpha$  over  $\epsilon\delta\alpha$  in Aristophanes (268: 69 according to Sobolewski's enumeration), it is difficult not to see a fact necessitating the assumption that  $\eta\alpha$  is a form native to the ordinary speech of the Athenians (cf. § 75). We can discern no principle making for a difference in Aristophanes between the two forms in respect of their use, e.g. a paratragedic preference for  $\eta\alpha$ , a legal preference for  $\epsilon\delta\alpha$  in the *Wasps* ( $\epsilon\delta\alpha$  9 times,  $\eta\alpha$  37) or in the *Lysistrata* (11: 29), or in the chronological order of the comedies. The proportion of  $\epsilon\delta\alpha$  to  $\eta\alpha$  in the *Knights* is 78 %, but in the *Clouds* only 9 %. Petri *De enuntiatorum condicionalium apud A. formis et usu* p. 31 erred in thinking that there was a steady growth of  $\eta\alpha$ . See Sobolewski *Syntaxis Aristophaneae capita selecta* p. 14.

4. To § 75 may be added a statement in reference to the use of  $\eta\alpha$  and  $\epsilon\delta\alpha$  in Euripides. When the metre permits, the former is invariably employed.  $\epsilon\delta\alpha$  occurs in *Hel.* 1071, *El.* 954, *Herakleid.* 256, 516, *Ion* 425, *Kykl.* 427, *Med.* 727, *Troad.* 713, *Phoin.* 757, *Rhes.* 143, frag. 294. In the above passages  $\epsilon\delta\alpha$  is followed by a consonant. In *I. A.* 1193 for  $\epsilon\delta\alpha$   $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\alpha$ , Hartung's  $\epsilon\delta\alpha$   $\sigma\phi\omega\alpha$  is generally adopted. In *Herakleid.* 1020 Elmsley restored  $\eta\alpha$  for  $\delta\alpha$ , in *Herakleid.* 263 Kirchhoff emended  $\mu\eta\delta\epsilon\alpha$   $\delta\alpha$   $\sigma\upsilon$   $\sigma\omega\phi\rho\omicron\upsilon\eta\varsigma$  to  $\sigma\omega\phi\rho\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  (Nauck read  $\eta\alpha$ ), in *Suppl.* 180 Scaliger read  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\alpha$   $\delta\alpha$  for  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\varsigma$   $\delta\alpha$   $\tau\acute{\iota}\kappa\tau\eta$   $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\eta$ . For  $\delta\alpha$  Dindorf read  $\eta\alpha$  in frag. 379.  $\kappa\alpha\alpha$  with subjunctive also occurs, e.g. frag. 345, 364. All the passages cited occur in dialogue parts. Cf. Johnson *De conjunctivi et optativi usu Euripideo in enuntiatis finalibus et condicionalibus* (1893) p. 48.

$\eta\alpha$  and  $\alpha\alpha$  (§ 283)<sup>3</sup>. Archilochos is the first Greek author to make use of the asseverative  $\alpha\alpha < \eta \alpha\alpha$  found  $\Sigma$  429 ( $\eta \alpha\alpha$   $\sigma$  357). Hippokrates and Herodas are the only authors writing in Ionic who use  $\eta\alpha$ : thus placing Ionic in the position of being the only dialect having both forms. In Doric and Aiolic we have  $\eta\alpha$ , in Attic<sup>4</sup> and the Koiné,  $\alpha\alpha$ . In *Hrd.* 4<sub>21</sub>  $\eta\alpha$  is =  $\alpha\alpha$ , in 5<sub>21</sub> it is the interrogative. Cf. the like use of  $\eta$  as an asseverative and as

<sup>1</sup> See Dindorf *ad loc.*, who proposes to delete  $\gamma\epsilon$  in several passages, thus making  $\epsilon\delta\alpha$  possible (*Plutus* 126, 481, *Wasps* 1231, and in the post-Aristophanic comic poets). Cf. Bekk. *Anecd.* 954<sub>16</sub>.

<sup>2</sup>  $\eta$  if occurs in inscriptions from Krete and Kyproa. It is perhaps identical with  $\eta$ , the interrogative in indirect questions, which appears in inscriptions from Herakleia, Dodona, and Astypalaia.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. also scholiast on Dionys. Thrax in Bekk. *Anecd.* II 968<sub>7</sub>, and Ahrens *Kleine Schriften* I 60.

<sup>4</sup> Attic has the epic  $\eta \alpha\alpha$  followed by  $\alpha\alpha$  in *Perrai* 633, 637 (ch.).  $\eta \alpha\alpha$  occurs also in *Ilias* 172, 954 (ch.). Cf. Pindar *Pyth.* XI 38, IV 57 affirmative, *Isthm.* VI-VII 3, *Pyth.* IX 37 interrogative. With the last example, cf. *Butrach.* 174 ( $\eta \alpha\alpha$  postponed).



an interrogative particle. In Hippokrates there exists considerable variation between the two forms of the interrogative. In the Προφητικός I we have noted, after a rough count, in Litré's text: ἄρα two times, ἄρά γε 10, ἦρα 4, ἦρά γε 16; in the Κωακαὶ προγνώσεις: ἄρα 13, ἄρά γε 2, ἄρά τι 1, ἦρα 4, ἦρά γε 9, ἦρά τι 3. In V 278 we find πότερον ἦρα . . . ἢ (cf. Pindar *Pyth.* IX 37). The MSS. vary constantly. Hdt. has ἄρα, e.g. VII 17, ἄρα IV 64. Litré's ἄρα V 554 is not to be defended.

ἦχοι where Oropos 18<sub>16</sub>, a new word, comparable to Homeric ἦχι A 607, &c. The evidence of the Oropian inscription should settle the question as to the orthography of the Homeric form in favour of Aristarchos' ἦχι (against the MS. tradition, followed by Apollonios). Cf. Hdn. I 505<sub>18</sub>, where the Doric form is said to be ἦχι<sup>1</sup>, La Roche *H. T. K.* 278, and Roscher, in Curtius' *Studien* III 143. We accentuate the locative ἦχοι on the analogy of Ἐρυθοῖ, πανταχοῖ, ἐνθαυθοῖ<sup>2</sup> (C. I. A. IV B 27 b 13, from 439 B.C.), rather than as a paroxytone, like οἴκοι.

-θε(ν). Local adverbs which have almost, if not entirely, lost the original *whence* idea, may, if not formed from substantives, lose their -ν in Homer<sup>3</sup>. In the inscriptions we find ὀπισθε (before a consonant) in Halikarn. 240<sub>66</sub> (fifth century according to Dittenberger), Samos 220<sub>27</sub> (346-345 B.C.), Erythrai 201<sub>18</sub> (fourth century). Herodas 2<sub>60</sub> has κάτωθε κάνωθεν, Theognis and Tyrtaios πρόσθε and πρόσθεν, Sim. Keos 163 (eleg.) πρόσθε, 37<sub>3</sub> (threnos) ὑπερθε *vulgo*, Tyrtaios 11<sub>17, 20</sub> ὀπισθε. Elsewhere the poets have -θεν. In Herodotos we find -θεν except in πρόσθε, ἔμπροσθε, ὑπερθε, κατύπερθε, ὀπισθε, ἔρερθε, and perhaps in πέ,ηθε<sup>4</sup>. Hippokrates, on the other hand, always adopts -θεν, e.g. πρόσθεν III 192, ὑπόπροςθεν 68 (Hippokratic only), ἀπόπροςθεν 212 (also in Plato *Krin.* 987 A), ἔμπροσθεν 74, 192, 194, ὀπισθεν II 78, III 72, 182, 184, 190, 192. Aretaios has πρόσθεν, e.g. 76, ὑπερθεν 52, ἔρθεν 28, but Lukian *Syr. dea* 29 has πρόσθε. Of the adverbs in -θε in Hdt., πρόσθε and ἔμπροσθε are occasionally well supported in the MSS. of Plato, Isokrates, and Demosthenes. So too ἐπίπροςθε in Plato (-εν Aret. 69), but ὀπισθε, κατόπισθε, ἐξόπισθε, ἐξωθε, and ἄλλοθε in that author occur only in inferior MSS. ἔμπροσθε, καθίπερθε, and ὀπισθε are found in Attic inscriptions between 350-317 B.C., and even Μοννυχίαθε, Ἄλω-

<sup>1</sup> But cf. Et. Mag. 417<sub>3</sub>: ἦχι δ' οὐκ, and Dionysios in schol. B. L. on A 607.

<sup>2</sup> In Plato *ἐνταυθί* should not displace *ἐνταυθοῖ*.

<sup>3</sup> ἀπώθεν, Tzetz. Ex II 90<sub>8</sub>.

<sup>4</sup> In VI 33 περηθε is the reading of the best MSS., adopted by Stein, Holder and Kallenberg, but rejected by Abicht for the περηθεν of B<sup>1</sup> 22. In VI 124 there is no authority for ἀνέκαθεν = ἀνωθεν in Attic prose except Aldus who is followed by the recent German editors because the -θεν idea is still unobscured. ἔμπροσθε in VII 126 occurs in AB only, ὀπισθε in II 96 in z only.

πεκῆθε occur in the fourth century. On the occurrences of πρόσθε, &c., in late prose, see Lobeck *Elementa* II 153.

-θε occurs also in Thessalian ἐνευθε, Aiolic πρόσθε. Aiolic has in addition to -θε, both -θεν and -θα, which are likewise Doric. It is still a moot point whether -θεν (-θε), -θα are independent suffixes, whether -θα represents θ γ, and -θε a contamination of -θεν and -θα, or whether -θα is original and the other forms analogues of κέν, κέ'. The same uncertainty exists in the case of ἔπειθεν, ἔπειτε, ἔπειτα, εἵνεκεν, εἵνεκε, εἵνεκα. That -α and -ε may be distinct formations, not derived from a parent-form with sonant nasal, may be inferred from -τε and -τα (ἔτε, Aiolic ἔτα), γέ and γέ (Epeirotic γέν, if correct, being a late formation), -δε and -δα (Arkadian θέδα).

-θι occurs much more frequently in Ionic than in Attic prose. οὐδαμόθι is found only in Hdt. VII 49. αὐτόθι and αὐτοῦ occur in both dialects (Hdt. II 44, Hippokr. II 24, *Syr. dea* 45, Arrian 26<sub>10</sub>); so too ἄλλοθι Hdt. III 73, *Syr. dea* 29.

ἰδίηι appears in the weakened form ἰδίει, Oropos 18<sub>14</sub>. In Thasos 72<sub>5</sub> (300–250 B.C.) and Iasos 105<sub>4</sub> (end of the fourth century) we find the Attic ἰδίαι.

ἰθύς Ephesos 145<sub>7</sub>, cf. Hdt. ἰθύς, ἰθύ, ἰθέως and see § 198.

ἰνα, the particle that in Herodotos occurs more than twice as frequently as all the other final particles combined, is, but for a single instance, excluded from the language of the inscriptions; a matter of no surprise, when we remember the preference of the Attic inscriptional documents for ὅπως ἄν. I have noted ἰνα ἄν in Thasos 72<sub>10</sub>, from the first half of the third century. In fifth century Attic inscriptions we find ἰνα twice, in the fourth century never, in the third century twice. The genuine Hippokrates never uses ἰνα in complete final sentences, of which he has exceedingly few. It occurs in Theog. 776, Hrd. IX.

The phrase ἐπ' ἰσηι καὶ ὁμοίηι (Hdt. IX 7) is frequently used in Ionic decrees: Samos 221<sub>27-28</sub>, Ephesos 147<sub>11</sub>, Wood's *Discoveries at Ephesus*, appendix 2, no. 2, 10, 18, 19, 21, 22. In the Ephesian documents we have ἐφ' not ἐπ'.

ἰσσαῖ is an interjection like αἰαῖ, and derived from ἰσσα (Plato in Meineke II 637, 4, Menander IV 80, 6). In § 395 end, ἰσ' ἄν was wrongly suggested as the reading in the passage from Herodas 3<sub>33</sub>, where ἰσσαῖ should be adopted with Meister.

καθότι Samos 221<sub>32</sub> (cf. Hdt. VII 2).

καθώς Hdt. IX 82.

κάρια = λίαν (Greg. Kor. § 58), Hippon. 17, Hdt., Hippokr., Aretaios, Lukian.

κατά = καθά appears in Hdt. I 208, II 6, 116, III 86. In VII 199 κατ' ἃ is = τῇ κhere. See appendix to § 406, 2.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Osthoff *Perfect* 332 ff., G. Meyer *Gram.* 30.

κατάντη (ἐς τὰ κ.) Hippokr. III 298.

κατάπερ Hdt. I 170, &c., Priene 144<sub>0</sub>, Halikarn. 238<sub>19</sub>, καθάπερ Ephesos 147<sub>11</sub> (about 300 B. C.), Teos 158<sub>4, 25</sub> (first century B. C.). Cf. § 369. In Halikarn. 238<sub>43</sub> we find κατόπερ (§ 132). See appendix to § 406, 2.

κατότι Hdt. VII 2.

κεῖ Archil. 170 = κεῖθι Archil. 132, Hdt. II 122.

κῆ, κου, &c., § 342.

λείως *completely, at all*, Archil. 112 (MSS. λειωι corrected by Porson). Cf. Hesychios λείως (MSS. λείρως) ῥαδίως, σφόδρα, τελείως, καλῶς, part of which gloss might be explanatory of λείως *Theaitetos* 144 B, from λείος *smooth*. Elsewhere the grammarians (Apollon. *Pronom.* 58<sub>12</sub> Schn., Et. Mag. 560<sub>11</sub>, Photios 218<sub>3</sub>) refer to the form either as λέως<sup>1</sup>, usually explaining it as derived from τελέως (Hdt., Hippokr.<sup>2</sup>) by hyphaeresis<sup>3</sup>, or as λίως, Erotian 240. The same stem appears in the Hesychian λεώλης· τελείως ἐξώλης (cf. λειώλης on a Rhodian inscription, *MittH.* XVI 112); λεώλεθρος· παντελῶς ἐξωλοθρευμένος; λειοκόνιτος· ἡ τελείωσις (sic MSS.), ὡς κόνις διαλελυμένη, λείως γὰρ τελείως; λειοκόρης· (sic MSS. λειω- Voss) ὁ τελείως ἐκκεκαυμένους τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔχων, with which cf. λεωκόρητος· ὁ ἐξωλοθρευμένος Photios 218<sub>3</sub>, λεωκόνιτος· ἡ λεωκόρητος (sic MSS.) παντελῶς ἐξωλοθρευμένος Hesychios, and λεωκόνητος ὁ ἐφθαρμένος Theognostos (An. Ox. II 932).

The etymological connection of λέως with Attic and Ionic λεωργός, defended by L. & S. and Wecklein on *Prometh.* 5, would be easier, did we not have reported λαοργός· ἀνόσιος, Σικελοί in Hesychios and λεουργός as Doric in Photios. Curtius, *Et.* p. 361, derives λεωργός from λᾱ from λα(σο)-φοργός, which suits the meaning, but λᾱ- as a compressed stem from λᾱσο- is difficult. *fo* may be dropped when it is the final syllable of the first part of a compound whose second part begins with *f*-, e. g. Αη[*fo*]φάδης, Αη[*fo*]φαναξ, Κλε[*fo*]φαναξ = Λεάδης, Λεάναξ, Κλεάναξ, and perhaps in να[*fo*]φορός = ναρός and ναυρός. But we desiderate examples of λα(σο)-*fo*-. The λᾱ of λάμαχος, λακαταπύγων, λακατάρατος, if genuine Attic, is difficult, and not comparable to the λε- of λέως.

λίην (Hom.) Archil. 66<sub>8</sub>, Hdt. IV 96, Hippokr. III 94, Aret. 34. Hesychios' λίην was formerly read by Bergk in Theog. 352.

<sup>1</sup> Galen, Gloss. p. 514, has λεῶς· παντελῶς, ἄπαν.

<sup>2</sup> L. & S. say that διὰ τέλους serves as the adverb of διατελής. But *A* has διατελέως, Hippokr. III 324, and Littré adopts it in III 48 (where τελέως also occurs; διὰ τέλους 38, 62, 132, &c.).

<sup>3</sup> So even Kühner Blass I 286. The hyphaeresis cannot be defended by (τε)τράπεζα.

$\mu\tilde{\alpha}$  occurs frequently in Herodas (4<sub>20</sub>, 31, 43, 51, 54, &c.) as an interjection employed by women to express astonishment or indignation. The scholiast on Theokr. XV 89 errs in restricting the word to the dialect of Syracuse and in limiting the range of its use to vexation. It is doubtless the same as  $\mu\tilde{\alpha}$ , Aischylos' *Suppl.* 890. Meister *Herodas* p. 684 sees in the word (originally) an invocation to the  $\mu\epsilon\gamma\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta \mu\acute{\eta}\tau\eta\rho$ . Cf. English *marry!*

$\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu = \mu\acute{\eta}\nu$ , § 139.

$\mu\epsilon\sigma\sigma\eta\gamma\acute{\iota}$  (Hom., Theog.) in Ionic prose occurs in Hippokr. only.

$\mu\acute{\epsilon}\chi\epsilon\iota$ , see § 715.

$\mu\eta\delta\alpha\mu\acute{\alpha}$  Halikarn. 238<sub>30-40</sub>, Hdt. I 68, II 91, III 65, VII 50, not  $-\mu\tilde{\alpha}$  with Aldus, *d*, and once in *R* and *B*. Jacobitz'  $-\mu\tilde{\alpha}$  in Lukian's *Syr. dea* 21, 22, 23 is not Ionic.  $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\delta\alpha\mu\acute{\alpha}$  appears twelve times in Hdt. with  $-\mu\tilde{\alpha}$  in Aldus and often in *R b d*.  $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\delta\alpha\mu\acute{\alpha}$  occurs in Anakr. 50, Theog. 1363, 1373. Hdt. has also  $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\delta\alpha\mu\acute{\eta}$  I 24, 34, 56, II 43, 116 ( $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\delta\alpha\mu\acute{\eta}$  Aret. 25).  $\mu\eta\delta\alpha\mu\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  and  $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\delta\alpha\mu\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  are also Herodoteian.

$\mu\acute{\eta}\kappa\omicron\tau\epsilon$  perhaps (?), Hrd. 317.

$\nu\alpha\iota$  in  $\nu\alpha\iota \mu\acute{\alpha}$  (Hom.) Archil. 108, Anan. 4, Theog. 1045, Hrd. 108, 771, 93,  $\nu\alpha\iota \Delta\acute{\eta}\mu\eta\tau\rho\alpha$  136,  $\nu\alpha\iota \text{Μοῦ\sigma\alpha\varsigma}$  *Class. Rev.* V 481, frag. 6, ( $\nu\acute{\eta} \Delta\acute{\iota}'$  281 is Attic).

$\nu\acute{\epsilon}\omega\tau\alpha$ , cf. § 289, 1.

$\nu\eta\pi\omicron\iota\nu\epsilon\iota$  Amphip. 10<sub>10</sub>, and so to be read in Andokides, Plato, and Demosthenes. Cf.  $\delta\sigma\pi\omicron\nu\delta\epsilon\iota$ ,  $\delta\sigma\upsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota$  above.

$\nu\upsilon$  (Hom.) occurs in Aret. 171.

$\nu\upsilon\acute{\iota}$  Hdt. VII 229 (*R*  $\nu\acute{\upsilon}\nu$ ), is excluded from the language of tragedy and history (except Xenophon), but used by the orators and Plato. Lukian has  $\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\iota}$ , *Syr. dea* 23.

$\delta\pi\omicron\upsilon$ ,  $\pi\omicron\upsilon$ , &c. are the regular forms in the inscriptions, which never have  $\delta\kappa\omicron\upsilon$ ,  $\kappa\omicron\upsilon$ , &c. Cf. § 342. In Keos 43<sub>12</sub> we find  $\delta\pi\omicron\upsilon \delta\upsilon$  with the subjunctive, elsewhere  $\delta\pi\omicron\upsilon$  is followed by the indicative.

$\delta\pi\omega\varsigma$  is frequent in Ionic inscriptions considering the chances for its occurrence. It is found with the subjunctive in Thasos 71<sub>8</sub>, Ephesos 147<sub>17</sub><sup>1</sup>, with the optative in Samos 221<sub>10</sub>, with the future indicative in Samos 221<sub>18</sub>. Herodotos has no liking for  $\delta\kappa\omega\varsigma$  (twelve times) or for  $\delta\kappa\omega\varsigma \delta\upsilon$  (five times) in the pure final sentence, though he allows greater scope for the  $\delta\kappa\omega\varsigma$  of incomplete finality. The imperative  $\delta\kappa\omega\varsigma$  occurs once (III 142). Hippokrates uses  $\delta\kappa\omega\varsigma$  with the subjunctive in II 64 *bis*, III 242, VII 230,  $\delta\kappa\omega\varsigma \delta\upsilon$  II 74, III 254, IV 228, VII 212 ( $\delta\kappa\omega\varsigma$

<sup>1</sup>  $\delta\pi\omega\varsigma \delta\upsilon$  is probably Attic in an Ephesian inscription in Dittenb. *Syll.* 1341, 2.



ἀν δοκέη and ὥς ἀν δοκέη VIII 498), ὅπως with the optative I 634 and Lukian *Syr. dea* 26, 27. In complete final sentences the poets use ὅπως twice only (Hipponax 85<sub>3</sub> hexam., Anakr. 63<sub>2</sub>). Exclusive of Pindar, ὅπως (and ὥς) in these sentences occur chiefly in Hipponax and Anakreon; a fact which may have its explanation in local preferences (Gildersleeve *A. J. P.* IV 432). In the incomplete final sentence ὅπως appears in Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>80</sub>, who also uses ὅπως with the future (1<sub>8</sub>).

τῆμος Hrd. 3<sub>35</sub> may contain a prefixed δ-, as in δκοῖος, δπηνίκα. When ὅτε and ἦμος are conjoined, the latter precedes as in Apoll. Rh. IV 267, 452, 1310, Anthol. Pal. app. 51<sub>25</sub> (cf. εὔτε ὅταν Aret. 89, ἕως ὅτε Zosimos I 5, 3, if not in Thuk. IV 117, Xenoph. *Kyrop.* V 1, 25, &c.). Both Hdt. and Hippokr. use ἦμος. That τῆμος was not restricted to poetry is clear from Thessalian τᾶμον. In Hippokr. IX 14 Littré reads τ' ἦμος, where some MSS. have τῆμος.

οὔδαμά, see under μηδαμά.

οὔνεκα, see § 715.

οὔτω, οὔτως. To § 366 may be added that in Herodas οὔτω occurs before consonants and at the end of the verse, οὔτως only before vowels. In 4<sub>71</sub> οὔτως ἐπιλοξοί of the MSS. is metrically inferior to οὔτω ἐπιλοξοί. But in 6<sub>71</sub> we have another case of the anapaest in the second foot (or shall we write μαλκός with Meister?). In the fourth foot we find the anapaest in 2<sub>31</sub>, 6<sub>35</sub>.

ὄφρα was not used by any post-Homeric writer of Ionic stock. It occurs four times in Theognis.

πάγχυ (Homer) Hdt. I 31, IV 135, and in tragedy (*Septem* 641). In *Frogs* 1531 it occurs in hexameters. Attic prose uses πάνυ instead.

πάλιν (cf. p. 289, note 4): in Hrd. 2<sub>52</sub> πάλι[ν] μινῆν is preferable to πάλι, whose nasal may have been omitted because of the μ. Before other consonants than μ we find πάλιν (4<sub>47</sub>, 7<sub>46</sub>). Kallimachos epigr. 12<sub>2</sub> uses πάλι to obtain a pyrrhic. In Homer we find παλίωξις.

πάξ interjection, Hrd. 7<sub>114</sub> ('it fits,' also 'enough'). διαμπάξ, ἀπόπαξ, ἐπίπαξ, ἐσάπαξ Hdt. VI 125 (cf. *ein-fach*), are from the same root (πᾶγ-, cf. πῆγνυμι). Cf. ἀναμίξ Hdt. I 103 and σύμμιγα VI 58, ἐναλλάξ III 40, Hippokr. V 728.

πέρ occurs often in Hdt. and Hippokr., where Attic prose has καίπερ.

πέρην Hdt. VI 44, 97, &c., Hippokr. IV 380 (*right through* of καῦσις). The word is connected with περάω, πόρος, not with πέρας. There is no form πέρη = Attic πέρᾱ, but Hdt. VI 33 has πέρηθε.



πλεόνως occurs only in Hdt. (III 34, V 18).

πρίν in Ionic inscriptions is found with the infinitive, Olynth. 8 B 5. πρίν ἢ with the infinitive in C. I. A. IV B 53 a 9 is probably Ionic, as the document deals with matters pertaining to cult. πρίν ἢ is a specific peculiarity of Ionic, since it occurs in Homer (E 288 = X 266), then in Herodotos and Hippokrates, while no Attic poet or prose writer uses the locution. In the pseudo-Hippokratic works πρίν ἢ (ten times) is much less frequent than πρίν (twenty times) with the infinitive; a sign of the decline of the former construction. Hippokrates uses πρίν ἢ with the subjunctive once (III 248) in a genuine treatise, whereas in the spurious works it occurs eight times<sup>1</sup>. With the subjunctive, the genuine Hippokrates omits ἄν twice (II 52, 330), his imitators insert it six times.

προίξ, see § 298.

πρόκα = εὐθύς, παραχρῆμα in Hdt. I 111, &c., is always followed by τε (πρόκατε). Cf. αὐτίκα, ἡνίκα for the extension of πρό by -κα.

πρώην (Homer<sup>2</sup>), Hdt. II 53, also Attic (though some texts have πρῶην), is contracted to πρῶν in Hrd. 5<sub>62</sub>. As Doric πρῶ(F)ᾱν Theokr. VIII 23, XIV 5, or πρῶ(F)ᾱν, Theokr. IV 60, V 4, XV 15, became πρᾱν<sup>3</sup>, so Ionic and Attic πρῶ(F)ην became πρῶν in Herodas. In Kallimachos' choliambics (frag. 84, Schn.) we find πρῶν according to Joh. Alex. 32, (Hdn. I 494). It would seem therefore that Herodas' πρῶν is wrong (πρῶν Bücheler), or that Kallimachos' πρῶν is a mistake (πρῶν, Meister *Herodas* p. 775). The fact that Joh. Alex. gives as the full form πρῶην, not πρῶην or πρῶιν as Lentz writes, inclines us to the view that we should read πρῶν in Kallimachos. Both Joh. Alex. and Suidas regard πρῶ as the base of the word<sup>4</sup>. An enlarged form of the same word is πρωΐος (cf. Skt. *pūriya*, Slav. *prŭyŭŭ*, 'the first') which becomes πρώιος (Hdt. VIII 130, πρωίην VIII 6; cf. Hom. πρώιον adv.) and πρῶος in Attic.

σύνεγγυς (of place) Hrd. 1<sub>43</sub>, Hippokr. IV 180.

τε is separated from its pronoun, after the epic fashion, in τὰ πέρ τε Hdt. I 74. Noteworthy uses in New Ionic are εἴτετε or

<sup>1</sup> On πρίν &c. in Ionic writers, see Sturm's treatise, pp. 73 ff. and the works there cited.

<sup>2</sup> The schol. Ven. A on O 470 reports that Zenodotos wrote πρῶην and that Aristarchos knew of this reading. In E 832 nearly all the MSS. have πρῶην (A G πρῶην), in Ω 500 πρῶην is supported by Eustathios alone.

<sup>3</sup> This accent is found in *p*, Theokr. V 132, in *k* in VII 51. If the vulgate πρᾱν in seven other passages is correct, we must suppose a form πρωΐαν, which ill suits the traditional accent of πρῶην. πρῶην could not become πρᾱν in Doric as L. & S. state.

<sup>4</sup> Apart from the difficulty in the way of a paragogic ν, the Ionic form is however open; πρωί Hdt. IX 101, Hippokr. II 682, III 46 (cf. Hom. πρωί, πρωί(α), πρωιότερον Arrian 26).

ἐπεὶ τε, νῦν τε I 125, VIII 101. In I 58, ἐμοί τε, quoted by L. & S. as another example, is now changed to ἐμοίγε with Reiske. Ionic has ἄτε *quippe* (Hdt. I 154, Hippokr. IV 224) as other dialects.

τέως<sup>1</sup> in Herodotos is most frequent in the sense of *for a time* (I 11, 82, 86, 94, II 169, VI 83, VIII 74 where all MSS. have ἔως). In VI 112 it means *up to this time*. In IV 165 all MSS. have τέως *the while*, which is retained by Holder, abandoned by Stein and other recent editors for ἔως. In the spurious tractates of Hippokrates we observe a like usage (VI 180 where θ has ἔως, VII 232, VIII 344, 596 *bis*, 602). Cf. Galen *gloss.* p. 578. This use of τέως is now regarded by editors of the Attic prose writers as due to the Alexandrians, who used it as a relative. Lukian *Syr. dea* 25 has τέως μὲν . . . ἐπεὶ δέ, whereas Hdt. uses τέλος δέ, ἔπειτα δέ, or μετὰ δέ in apodosis. τέως occurs on Attic inscriptions.

τῇ *there!* Hrd. 182 (τῇ, πίθι, with which cf. 1347 τῇ, πίε οἶνον). τῇ is the instrumental (cf. Lith. *tē*), τῇ the dative. Cf. Kyprian τᾶ, τᾶδε, Doric τᾶδε, Attic and Ionic τῇδε, Attic τηδε.

-τι. Adverbs in -τι occur in ἔγκυτί Archil. (Et. Mag. 311<sub>40</sub>), ἀμαχητί, ἀνωμοτί, ἀπαρτί, ἀπουητί, ἀτιμωρητί (Hdt.); -στι in μεγαλωστί, νεωστί, Σκυθιστί (Hdt.). Cf. *A. J. P.* VI 429. Where -τί takes the place of -τει it is not derived from it, at least in the classical period of the language.

τοι may be noted in ἐπεὶ τοι, Hippokr. IV 216.

τουτεῖ, adverbial locative, Kyme 3 A, is also Doric (Theokr. V 33, 45, 103).

χαλκίῳδα reported by Hesychios (τὸ εἰς χαλκὸν κυβεύειν) appears in Hrd. 36.

-χου occurs *e.g.* in Hdt. in τριχοῦ (and τρίχα), διχοῦ (and δίχα), πολλαχοῦ (and πολλαχῇ), πενταχοῦ (III 117, not παιταχοῦ for which we have πανταχῇ).

χωρίς. To § 366 we may add that in Olynthos 8 B 13 we find [χωρί]ς ἐκατέρους, in Miletos 100<sub>8</sub>, Hippokr. II 18 χωρίς + consonant, in V 668 χωρίς followed by a comma.

ᾧδε *hither*, Hippokr. VI 476, 478 as *Protag.* 328 D and the tragedians. Aristarchos denied that this use obtains in Homer.

ᾧν and οὔν. To § 206 may be added that ὀρεωισῶν occurs in Amphip. 10<sub>21</sub>, ἡισῶν in Teos 158<sub>u, 23</sub> (late). In respect of the etymological relation of the two words (§ 252), Meister (*Herodas* p. 867) suggests that ᾧν is to be derived from ἡ οὔν, as ἄρα and ἡρα from ἡ ἄρα, and μᾶν from μῆ οὔν<sup>2</sup>. If ᾧν is from ἡ οὔν, it

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the story in the schol. on Plato's *Hipparchos* p. 335 in reference to *Time* from τέως.

<sup>2</sup> So Hdn. I 516<sub>21</sub>, II 332<sub>21</sub> (Joh. Alex. 40<sub>21</sub>, schol. on Dionys. Thrax in Bekk. Anecd. II 969<sub>21</sub>, who assume a Doric change of ου to ω, which is out of

must, like *ἦ*, have once been interrogative and asseverative. Meister quotes *Philokt.* 121 (*ἦ μνημονεύεις οὖν ἃ σοι παρήνεσα*) as an example of *ἦ οὖν* interrogative. Here, however, the words are separated and each has its own peculiar function. As a particle of asseveration, *ὦν* < *ἦ οὖν* became (we must assume) postpositive, usurping the place of *οὖν* (cf. the postpositive *ἦρα*, *ἄρα*). That *ὦν* could in course of time be regarded as an uncompounded particle (cf. *γῶν*), and thus vacate its proper functions, is less difficult to understand when we observe the use of *μῶν* in *Choeph.* 177 *μῶν οὖν* 'Ορέστου κρύβδα δῶρον ἦν τόδε; *Androm.* 82 *μῶν οὖν* δοκεῖς σοῦ φροντίσαι τιν' ἀγγέλων; *Sophist.* 250 D *μῶν οὖν* ἐν ἐλάττωι τινι νῦν ἐσμὲν ἀπορία περὶ τὸ δν; and *Lace* 966 B. Cf. also *μῶν μή* *Rep.* 351 E, &c., and such cases as *ἦ . . . ἄρα* (from *ἦ ἄρα*) in *Soph.*, frag. 670. But where *ὦν* is interposed between preposition and verb, as is frequently the case in *Hdt.* (e.g. II 47, 85, 86, 96, IV 60; cf. Homeric *οὖν* in the relative member) it is not easy to believe that it is derived from *ἦ οὖν*. Meister is forced to admit that *ὦν* may have been forced into the MSS. of *Hdt.* at the expense of *οὖν*.

Adverbs from *-εσ* stems regularly end in *-έως*, not *-ῶς* (§ 289, 2), except when the stem form is preserved, as in *ἐπίτηδες* in *Hdt.*, *Hippokr.* *ἀκλεῶς* and *ἀδεῶς* should probably be written *-έως*.

*ὥς δν* appears in *Zeieia* 113<sub>13</sub>, 33 (after 334 B. C.), whereas in Attic inscriptions it does not occur with any frequency till the first century B. C. In *Hdt.* *ὥς* and *ὥς δν* are more frequent than *ὅπως* and *ὅπως δν* in the complete final sentence, though *ὥς* and *ὅπως* are more common than *ὥς δν* and *ὅπως δν*. In *Hippocrates* (according to Weber *Abrihtssätze* p. 138) in complete final sentences we find *ὥς* only (e.g. III 256, 258). See on *ὅπως*. *Hipponax* 43<sub>3</sub>, *Archil.* 109 have *ὥς δν*, *Anakreon* 62<sub>3</sub>, 63<sub>6</sub>, *Hipponax* 19, have *ὥς*.

the question in an Attic word. Perhaps *Hdn.* had in mind such cases as Doric *λόγως*, *ἐπαινώμεν*. To the above etymology Tryphon objected (1) that the two particles, whose contraction was assumed, differed widely in meaning, (2) that *μῶν* was prepositive, *οὖν* postpositive, and (3) that the loss of the *ν* was inexplicable. Apollon. (*de Cras.* 328<sub>1</sub>, *behn*) meets the phonetic objection by the statement that, though some regard the loss of the *ν* as due to euphony, the truth is that *μῶν* is from *μὴ δν*, *δν* being also Attic, as that dialect is Ionic *δυνάμει*. So far from defending the derivation from *μὴ οὖν* (as Meister states, by equating Attic with Ionic, he deliberately avoids the point raised by Tryphon in respect of the *ν*. If the *ου* of *οὖν* is a genuine diphthong Tryphon was correct, *ου*, *ευ*, *εν* retaining their *ν* in crasis in all dialects; but if the *ου* is adulterine, Tryphon was wrong and Meister may be correct. Spurious *ου* is retained in crasis only when actual contraction does not take place (e.g. *ἐυφροσύνης* = *εὐ εὐφρο*, *Chios* 174 A 15-16). Its *ν* of course disappears in genuine contraction (e.g. Attic *τιμῶν*). If we regard the *ου* of *οὖν* as a spurious diphthong, I see no objection, on the score of phonetics, to the crasis *ω* < *η* + *ου*, though no other example is at hand. Cf. *μεμνήμην* < *μεμνημένην*.



# APPENDIX I

## ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

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17 13 f. b. (from below): on ἀτελέη see add. to p. 175. 32 9 f. b.: read μῆναι. 33 f. n. l. 2: read 4 for 6. 45 (§ 42): add Meister *Die Mimiamben des Herodas* 1893, Preger *Inscriptiones Graecae metricae* 1891 (see the review by Kaibel in *G. G. A.* 1892, p. 89). 47 7: on the contraction to η of α + ε, see additions to p. 242. 51 8 (and 58 note 1): the probability of such an anacrusis is doubtful. The statement in the text is made on the authority of Roszbach *Griechische Metrik* 233. 56 21: κούραι, C. I. A. IV B 373<sup>100</sup>, is not Attic. The inscription is furthermore noteworthy from the fact that it presents the only example of σωζ- for σαιζ- in an early document found on Attic soil. The inscription is earlier than 400 B.C. 67 15: it may here be mentioned that some scholars still hold that there are cases of ā in tragic trimeters which are heirlooms of the period when ā, even after other sounds than ε, ι, υ, ρ, had not become η. So Wecklein regards βαλόν *Choeph.* 571, γαθούση 772 as Old Attic. Verrall justifies the irregular ā by assuming that the words in question are due to literary association. 57 12: δρέων, see add. p. 225. 69 26: dele (§ 428). 70 7 f. b. note 1: etymological considerations speak in favour of deriving πᾶνός, μᾶνός and perhaps ἀδολέσχης in Attic from \*πανφός, \*μανφός and ᾤσφ-, but the whole trend of the dialect is against compensatory lengthening upon the loss of φ. These Attic forms, like Ionic δλος, are a stumbling-block to the uniformists. Kretschmer's theory, mentioned in note 2, will not hold ground in the face of Ἀπατούρια, which contains a non-Attic ου. Ἀπατοῖαι appears in C. I. A. IV B 462 d 11 an archaic inscription, Ἀπατοῖαι in III 2499, 2594 and perhaps 1057 (all late). On Ionic soil we find Ἀπατοῖαι in Phanagoreia, Bechtel 164, and also in Amorgos B. C. H. XIII 344, no. 2, though the document has Ἀπατοῖαι and also ΚλενδίαΟΙ. A Sarmatian inscription, I. G. A. 350, contains ἈπατοΟΙ. The word is from Ἀπατοφ- with the 'copulative' α (cf. δμοπάτρια). Boiotian Μονυχία C. D. I. 712, does not prove that the Attic Μονυχία is the direct result of the loss of the spirant in μονφ-. As Schulze Q. E. 79, 514 suggests, it is possible that Boiotian Μον- may be a dialectal echo of Μονν-. The ν of the Boiotian form is noteworthy, not only because of its appearance in that dialect, but because Μονν- occurs only three times in all the Attic inscriptions (once in the



fourth century, twice in the period of the empire). It may be regarded as certain that other causes than the desire to avoid a succession of short syllables produced the diphthongal forms 'Απατούρια, Μουριχία in Attic. Keller in his *Lateinische Volksetymologie* derives Μουριχία from a Semitic source, on grounds that seem insufficient, so far as I am able to judge of their value. 71 12: compare the variation between κόρα l 1 and κόρη l 5 in a Thessalian epigram, Kaibel no. 505; notes 1 and 2: see § 716. 75 16. In *Prometh* 353 the MSS. have ἐκατοτακάρηνον with a written over the η. 78 5 f. h.: νέματα Soph. frag. 191 § 296, cf. Dindorf's ἐκίβη Περαι 1054. 79 note 2: read *Meineke*. Kock (elsewhere so spelled) is misprinted four times on p. 79, and p. 140 n. 1. 91: add the following treatises on the Dialect of Herodotus: Bumke: *De augmento verbi Herodotei*, 1834. Förstemann: *De vocabulis quae videntur esse apud Herodotum poetis*, 1892. Klopp: *De augmento Herodotei*, 1848. Molhem: *De augmenti apud Homerum Herodotumque usu*, 1876. Noron's treatise was published in 1876 Upsala. 93 22: for V, S, read r, s and so in the note below. Holder uses the signs V, S; 25: for the Florentine MS. (A) of the tenth, read C, of the eleventh. 95 note 1: Maunde Thompson (*Handbook of Greek and Latin Palaeography*, 1893, p. 119) thinks the papyrus is at least as old as 250 B.C. 100 6: for *specifically* read *specially*, as a κ form has appeared in Aiolic. See additions to p. 290. The statement on p. 26, l. 6 must also conform to the new evidence presented. 101 8: add vol. X, xxxii, 1861. 101 note 2, l. 2: read 57 for 56, and add τέλειος Kos 37<sup>1</sup>, 38<sup>1</sup>, 40 A 5 (Paton and Hicks) to the list of Koan Ionisms. 104 16, 17: dele δταν, δθεν. 106: add to the list of differences between Hdt. and Hippokr.: -θε Hdt., -θεν Hippokr. § 716; δυοί Hippokr., not in Hdt., the inflection of κέρας, § 544. 117 22: Kabbadias in *Δελτία Ἀρχαιολ.* 1891, p. 129 refers the inscription in question to the first century before Christ. 129 20: the grammarians usually accent δστέον without reference to the dialects. In Theokr. k has δστίον, Ahrens δστιον. In Hrd. 462, 10 cf. p. 256, 8 f. b) we find ἀργυρεν which I have written -εῖν, though this accent is quite uncertain: last line: add Ἀμοργος Arkadios 47<sup>1</sup>, Ἀμοργός Steph. Byz. 130 17 f. b.: for πήχεων the MSS. of Hdt. usually have πηχέων, e.g. I 178. 131 § 126: on the accent of the forms from λέω, τιθέω &c., see § 691, and note 2. 132 20: after κρατερός, insert καρτερός. 133 16: for τρέψω, στρέψω read τρέφω, στρέφω, 21: after 'a form' add: apart from the doubtful ἐτραπόμην. These cases occur in II 80, IV 60, V 15, VI 33, 119, VII 18. In the active, τράπω is found in all the MSS. only once (III 81, whereas τρέπω occurs 18 times without a r. l. When there is variation in the MSS., ABCd have τρέπω VI 26, VII 52, except in II 92 where d alone supports the r form. In the middle τρεπείσθαι occurs in V 86 ABCd, τρέπονται V 61, τρέπεται I 117, II 17 in all MSS. ἐτραπόμην &c. 20 times is certain and the aoristic use is not difficult in many cases. It is a significant fact that τράπεισθαι, the reading of all the recent German editors in the present, is never without the r. l. τραπέσθαι I 11, III 157, VI 52, VIII 16. The adoption of τράπω throughout involves the assumption that at least in the active the original form has been almost completely obliterated. On the other hand, it should be stated that a τράπω alongside of τρέψω, ἐτρέψα &c. is an unusual, and therefore, a probable form. Homer has τραπ- only in the denominative τραπέω K 421, η 125; 3 f. b: καρδίη Theog. 366, 1236, Hrd. 121, καρδιηβόλοι 422. Homer has θρασυκάρδιος. 134 20: Hrd. has τεμείν 6<sup>1</sup>, 7<sup>1</sup>, τεμενσα 4<sup>1</sup>. τέμνω appears in the Hymn to Demeter 384, Solon 134. 135 3: ἀρωδιός

Hrd., *Class. Rev.* V 481, frag. 5, = Attic ἐρφιδίος Babrios 94, without the *iota*. 136 14: read καταλελάβηκε. 140 7: Schmidt has now discussed in full the question of the assimilation of vowels in *K. Z.* XXXII 321 ff. To the examples mentioned by me (ἐρετή, ἔρσην, ἀττέλεβος, Ἑρμόνοσσα, ὀβελοί, Τορόνη, τέσσερες, ἀρρωδέω, ἕτερος, μέγεθος), Schmidt adds many others, e.g. Ἀπόλλων, ἀδάξομαι, ἀστακός, γόργυρα, -κόντορος p. 142, κρόμνα, οὐλαί, ψακός. ραφανίς p. 141 might be added to the list. 141 19 f. b.: in opposition to this dissimilation, see now footnote 3 to p. 566; 4 f. b.: cf. also ἀλετρίβανος Hdn. II 259, Eust. 183, for ἄλο-, Ἀνδρέαιος Thessalian, C. D. I. 326 III 10, Ὀρσέας in Pindar. 143 3 f. b.: Hrd. has ἐσσῶμαι, *Class. Rev.* V 480, 1, 16. 144 5: the analogy of *sēcus*, *sēcūs* is defective. See *Arch. f. lat. Lex.* IV 602; 21: Hrd. has Ἰλεως 411, 25. Ἰλαθι, on a late metrical inscription from Paros (C. I. G. 2388, 13) contains the weak, epic Ἰληθι the strong form; cf. πῖμπλαθι and πῖμπληθι formed from πῖμπλη. 145 11 f. b.: add Λεγφίλος Archil. 69; footnote l. 2: read *pā* for *āp*. Cf. § 478, where it is shown that Ἀμφιδάρεος, not Ἀμφιδάρεως, may be the form native to the New Ionic of Hdt. 146 13: add νεωκόρῳ Hrd. 400, νεωκόρον 411, 11, νεωκόρος Oropos 182, 7, 21, 11; 2 f. b.: ἀγαίωμα is from \*ἀγασίωμα, as δαίωμα from \*δασίωμα. A supposed παλέω by the side of παλαίω (§ 593) is not to be regarded as a support for ἀγέωμα by the side of ἀγαίωμα. 147 14: μέζονα Orop. 1816; 14 f. b.: read 13 times, μέζων twice (336 and V 3). 149 11: on the expulsion of *e* before *o*, see § 287 and additions to pp. 254, 255. 152 9: -τη also occurs in προεδρή Xenophan. 27, τυραννίη 32, ταινίαις Empedokles 402, μεσημβρίη Kaitēl 441, 13; 12: add Schulze *Q. E.* 291; 19: -διον may be regarded as an independent suffix; cf. ἰχθύδιον and ἰχθύδιον. Στρατώνδης, Μενώνδης are found in Ἐφημ. ἀρχ. 1887. 83 ff. (Eretria; 22: Δαρικός Hrd. 7102, 123. The Ionic form is Δαρεικός Hdt. VII 28, Erythr. 202, 17-18. Meister *Herodas* 746 regards Δαρικός as Koan Doric. The form with *i* appears in Tegea, I. G. A. 69. Cf. Χαιρωνεικός and Χαιρωνικός. 153 6 f. b.: cf. Johansson *Sprachkunde*, p. 8; ἀστακός is assimilated from ὀστακός as ἀδάζεται &c. Hippokr. VIII 214, 330, 352 (cf. 568) from ὀδάζεται (Schmidt *K. Z.* XXXII 390, 391); 2 f. b.: Καμασαρίη occurs in Latysch. II 191, 3; note: βάρθακος is the form in the modern dialect of Amorgos. 154 (§ 150): cf. p. 265, § 295, III A and appendix; end: Hrd. 8, has τόνθρυζε (as Babrios 97), but τονθορύζω 67, 77. Cf. Lobeck's *Phtynichus* 358. 155 (§ 153): verbs that have *ū* in Homer usually do not protract the vowel in the later literature, e.g. φύω < \*φύω, in Mimn. 21, Archil. 42, Theog. 1164, Sim. Keos 85, (Sim. Amorg.?, Empedokl. 70, 154, 202 (but φ6 in Solon 436, Theog. 537, 1134, Empedokl. 66), θύεσκε Hippon. 372, βρύοντα Anakr. 65. On the other hand for θω < \*σῶω, we find θῶ Hrd. 74, ῥάδες 2 486, ὑετός Nikand. *Ther.* 273. Cf. πτύω in Apoll. Rhod. II 570, IV 925. Theokr. VI 39, ἰσχύω in Babrios 19, (as Pindar frag. 61) with five cases of ἰσχύω; 6 f. b.: Hippokr. has ρυφ- V 370, 374, 386, ροφ- II 306, 456, VII 60, &c. 156 17 f. b.: after *Greek word*, add *except in the case of ἕμμεν* p. 157. 157: before § 156 insert Κῦδιλλα Hrd. 511, 60, a word showing the shortening of the radical vowel that occurs in proper names. 162 15: ἀέναν (MSS. ἀένναον Herakl. 111 (not III). 163 18: ἔμπης occurs in Aret. 54; (§ 162, 2): ἐπάρῃ Teos 156 B 30, 36, Chios 174 C 11, Mylasa 248 A 12, B 12, C 15, ἐπαράσθω Chios 174 C 9, Πολύδητος Thasos 72, Ἀρητες, a Chian, Ross *Inscr. ined.* II 147, a Samian, Dittenb. *Syll.* 396, (but Ἀρητες Erythr. 206 B 44), Ἀρήτη Olbia, Bechtel 133, Δημάδητος Hdt., Delos 56, Styra 19100, Λυκάδητος E Hrd. 511, has κατήρητος, which Brugmann (in Meister's *Herodas*

explains as derived from ἀρή on the principle referred to in § 165, note. The final α of Attic ἀρά is difficult. It may be mentioned that Schulze Q. E. 90 derives it from \*ἀραῖα. See Danielsson *Epigraphica* p. 41. 164 footnote 3: in regarding the α of Attic κάλη as long, I have followed L. & S.; but whence they derive their authority for this quantity I do not know. From the ancient grammarians we learn merely that the Attic form is καλή. The congener is haull rupture (as in Hippokr. found in the Older Edda. κάλη might be regarded as καφέλ-, κήλη as κάφλ-. If κάλη has ā, it is from κάφλ-. Hesychios does not refer καλάζω or κάλαμα to any dialect. 165 4: κάλός is found on a Delian inscription (53<sub>1</sub>) and in Herodas 7<sub>115</sub>. To the occurrences of κάλός in Herodas, add 1<sub>11</sub>. The word always has its initial syllable in the arsis of the second foot, except in 7<sub>115</sub>. Kallimachos has 14 cases of κάλός, 8 of κάλός, Bion 5 and 11 respectively; 7 f b.: γλάσσα < γλαχία, is the correct form, and is reported by Et. Mag. 558<sub>10</sub>. Homer, Hdt., Hippokr., Miletos 100<sub>1</sub>, Aischrion 1, &c. have the common form γλώσσα. With γλάσσα, cf. γλάσσαν μωρός, ἀνούστατος, in Zonaras 439. Has κάρīs, Ananios 5<sub>1</sub>, its ἀρ from αρφ? ἀκολουθήσας Hipponax 55 B has an ā that I cannot explain, if the reading is correct. 168 10 f b. for οὐ read may be, and cf. appendix to p. 163. 169 13: cf. ταμπησία Ekkles. 868. 170 2: in later Greek ηη was regarded as cacophonous. Cf. ἀηδίζουη for ἡηδ-, Hdn. II 787<sub>10</sub>. Schmidt K. Z. XXV 13 supposes an inflection ἀ-εϝ whence ἡήρ, ἡέρα, and ἰεϝεϝ or ἰεϝεϝ whence Homeric εἰρη. Schulze Q. E. 67 thinks ἡήρ is due to a like contamination as that which produced ψάρ, ψάρος from ψήρ, ψάρος cf. K. Z. XXV 20; but on p. 27 he can give no reason for the retention of the ā in ἡήρ and in Hom. δυσάης. Hesychios has ἡραῖ - ἡεῖ ἀέρα, an Ionic gloss; 3 f b.: analogy with βασιλεῖος would better serve to explain νεός = νεῶς. 174 note 1: σπειρης Pappi du Louvre 69 C 7, C. I. G. 3132, 3615, 5050, Arch. Zeit. XXXVII 136, no. 269, Papers Amer. School II no. 33, 7, βακτούρης edict of Diocl. J. H. S. XI 317. 175 23: Kühner-Blass cite ἀτελέην from Eretria, Έφημ. ἀρχ. 1890, 196 ff; 30: the Teian inscription may date before 350 B. C. 176 4: Hrd. 4<sub>10</sub> has ὕγιη, not ὕγιη as stated, with an anapaest in the fifth foot. In 4<sub>1</sub> ὕγία is possible. In 4<sub>10</sub>, Meister reads ὕγία, a form found in Kos 345<sub>10</sub> Paton and Hicks). The passage is however quite uncertain (perhaps ὕγιη = ὕγιε f η). The form ὕγιη is from ὕγιη rather than from ὕγιη as stated. 177 1 cf. p. 200, 4 f b. Schulze Q. E. 489 calls attention to the fact that the penult of Attic λεπία is never long beyond doubt, and proposes to read λεπία for -ία. With λεπῆ, cf. Μελλιεῖη, παριεῖη ? Plutarch an. sent. 24; 6: for Hdt. read Ionic. 179 7: πρηνομήη Kaibel 618<sub>10</sub> late. Pausan. VII 18, 5 even gives Πρευγίης as the name of the father of the ancient Agenor, and on a late Spartan inscription (C. I. G. 1253 we find Πρευκλητία. 180 15 f b.: dele Αἰγινηται. 181 10 f b.: read ι, for ο. 185 20. ἴσος or rather ἴσος, in Homer is from \*fίσfos (cf. § 395), which contains the weak stem of fείδος, fείδομαι. Cf. Bechtel Philol. Anzeiger 1886, p. 15, Brugmann Grundriss II p. xiii. The objection to the old explanation from fίσfos, a form preserved in Kretan, is that medial σf does not become σσ(σ), Schulze Q. E. 88 asserts that when σf follows the accent, it becomes σσ(σ), but when the accent follows, σf disappears with lengthening of the preceding vowel ἴς from \*fίσfos, ραός from ράσfos; but both forms may have had originally a long radical vowel. This law is not borne out by the facts, and Schulze himself p. 55 regards \*fίfabe as the descendant of \*fίsfabe. Homer uses ἴσος, ἴσος, in the arsis only,

except in a single instance (Ω 607). Et. M. 477<sub>10</sub> says: εῖρηται τὸ ἰ μακρὸν καὶ βραχύ· παρὰ μὲν τῷ ποιητῇ ἀεὶ μακρὸν, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς πεζολόγοις βραχύ. καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἐποποιοῖς εῖρηται καὶ συνεσταλμένον ὡς παρὰ Καλλιμάχῳ. παρὰ δὲ τοῖς τραγικοῖς καὶ κωμικοῖς συστέλλεται ἀεὶ τὸ ἰ. κατὰ δὲ λαμβικοὺς ἐπαμφοτερίζει. Hesiod has ἴσος W. D. 752, Theognis in 678, Kallimachos ἴσος and ἴσος, each four times, Theokritos both. In Babrios we find ἴσος once (15<sub>11</sub>), ἴσος 35<sub>2</sub>, 67<sub>1</sub>, and [106<sub>16</sub>]. In Herodas the word occurs four times, but of these 2<sub>7</sub> is the only passage showing the quantity. Here the original reading ἐρῆς μὲν ἴσος was changed by the copyist, who inserted σὺ before μὲν. The recent editors of Herodotos accept ἴσος, except Holder, whose ἴσος is not well supported in the MSS.; 25: Ἐρμίας occurs in a verse attributed to Hipponax by Suidas (Bergk II 362). It is however not certain that the verse is a choliambic; 8 f. b.: Hrd. has only γίνομαι (12<sub>1</sub>, 73<sub>5</sub>, I 2), Babrios only γινώσκω, γίνομαι. 186 7: Homer has βραχίον N 532, the Aithiopis frag. 3, κυδίονα, Theog. κάκιον 811, 1175, Sim. Keos epigr. 142, κάλλιον, Babrios 56, καλλίον. See Schulze Q. E. 300; 8: ξυνίετε has the ι of ἴεμαι (§ 699). In Ananios 5 the tetrameter ends, according to the MSS., in v. 3 with κρέας, v. 4 with ἐσθίειν, v. 5 with κάλωνπέκων, for which are substituted κρεῖας and ἀλωνπήκων. 187 (§ 199): see on p. 155 above; last line: add ū by crasis, as in χύποδημάτων Hrd. 7<sub>21</sub>; 4 f. b.: κλῦθι, which occurs in Archil. 75, Anakr. 76, Empedokl. 75, Theog. 4, 13, is the Homeric form. In the epos its place is always at the beginning of the verse. Solon 13, makes use of the epic κλῦτε, but post-Homeric Ionic refrains from employing the form. Whatever the explanation of κλῦτε, κλῦθι must be held to represent a pre-Hellenic contamination of \*κλευθι and \*κλυθι, and not a metrical licence. κλύω occurs in Phoinix of Kolophon 2<sub>1</sub>, at the end of the choliambic, and Eudokia, whose metrical sins are many, countenances the same quantity in II 323. For κλύω in Phoinix, 'κούω has been suggested by Schulze Q. E. 332, who has treated in full the verbs in -έω. 188 1: Schulze Q. E. 5 derives ὀρσοθύρη from -θυρία. ὀρσοθύρη has no suffix. Cf. πλημμῦρις by the side of πλήμμῦρα <-υρία; 3: σκῦλος is correct; cf. σκῦλον and σκύλος; 14: Θεοδώτης Thasos 77 A 8 may be correct. Cf. Θεοδῶτας in Keil's An. epigr. et onom. 106; (§ 201): the stem πλεφ in Homer and Hdt. belongs to the present, πλεφ to the aorist and perfect; 7 f. b.: read θῶκος. θῶκος is from θόφακος, which may be read in Homer β 14, ε 3, ο 468. 190 12: for six read nine. For a discussion of οὐν ὄν, see § 716. 192 11: Hrd. 5<sub>21</sub> has Ἀχᾶϊκός in agreement with Simonides' Ἀχᾶϊς. Meister would even read Ἀχᾶϊη, -αῖκος in Hdt. (cf. Εὐβοϊκός). 193 16 f. b.: ναῖον is not an example in point. When an apparent diphthong is formed by the glide ια, a long syllable is not the result. Φαίνου is ι---, Παμφαῖς -ι-- &c. νάω is from \*νάφω, of which νάφω is a by-form. Cf. κλαίω and κλέω. Schulze Q. E. 51. 195 19: for 609 read 608; l. 22: cf. § 517. 197 8: ἀτελέην Eretria Ἐφημ. ἀρχ. 1890, p. 196 ff. Σωκρατεῖα is the name of a Parian woman, Kaibel 218, second century A. D.). 198: δριμέα is not used by Hdt. Insert θειῖαν Hrd. 5<sub>33</sub>, πλατεῖαν Hrd. 6<sub>33</sub>. With τραχῆαν, cf. γλυκῆαν Hrd. 4<sub>2</sub>, Ἠδῆαν Delos, B. C. H. VI 338, no. 41. ταχῆς Sappho 55, ἄξῆα, βαρῆαι Ahrens II 163, ταχῆος An. Ox. I 341<sub>33</sub>, πολιτῆαν § 232. 199 5: if it can be proved that the feminine follows the inflection of the masculine, the exception ταχεῶν vanishes, and a change is necessary in the statement made in § 124. In Longinos περὶ ὕψους 32, 3 θρασέων has support. Cf. Diels Das dritte Buch d. aristotelischen Rhetorik 26, and Usener Index lect. Bonn. 1860-81, viii. Meister Herodas 826 thinks that the -εα forms for -εια are due to a confusion



with the masculine which took its rise from such collocations as *θήλεα ἵππων* Greg. Kor. p. 440 quotes as Ionic τῶν θηλέων ἵππων μίαν; 19: for 13 read 14: Hrd. 3<sub>3</sub> has πλέω; 10 f. b.: Ἀμαθίη may be treated like an abstract noun in -ιη, whereas Ἀμαθείης is comparable to -ειη, -ειᾶ. Cf. προμηθίη and προμηθείη. Babrios has Ἀμαθείης 108<sub>1</sub>, ἀλήθεια, -είης, but Ἀληθίην 126<sub>1</sub>, which may be added to the list on p. 196. An instance of the disappearance of ι is κλεούς Hrd. 3<sub>2</sub>, from \*κλεφιώ; 1 f. b. Hippokr. has τελει ε γ. II 124. 302 200: read 345; 11 and 17: on μουνυγενήν, ἀδελφεός see add. to p. 235; 14 f. b.: with εὐμαρέη cf. ἀτελέη, add. p. 175; 3 f. b.: read Παράκη and cf. B. P. W. 1892, p. 1411. 201 (§ 220: add νεῖός Samos, Mith. VII 367 ff., εἰδὲν Teos, Mith. XVI 232, l. 19, Iasos, Greek Inschrift. in the British Museum III: no. 440, 2, 3. Hellenikos 39 has θειομένητα, whose ει may be epic as the numerous examples of θειο- in Alexandrian literature and in Kaibel's *Epi grammata*. This θειο- is different from θειδν cited from the inscription from Priene, in that the initial syllable is long; 13 f. b.: βασιλείων Septim 820 in M contains an example of the glide ιota, so also εἴωσε = ἔωσε in Herakleios. 202 1: εἴαρος may be an imitation of φειαρνός, whose ει is certainly due to the ictus. It is found in the Anakreontea 42<sub>1</sub>, Babrios 131<sub>1</sub>. εἴαρ blood stands for ἥαρ < εἰαρ, as θέλωμεν for θήομεν. The Kyprian form is ἔαρ, whose ε is from η. εἰρεσίη, which in Homer is due to metrical licence, appears in Hdt. I 203, II 11, IV 110 and even in Thuk. VII 14. An analogous case is στειλαιός Hippokr. III 444, VIII 216 with the ει of Homeric στειλαιός. I know of no etymology which will render the ει of these words a spurious diphthong due to compensatory lengthening. Babrios [141<sub>1</sub>] has στελεός. 203 6 f. b.: ξεῖνος Hrd. 23<sub>1</sub>, 94<sub>1</sub>. Names in ξειν-, partly through influence of the epic, have extended their range to dialects, to which the spurious ει is not native. Cf. Attic Εὐνοκλῆς Εὐνίδας Rhodian Ζεῖνιος, Ζεινιάδας, Καλλιζεινοί, and Ζεινώ in an inscription from Karpathos. Πρόξενος Ζεινιάδων occurs on an inscription found near Kyzikos, B. C. H. XII 189, 18. 204 16: read Στενύλαρος, which, like στενυγρός, is formed from στεν + the suffix υ. The spirant f does not pass into υ in such positions as στεν f + consonant; 20: after οὔνεκα, insert &c.; footnote 1: add Pseudo-Plutarch Life of Homer 1075 B where μεῖλαν is wrongly added, the ι being due to the ictus in μεῖλανι Ω 79. 205 4: εἰριαν Hrd. 8<sub>1</sub>, but Εἰριον 6<sub>1</sub>. Theokritos too has both forms. Hdt. has εἰρίνεος. 206 10: on the second ει of Εἰλειθυῖη, and on Εἰθύμαχος, see now § 392. The first ει of Εἰλειθυῖη is borrowed from Homer, where it is the result of the same metrical production as that appearing in εἰλήλουθα. Εἰλειθυῖη occurs again in Delos, B. C. H. 1890, 399. 209 18 f. b.: read before ε, η, ει. This ε appears as ι ε γ in Herakleian ἔξεπδῖον, Boiot ποῖόμενος; 9 f. b.: Anakt. 60 may be read ποῖήσεις. Hrd has ποῖσσα in 6<sub>20</sub>, and ten cases of ποῖ. Babrios 26<sub>1</sub>, 129<sub>1</sub> has ἡλόησε, but ἡλοῖα 98<sub>1</sub>, ἀλοιήσας 122<sub>1</sub>. Schulze Q. E. 52 distinguishes ἀλοῖδαι strike from ἀλοῖδαι thresh, the latter verb often losing its ι in Attic. 210 4: Hippokr. II 364 has βοῖή; 16: the existence of such doublets as πνοή < πνοῖᾶ and πνοῖα, πνοῖ < πνοῖᾶ might tend to produce the inconsistency we observe between ποῖη &c. and χλόη, φθόη. It is not clear why Plato I 652 Kock, should adopt an Ionic φθόη. Perhaps, as in the case of χλόη, the Attic dialect lost the intervocalic ι before the law of the Attic α came into existence. 211 11 f. b.: cf. Schulze Q. E. 29. 215 6 f. b.: we should write Δῆαλκος, Δεαλκος in order to reach Δέαλκος. 218 6: κατεῖπει Chios, B. P. W. 1889, 1194 ff. Cf. Stolz I. F. II 154, Bücheler R. M. XLI 119; last line: δρέσκοος < -φου,



Archil. in *Lexicon Messan. R. M.* XLVII 409. 219 1: αὐτῶι, αὐτοῖ, τοῖ δῆμοι occur in two early Eretrian inscriptions (Ἐφημ. ἀρχ. 1890, 196, 200); 10: Hekat. 353 has κῆυξ and so Babrios 115, but Lykophron *Alex.* has καύηξ 425, 741, 789. 220 last line: κνέσσα Kos, Paton and Hicks 37<sub>27</sub>, 21. 221 5: ἱερεός and Εὐπαθίδης (not on coins) belong in § 246, 2 (fourth century); 7 f. b.: cf. ἀγρυπνέοντα (sic) v. l. Theog. 471, ἐπολευμένη Babrios 128<sub>11</sub>, 129<sub>22</sub>, θορυβενόμενον v. l. Hippokr. IX 360, σαλευμένη conj. Archil. 102 for -ευομένη. 222 9: Hipponax λεύειν (υ-) in the *Anecdota Graeca* of Studemund and Schoell p. 45. If in σαλευμένη, Archil. 102, ευο became εο and then ευ, we have the most advanced stage of the process. Photios cites σαλέω, the denominative from σάλος, and from it the form in Archil. may possibly be derived. 223 13: [Ξ]τρουθίης Styra, I. G. A. 372, 355, from στρουθός Samos 220<sub>22</sub>. 224 9: cf. § 716; 10 f. b.: cf. κώνομαστόν in Phoinix of Kolophon 1<sub>11</sub>. 225 2: OREHΞ on an archaic inscription from Amorgos, B. C. H. XII 23<sup>6</sup>, no. 9, does not settle the difficulty as regards the ευ of ὄρος. So far as the evidence in Ionic is concerned, there is only one form in ευ (ἐν ὄρεσι Simon. Amorg. 14<sub>1</sub>) that may not be referred with certainty to the influence of the επος, where ὄρος may be ascribed to ictus lengthening. If ὄρος is the Ionic prose form, then the passage in Simonides must be epic too, and one of the rare epic reminiscences in trimeter. ἐν ὄρεσι occurs also in Sappho 94 (hexameter), where ὄρρεσι may be correct, and in Pindar *Pyth.* VI 21. Outside of Ionic, all that makes for the loss of a spirant after ρ is ὄρος, whose appearance in Theokritos and Kallimachos, Ahrens II 162 regards as hyper-Doric (*secundum analogiam a poeta fictum*). However this may be, Ὀρείθυια is not an Alexandrian figment. Ὀρεῖ- or Οὐρεῖ- do not occur, so the word remains a puzzle. πέτρας ὄρειας in Hipponax is of course the proper form if ὄρος was used in prose. The phrase recurs in Euripides' *Hek.* 1110. Hdt. has ὄρεινός I 110 in all MSS. οὖρος in Hdt. is never supported by MS. consensus, and is never found in AB, rarely in Rs, very often in s alone; 22: οὖρεῖ τεμένους (sic) Iasos, *Mith.* XIV 108, no. 61, οὖρος Theog. 826, Theokr. XXV 27, ὄρος Hrd. 2<sub>22</sub>. The old Kretan form is ὄρους *Mon. Ant.* I 50. οὖρεια, οὐρεύοντι probably belong to *fordāw*. The asper in Attic ὄρος is due to the influence of the article; 9 f. b.: read all MSS. Δούριδος is the name of a Samian in C. Curtius' *Samische Inschriften* no. 13; 3 f. b.: insert Ἀπατούρια (addition to p. 70). 226 8 f. b.: for 'we look . . . form' read: Hdt. has no case of ὄλος in the MSS., always ὄλος e. g. II 126, IV 64. δλ[σ]σχέρ' έα' Kos 43, may be Ionic as the inscription contains scarcely a trace of Atticism; but ὄλοσχερής in Hippokr. IX 106 need not be Ionic. A difference between Herakleitos and Herodotos in respect of the form of the word would be highly remarkable. Skt. *śrvas* should be represented in Ionic by ὄλος only. The scholiast on Nikander's *Ther.* 377 reports that Herodas used ὄλη in the verse ὄλη κεῖ' ἰὸν βαρυῖ καλύψη (read κνάψη). The papyrus (*Class. Rev.* V 481, frag. 8<sub>1</sub>) has ὄλη at the beginning of this verse. In the other passages where the word occurs (3<sub>12</sub>, 5<sub>12</sub>, 6<sub>7</sub>) and the papyrus has ὄλος, the ευ-form would suit the metre equally well. Aratos 717 has ὄλος, but Theokritos and Kallimachos make use of ὄλος only; 17 f. a: in epic parody Epicharmos may use Ionic vocalism, e. g. ὄρα χανός κάλεκτορίδων πετεηνῶν *Lor.* p. 280 (no. 73), and ἐν πάντε κρετῶν γούνασι κείται according to Ahrens no. 161 c), whereas Lorenz thinks γούνασι κείται does not belong to the fragment; cf. also *Lor.* p. 253 no. 2 (= Ahrens 88 and pp. 134 ff. 227 10: read 78 B 6 for 78 B 11; 9 f. b.: Πουλυτίων may be due to the influence of the epic names in Πουλυ- which have choriambic

measure. Examples of names in prose whose forms are due to epic authority are: Πειρίθοος, Τερεσίαι, Ειρέσιον, Ελλατίων, Ελαίθουα. Latin *polyptus* inclines us to believe that πούλυπος is a folk's etymology. 228 15 f. b.: the Samian ὄδοῦ is the Attic form of the Ionic οὔδοῦ *threshold* (Hdt. I 90', not from ὀδοῖ way. οὔδοι *threshold* was adopted by the Κοινή *Jahrbücher, Suppl.* XVI 799, Heliodoros *Anthop.* I 29, II 3, scholiast *Od. Kol.* 163, 192. In the *Ion* of Plato 535 B, an epic passage, we find οὔδον; and in Aristotle's *Metaph.* B chap. 2, 3 this form of the word occurs. The etymology of ὀδοῖ is uncertain. Hdt. III 14 borrows the epic phrase ἐπὶ γήραος οὔδοῦ, as does Plato in the *Republic* 318 E; but the Attic form is ὀδοῖ. Menander IV 264, Lykurgos *Loeb.* § 40, Hyperides XX (XIX) 14) where we find ἐπὶ γήραος ὀδοῖ. προσουδίζω in Hdt. V 92 (γ) and the Hesychian ὀδοῖ also point to a form derived from ὀδοῖ-, i. e. a spurious diphthong ου, not an ου lengthened to suit the metre. See Schulze *Q. E.* 114, 517. The etymology of νοῦσος (Old Norse *snaundr*) mentioned is that of Bezzenberger *G. G. A.* 1887, p. 419. 230 11: in § 565, 2 the ου forms are shown to have come from the dat. 233 14: examples of tmesis (Greg. Kor. 446, Vat. 699) are: ἀπὸ γὰρ ἂν ὄλοιτο τὸ ὕγιες Melissos 13, Hdt. II 39, 40, 47, 87 with ὄν', Archil. 9, 70, Hipponax 32, 61, Simon. *Amorg.* 26, Anakr. 501, 58, 72, 80, Hrd. 31, 181, 23, 411, 29, 10, 91, 711. Cf. Meister *Herodas* p. 678; 16. cf. footnote 2 p. 463 and Schulze *Q. E.* 441. 234 3. ἡχέοντα &c. are from -πεντα. In Περικλέες, ee is from efe and hence open, as in ἔδεε. cf. § 637, 2. efe is contracted in εἰρέθην, § 634, 5; 4 f. b. hiatus is allowed in the case of μηδὲ ἐν Hrd. 17, and οὐδὲ εἰς 111. Aphaeresis occurs in δεῖ' ὕδον 712. 235 1: νέην Hrd. *Class. Rec.* V 481 frag. 51, νεηέσκει 12; 5: ἐρῆ § 219, 9 and appendix to p. 177. On ἐργα &c. see § 581; 12: κερδαλέα is the proper Attic form; cf. νέα from νέφα. The loss of F between vowels in Attic (except when o precedes is older than the change of η to ε or α to η and then back again to ε), whereas the loss of the spirant after liquids κέρη is later than this change. See Solmsen *K. Z.* XXXII 519, 520, who there treats of ἀδελφεός. Adjectives in -αλος lost F not 1. §§ 287, 3, 311; 15: ἀδελφεῇ Hippokr. V 94; 13 f. b.: read γενῆς Hrd. 2, 411, γενῆ 211. It would seem to follow from Kretan γονεά *Museo Ital.* III 736, l. 3-4 that this word as well as γενεά has lost F not 1. 236 4: Πέη may be for \*Πήη < \*Πῆα. Πῆη occurs in Babrios 137. 237 3: synizesis ἀμαρτεῖ ἡ Hrd. 45. 238 9: synizesis in τριτῆμῆρη Hrd. 611, cf. 311. 239 14: the examples of ουχος are from -σ' ουχος, not from -F ουχος; 25: διπλόον Hrd. 23, but διπλοῖν 211, δρέσκουσ' < -φοι in Archil., *R. M.* XLVII 406 *Lex. Messan.*; 11 f. b.: synizesis in βλου θησις Hrd. 711. 240 17: synizesis χρ' ἐω δτι Hrd. 21. 242 19 f. b. the occurrences of the crasis of α + ε = η in Herodas may, it is true, be Doric, so far as the laws of crasis go; but the mixture of α + ε to η in later literature is so frequent as to render it improbable that we have here to deal with a special loan from the Doric of Kos. κῆρᾶν is found in Phœnix 211, κῆ in the Anthology over twenty times, and κῆγῶ, κῆπῖ and κῆξ are not infrequent. κῆπέμυσ' occurs in Kallimachos epigr. 41, κῆν in Kalliel 559, κῆπόθεον 5501, &c. Schulze *Q. E.* 472 proposes to refer this form of crasis to the late pronunciation of καί as ke. Meister *Herodas* p. 78b. prefers to regard the crasis as comparable to that which lengthens the initial vowel of the following word χυπό, ἀρα § 716, and compares κῆμα κῆν in Aëlic. But in Herodas τὰ + ἐ- results in τὰ-, never in τῆ-; 18 with Anakr. 8, cf. γὰρ αὖ Ἐφεσίον Hrd. 411; 16: read κέγ γῆ κέν θαλάσσηι l. 6, but κάμοι l. 17. The elision of αι takes place only before two consonants in this ancient papyrus

(cf. Meister 789). 242 6 f. b.: the reference § 182 belongs after θ in l. 8. Homeric δάδων δάδης may be derived from the old nom. δαδῖς, or they arise from δα(ι)ν-, since αι may become δι or αι, φ. In no. 193 Hechtel edits 'Αθηναῖς < 'Αθηναίς in B. C. H. XIII 431, no. 3 (Imbros). 'Αθηναῖς had been possible; 5: synizesis πᾶσαι ἰκαναί Hrd. 321, κραία κίησέ Hrd 40, χίλαρῃ 14-244 3: δάδων occurs in Empedokles 2, where its α is under the ictus, and in Halikarn. 240; 7: the old inflection of δῶ was as follows: present \*δῶϊσθω, whence φῶ, second aorist \*δῶϊσθω, participle δῶν. The old present occurs in Hippokr. VIII 354 ἐπῶλεῖ (so θ without the accent., the first aorist (ῥῥῖσθω) may be sought in ἐπῶρε (cf. § 703 end), or this form may be derived from the later present δῶ (φῶ) which is found in Hippokr. VII 120. ἐπῶλε in Attic is lengthened from ἐπῶ under the influence of δῶ in Homer; 12: read 'Αχαϊκός (sc. πῶλες); 19 f. b.: Demokr. 137 has σωφρονέουσι, Herakl. 106, 107 σωφρονεῖν. That φ was the intervening spirant is now certain from Kyprian Σαφελέφης. Contraction probably ensued when neither a nor o was accented, as in σωφρονεῖν (cf. δέινω). The ω of σῶφρων is borrowed from σωφρονεῖν or σωφρόνως. Spitzer *Lausikare des Arkaischen* 43 regards σωφ- as the strong form of σωφ-, and the numerous names in Σω- as formed directly from the former. It may be noted that Lykophron *Alex.* 679 has σῶσαι; 15: Boiotian διασῶλεν (Oropos, 'Εφημ. ἀρχ. 1892, 33 no. 62 shows that θεφῶλες is the ground-form of Ionic θεωρός, θεωρός and Doric θεῶρός, θεωρός in Hdt. I 120 is from θεφῶλες (Hom. θεφῶλες Hdt. III 72, 156 has (v. l.) πυλῶρός = Hom. πυλῶρός (§ 279). Kühner-Blase II 588 on p. 326) erroneously think that -εῶρός is the second part of the compound (πυλῶεῶρός v. l. Ω 681) and that the ω is due to assimilation. Hesychian πυλῶρός may be from πυλῶλες, πυλῶλες from πυλῶλες or -εῶρός. 245 11 f. b.: χήρακλῆς Hrd. 200 = καλ + δ + 'Ηρ-. 246 17 f. b.: Λεῶακτος and Λεῶδης are derived from Λη'Fa Fa-; 6: Hippokr. has ἀληροσῶδης V 720 from ἀλεφα- (cf. Hesych. ἀλητος ἀλευρον. 'Ηγήναξ appears in Smyrna 15312 (cf. 'Αγῆναξ K. v. 49). Hrd. 62 has γλυκῆς. 247 20: on ἐνδεῖ, see §§ 533, 536; last line: cf. § 716. 248 3: dele the sentence and cf. p. 567 footnote; 17: for 453 read 454. 249 3: Hrd. employs synizesis in β' Ἀρτακηνή 711, αρτακων in 43η φαμαρτεῖς 511 (cf. αὐτὴ ἀπὸ 61, β' ἀστὲς 27); 22: Θρήισσα Hrd 1, is from Θρήισσα. 250 16 f. b.: add ἐπῶρε p. 588; 5: Hrd 62 has κλειῶον, Hippokr. πληῶ and κλειῶ. 251 9: Hrd. 700 has ῥῥῖος, Hdt. II 121, α ῥῥῖ. For ῥῥῖος we must read ῥῥῖ- or ῥῥ-; 20: Hrd. has τῇ ἰδίῃ 527 by synizesis. 253 14 f. b.: Κλεοφῶντος Thasos 78 B 12, κλειῶς Hrd in *Gloss. Aet.* V 481, frag. 61. 254 8: θεωρός Paros, *Arch.-epigr. Mitt.* aus *Antikarch* XI 187, no. 2 (cf. *Mith. aus Athen* XV 75). The latest attempt at explaining the interrelation of eo, eu, ew in Ionic is that of Schulze Q. E. 145, who sees in these forms nothing but differences of orthography. Schulze would even read Λεωσίβρο Chios 177, and not -εω[ς], though no other instance of -eo for -eu in the genitive is known. In Eretria 16 C 43 we find 'Αρχεῶος cf. the epigram attributed to Sophokles: 'Αρχεῶος ἦν γὰρ σύμμετρος δὲ Λέγειν) whose eo cannot well be very different from the eu of Λεωσίβρο. Parallel with Λευρυχίδης for Λευρυχίδης, the form of the name used by Pausanias and other writers for the native Doric Λευρυχίδης, in Leuchares in *Pliny* XXXIV 7, 19 = Λευχάρης Lerwy 77-83, and 320-321 (the later artist eo appears for eu < eo in the first part of compounds outside of Ionic, e. g. Λεοφῶρος Hesychios (Λεω- MSS. extra ord.), ἀρχιερωσμένη C. I. G. 3001, 3006, ρεωῶρος in Delphi; cf. eo for eu < eo in ὀρειωῶρος, γειωῶρος in Hesychios. Confusion

between *o* and *ω* is very common in Attic inscriptions after 100 B.C. (e.g. *Λεονίδης*, *Λεονᾶς*, *Λεοντίδης* from *λέων*), but *Λεοντίς* comes to light as early as 320-17 B.C. (C. I. A. II 835<sub>47</sub>). Other cases of *ω* for *eo* (§ 248, and *Βραβείας* in § 509, note) are too infrequent or singular to permit us to assume that the dialect adopted either *eo* or *ω* at the pleasure of the writer or speaker. Schulze's explanation of *λεπείως* as an analogue of the forms containing *ω* = *eo* = *eu* is false (§ 477). Outside of the genitive, *ω* became *eo*, *eu* when the accent followed; and it is more likely that the source of the change is not to be sought, with Bechtel, in the genitive, but in compounds where *ω* did not bear the accent; 21. in Hrd. 543 the verse ends *ἐορτήν ἐξ ἐορτῆς*, with which cf. Ion frag. 21 Nauck: *ἐνιαυσίαν γὰρ δεῖ με τὴν ἐορτήν* Dindorf (*ἐορτήν*) *ἀγειν*. Meister would explain *ἐορτή* from *ἐορτή* cf. Hdn. II 185<sub>1</sub>, 561<sub>2</sub>) as *νοσσός* from *νεοσσός*. See appendix to p. 255. *Ἐορτή* occurs on a late inscription from southern Phrygia, *Mithr.* XVIII 206, no. 2, and *ἐορταίη* in Babrios 132<sub>3</sub>. 255 24: Meister (*Herodas* p. 813) proposes to modify the 'law' of Wackernagel in respect of the contraction or non-contraction of names compounded with *θεο-* (*K. Z.* XXIX 138) to the effect that *Θεο-*, when followed by two consonants, became *Θο-*, provided the accent fell originally neither upon *e* nor *o*; but when the accent falls on *o*, then *Θεο-* either remains *Θεο-* or becomes *Θο-*. When a single consonant follows, *Θεο-* remains *Θεο-* or becomes *Θε-* (accented). *Θόκλος* Styra 19<sub>24</sub> would, on this view, follow the pattern of *Θοκλῆς* C. D. I. 3028, and *Θοδίων* Styra 19<sub>27</sub>, might reflect *Θεοδῖων* (cf. Hom. *θεουδής* and *Διοδῆς* C. I. A. I 322, 2 where Kirchhoff reads *Διώδης*; but *Κλάδεινος* Styra 19<sub>21</sub> violates the proposed rule, which is observed, according to Meister, in *Ἐτοκλέ[ης]* Styra 19<sub>15</sub>, in *ἐορτή* from *ἐορτή*, and in *νοσσός* from *νεοσσός*. Hdt. has *νεοσσ* II 68, III 111 but *νοσσ* I 159. *νοσσ-* occurs also in Panyasis (Kinkel 264, no. 26), Aeschylus frag. 110, in the Anthol. Pal. IX 346, 2, 567, 2, the Septuagint, and Diodorus II 4, III 69. Respect for the etymology caused the rule of Phrynichos (287 R) and made possible the retention of *νεο-* where the metre requires *νο-* (*Birds* 547). Hrd. has *νοσσ* 620, 720, 231, 737, 732, *νεοσσ* (ω - 741, Babrios *νεοσσ* ω -) 88<sub>1</sub>, 118<sub>4</sub>; 4 f. b. some MSS. have *Θεόγνιδος*. 257 (§ 288): the fusion of *νη-* and *δο-* (ώδ-) produced *νωθής* Hdt. III 53, Babrios 95<sub>1</sub>, *νωθρή* Hrd. 410. Cf. *δωθής* *ταχέως* in Hesychius. 258 18: on *θεωρός* see app. to p. 244; 27: on *λεωργά*, see § 716, d. v. *λείως* (*λείως*; 15 f. b.: other examples of *ω* are *Λεωμέδοντος* Hrd. 47, *Λεωφόρος* Chios 175 as *Rheos* 881, *ἀλεωρή* Hrd. 275, *ἐννέωροι* 83, *ταχέως* 311, 710 (second foot: cf. 714 first, 340, 511 fifth foot), whereas *ἡδέως* 170 is open; *νεωκόρῳ* 420 (cf. addenda to p. 146), *γναφείως* 470, *σκυτέων* 710, [*Ὀδ*] *υσσίως* *Class. Rev.* V 481, frag. 316, *γονέων* Theog. 1330; 8 f. b.: *Δεωκόρη* (?) Hrd. 13, < *Δηο* < *Δᾶο*. *Δηώ* is a clip-name of *Δημήτηρ* (Kallim frag. 48 has *Δηώτη*), *Δῆω* of *Δηίδνευρα*; 2 f. b. *Ποσειδεῶνος* B. C. H. XVI 323 Chios (late); on the thematic verbs with stems ending in *a* or *η*, which show *ω*, see § 687, 1, 2. It is maintained by many scholars that in these verbs *ω* is the result of the contraction of *ω* < *ηο*. 200 7. Hrd. has *ω* in *ἐντελείως* 471, *ἐπιμηθείως* 301. Hence we read *σαφ'έως* 711, and so *ἐπτεν[έ]ως* *Vita Hom.* 7: 13: *θεῶν* Hrd. 711 but *θεῶν* 130, 471. 261 13. *Ταυρεῶν*, name of a month in Samos, Kyzikos, and Sinope Bischoff *De fastis Graecis* 396, 400. Hrd. 740 has *Ταυρεῶνος*, 17. to be noted is *ω* as a single syllable in Hrd. 707. Meister thinks that *ω* in Hrd. is monosyllabic without exception. But the papyrus has only three cases of *ω* and in two of these (241, 571) it is dissyllabic Meister *σε[α]υτήν* and *ἐ[α]υτόν*; 15 f. b.:

*Παρθένος* Babrios 120<sub>2</sub>; synizesis in τῇ δὲ Hrd. 4<sub>10</sub>; 4 f. b.: Schmidt *Neutra* p. 147 regards Attic αἰθέδης, instead of αἰθέδης, as evidencing a desire to avoid confusion with the many words ending in -αδης. Other occurrences of -ῶναξ are: Πυθῶναξ Thas. (L.) 10 B 6, 13 A 9, Arch.-epigr. *Mith. aus Oesterr.* XI 187, no. 1, 1, Πλειστοῶναξ Chios 177<sub>6</sub>, Ἀβρῶναξ Thasos 81 A 5, Μητρῶναξ Smyrna 153<sub>10</sub>, Δημῶναξ Thas. (L.) 7 B 5, 14 A 6, B 3 (not 14<sub>1</sub>), Μοιρῶναξ Erythr. B. C. H. III 389 (late). 262 13: of α-ω also in θῶκος § 202. Ξωῶρος Arkesine 32 is scarcely from *ω* + αἰδωρ. 263 13: Hdt. has ζαργῆν fourteen times, ζαργῆν VI 28, 37. Homer has ζαργῆν Z 46, A 131. For elsewhere with accented *ω*, read the uncontracted form occurs only when the *α* is accented; 17: Hrd. 4<sub>10</sub> has the hiatus δ ἔναξ, a formula restored in Phoenix 1<sub>1</sub> by Crusius *Herondas mimiambi* p. 71 for δ ἔναξ of the manuscripts. 265 10: cf. § 716 on *Λαίος* (Λαίος); 21: Meister *Herodas* 821 reads -οργ- in all the compounds in Hdt. in which the accent does not fall either upon *ο* or *ε*, except in the Lakonian ἀγαθοοργεῖ which I have marked as a possible exception. This -οργ- from -οοργ- he proposes to explain by the principle mentioned in the addenda to p. 255. A thorough investigation of the subject can alone determine the correctness of this theory. δαμιοργεῖ p. 265 last line Meister would explain as due to the operation of the same principle. The contraction of *ο* + *ε* to *ου* is certain when either vowel bore the accent, e.g. in *καροῦργος*. From such forms, -οοργος may have been transferred to forms where it was not properly in place, e.g. in Attic ἀλοοργεῖ. Schulze Q. E. 498 has shown that the Samian ἀλοοργεῖ (mentioned in III A) represents the original form from √*roq* colour, dye (βίξω, βροτός, Skt. *rajyati*). That the Samians did not change ἀλοοργεῖ to ἀλουοργεῖ is due to the fact that they did not possess the form δημιουργεῖ. 266 2: read II A for II B; 17: for Κλεοῦμορος we should read Κλεόμορος, which takes the place of Κλεομορος (Wackernagel *Dehnungsgeacts* p. 60); 11 f. b.: as no certain case of *μ,αι* occurs in Hrd. we read μοι ἑνέχρ 6<sub>17</sub> for ἐνέχρ. In 3<sub>11</sub> the first foot is *οὐ σοι ἐν*. 267 7: Hdt. has also καταβασόμενος VI 85 and βαβωμένας III 39; 12: Hdt. has *νένωκε* III 6, *ἐνένωτο* I 77, *ἐνένωτο* VII 106, Apoll. Rhod. *νένωτο* IV 140<sub>9</sub>, Kallim. frag. 345 and Theokritos XXV 263 *νυσόμενος*. The contraction is unknown to Homer in the case of *νέω*; *νένωται* Soph. frag. 191, *νένωται* in the *Σαύω* δροι, perhaps in *νέβυστρα* Hrd. 6<sub>11</sub> (cf. *νυβυστιαδὲς* in comedy). The contraction did not ensue originally when either *ε* or *η* was accented (Meister *Herodas* p. 821). Cf. above on p. 263, 13. Contraction also ensued in *κατασβῶσαι* Hrd. 5<sub>10</sub> according to Brugmann, *Indogerm. Forsch.* I 501 ff. *σβω* may however be the ablaut of *σβη*. *πρῶν* Hrd. 5<sub>11</sub>, Kallim. choliamb. 84 (4 297, 2) is perhaps from \**πρόην* < *πρόην*. *πρόην* is read in Babrios 6<sub>7</sub>, 113<sub>11</sub>, 125<sub>11</sub>, *πρωίνων* 124<sub>17</sub>; 10 f. b.: synizesis *Ληκίδου ἡμῶν* Hrd. 3<sub>11</sub>. 268 13: *αἰωνεῖ* is assimilated from *ἀφῆανος* (*αἰος*), Schmidt K Z XXXII 174, 10 f. b.: cf. the Ἡροδότου Λέξις, Stein II 456. 270 17: add Hrd. 1<sub>10</sub>, 8<sub>11</sub>, Kallim. 86 *ἰπρῆς* occurs in Priene, *Inscript. British Museum* III 1, no. 401, 10. 271 15: though the ground-form of *ἰπρῆς* is still uncertain, a contraction of *ι + ε* to *ι* may be confidently denied. The divaricament of *ἰπρῆς* from *ἰαίρῆς* attempted by Schulze Q. E. 210 is improbable. 272 21: *αἰδῶν* Hippokr. VII 124, Hrd. *Class. Rev.* V 481, 6<sub>11</sub>, *προσάκωσεν* Hippokr. VI 451. 273 9: Hrd. has *ἀρεῖν* 3<sub>11</sub>, *ἀρεῖς* 5<sub>11</sub>, *ἡρεῖας* 7<sub>11</sub>, Anakt. *ἀρεῖς* 19. Hippokr. has *αἰδῶν* VIII 236 (αἰρ θ), 354 (θ), *ἀρεθῆς* 122 (ἀρ θ, 124, αἰρ V 646, VIII 144, 216, 282, 328, 368, *ἡρεῖας* 280, *ἡρεῖας* II 14, V 94, 236, Hdt. has in the present *αἰδῶν* I 204, II 125, III 144, IV 150, VII 101, 143, 209, VIII 140, αἰρ VII 10 *ε*, in



the imperfect  $\delta\epsilon\lambda\omega$  II 125, VIII 56,  $\alpha\epsilon\omega$  IV 130 (? , VI 133 (?), in the aorist  $\delta\epsilon\lambda\omega$  I 87 (?), VI 14, 44, 126 (?), VII 132, 156, 212, VIII 94, IX 59 (? ,  $\alpha\epsilon\omega$  I 90 (? , II 161 (?), VI 99, VIII 57, 60, IX 79, 107 in the aorist  $\pi\alpha\sigma\iota\tau\epsilon$   $\delta\epsilon\omega$  I 165, 170, VII 9 (? , IX 52,  $\alpha\epsilon\omega$  I 90, 212, V 81, 91, VI 132, VII 18, 28, IX 49. Sim. Keos 111, has  $\eta\rho\theta\eta\eta$ , Ion 3,  $\delta\epsilon\iota\rho\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ ; 23. for  $\kappa\alpha\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$  read  $\kappa\alpha\rho\alpha\iota$ ; 24: Hom.  $\phi\alpha\sigma\iota\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$  belongs after  $\phi\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$ , which is also Ionic  $\Phi\alpha\sigma\acute{o}\theta\epsilon\mu\iota\varsigma$  *ap. p.* 285); 14 f. b.: [ $\sigma$ ]  $\delta\alpha\iota$   $\epsilon\iota\sigma\iota$  synizesis Hrd. 6<sub>2</sub>; 9 f. b.: Hdt has  $\kappa\iota\theta\alpha\rho\eta\delta\acute{o}$  I 23,  $\beta\alpha\psi\phi\delta\alpha\upsilon\varsigma$  V 67,  $\sigma\upsilon\nu\phi\delta\acute{o}\nu$  V 92 (? ,  $\chi\rho\eta\sigma\mu\phi\delta\acute{\epsilon}\omega\upsilon$  VII 6 all foreign to the epic. On the other hand the open epic forms occur:  $\delta\omega\iota\delta\acute{o}\varsigma$  I 24,  $\delta\omega\iota\delta\acute{\eta}\nu$  I 201, II 79,  $\delta\omega\iota\delta\iota\mu\omicron\varsigma$  II 79, 135,  $\epsilon\pi\alpha\omega\iota\delta\acute{\eta}\nu$  I 132; last line:  $\chi\alpha\iota$  Hrd. 4<sub>7</sub> =  $\kappa\alpha\iota$  *cf.* Philokl. 565.  $\chi\acute{\alpha}$  is prescribed by Et. M. 816<sub>1</sub>. In *Lysistr.* 388 the MSS. have  $\chi\alpha\iota$ , but the Lex. Messan., R. M. XLVII 411, cites the verse with  $\chi\acute{\alpha}$ . Both forms are possible. 274 14 f. b.:  $\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\eta$  Hrd. 5<sub>4</sub> is the probable reading. 12 f. b.:  $\delta\iota\zeta\iota\tau\alpha\iota$  is called Ionic for  $\delta\iota\zeta\eta\tau\alpha\iota$  in the Lex. Messan., R. M. XLVII 408; 8: 4.  $\theta\epsilon\alpha\iota$  Hrd. 4<sub>11</sub>,  $\tau\acute{o}$   $\mu\epsilon\nu$   $\alpha\iota\mu\alpha$  5<sub>7</sub> in the second foot. 275 9 f. b.:  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$  *cf.* Theog. 178, 391,  $\omicron\upsilon\delta\acute{\epsilon}$  *cf.* 1376 (*cf.* § 389); last line.  $\theta\epsilon\alpha\iota\varsigma$  Hrd. 7<sub>2</sub>, but  $\omega$  - in 7<sub>109</sub>,  $\kappa\lambda\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$  Hrd. 3<sub>2</sub>, from  $\kappa\lambda\epsilon$   $f\iota$   $\acute{\omega}$ . 276 7:  $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\mu\epsilon\nu$   $\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$  Hrd. 1<sub>38</sub> in the first foot. 277 3: Hrd. 5<sub>1</sub> has  $\mu\alpha\iota\tau\acute{o}\nu$ ; 6 f. b.:  $\epsilon\gamma\phi\mu\iota$  Hrd. 5<sub>1</sub> is the better reading as shown by the circumflex over the  $\omega$  in the papyrus; 5 f. b.: synizesis  $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega$   $\alpha\delta\tau\eta$  Hrd. 4<sub>12</sub>. 278 9 (after the table: here  $\tau'$  is read. 282 2  $\delta\eta\mu\omicron\rho\acute{\iota}\omega\upsilon$  Oropos 18<sub>2</sub>; 6 f. b.: on  $\Pi\epsilon\lambda\alpha\rho\gamma\acute{o}\varsigma$ , see Johansson *Sprachkunde* 18 ff., whose arguments against the existence of rhotacism in the word seem well founded, whatever be thought of his etymology. 284 19 f. b.:  $\delta\rho\rho\omicron\varsigma$  Galen, Lex. Hippokr. is from  $^*\delta\rho\rho\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\omicron\upsilon\rho\acute{\alpha}$  from  $^*\delta\rho\acute{\alpha}$ .  $\epsilon\rho\rho\acute{\epsilon}\theta\eta\eta$  (§ 634, 5) is not properly Ionic, being a contamination of Attic  $\epsilon\rho\rho\acute{\eta}\theta\eta\eta$  and Ionic  $\epsilon\iota\rho\acute{\epsilon}\theta\eta\eta$ . [ $\delta\iota\alpha$ ]  $\beta\rho\alpha\iota\gamma\epsilon\iota\nu$  Keos 43<sub>1</sub> contains  $\beta\rho$  from  $\sigma\rho$ , whereas the single  $\rho$  of  $\delta\iota\alpha\rho\alpha\nu\theta\acute{\eta}$  l. 17 is due to the influence of the uncompounded  $\beta\alpha\iota\rho\omega$ . (*cf.*  $\iota\sigma\delta\rho\rho\omicron\varsigma$  and  $\iota\sigma\delta\rho\omicron\varsigma$ . Hrd. 6<sub>1</sub> has  $\epsilon\rho\rho\alpha\psi\epsilon$  where the metre calls for  $\epsilon\rho\alpha\psi\epsilon$ . 285 5 f. b.:  $\Phi\alpha\sigma\acute{o}\theta\epsilon\mu\iota\varsigma$  is the Ionic form, Kyzikos, B. C. H. XIV 535, no. 1, 6. That dialects other than Aiolic evinced a fondness for  $\nu\upsilon$  in names from  $\phi\alpha\varsigma\epsilon\varsigma$  may be inferred from the name of the Grace  $\Phi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\epsilon\nu\alpha$ , Alkman 105,  $\Phi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$  Anth. Pal. IV 1, 29, C. I. G. 2306 (an Oinean),  $\Phi\alpha\sigma\epsilon\nu\iota\varsigma$  Paus. X 12, 10,  $\Phi\alpha\sigma\epsilon\nu\acute{\omega}$  Zosim. II 36, 2. 286 7 f. b.: the representation of I. E.  $\gamma$  by  $\kappa$  before  $\alpha$  in the pronominal forms has been heretofore accepted as the specific peculiarity of the Ionic dialect. That Aiolic also employed  $\kappa$  is now clear from the occurrence of  $\delta\kappa\alpha\iota$  on an archaic inscription (B. P. W. 1892, 514). If Aiolic once possessed both forms and gradually displaced that with the guttural, Ionic may likewise have possessed both. 281 1. read  $\kappa\omicron\upsilon$ ,  $\kappa\omicron\upsilon\omega$  and for Hrd. 3<sub>1</sub> read 3<sub>10</sub>; under  $\delta\kappa\omega\varsigma$  read Hippokr. II 64, 74, III 242, under  $\delta\kappa\omicron\iota\omicron\varsigma$  dele Hrd. 1<sub>1</sub>. 282 Hippokr. VII 96, 378 has  $\delta\omega\eta$ . Hdt. has  $\omega\iota$  or  $\pi\eta$  in all MSS. V 73. 284 15:  $\kappa\iota\theta\acute{\omega}\nu$  occurs also Delos, B. C. H. XIV 480, n. 4  $\kappa\iota\theta\acute{\omega}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ , Louvre papyri LII 6, LIII 1, 11, 15, LIV 1, 13, 16, in the Banks' MS. of *Ω, Aegypt. Urkunden des Berlin, Mus.* II 21, 16 ff., *Isis* XXXVI 22, LXI 10 (Buresch *Philologus* LI 96. Here it is merely a late form, not specially Ionic; 12 f. b.:  $\kappa\upsilon\theta\rho\omega\pi\acute{\omega}\lambda\alpha\iota$  Pollux VII 197 (in  $\iota'$ ,  $\kappa\acute{\omicron}\theta\rho\alpha\iota$  the Attic festival, C. I. A. III 1160<sub>x</sub> (192 193 A. D.; *cf.* Et. M. 543<sub>π</sub>). 285 11 f. b.:  $\omicron\upsilon\chi\acute{\iota}$  is also Homeric. The suffix is  $\chi\iota$ , *cf.* Skt. *nah*. 286 11 read  $\rho$  for  $\kappa$ ; 18: the form from the Behistan inscription does not prove that  $\gamma$  is original in  $^*\Lambda\gamma\beta\acute{\alpha}\tau\alpha\nu\alpha$ . 287 last line.  $\iota\phi\delta\acute{\alpha}\iota\eta$  (?) Amorgos, *Mith.* XVIII 32, according to Dümmler. This would be the only case of  $\phi$  as a preposition, and before  $\delta$ . 288 6:  $\alpha\acute{\omicron}\tau\iota\gamma\epsilon\nu\acute{\eta}\varsigma$  would seem to be an hyper-

Ionism due to the influence of *αἶνι*. *αἶνι* occurs also in Hrd. 4π, and is referred to as Homeric by Suidas s.v. *αἶνι*; 8 f b.: *ταῖς* Hrd. 7101. Kallim. in schol. Ven. A on IX 193 uses *τάμας* for *ἄθμας*; cf. Et. Gud. 532. 300 11 f. b.: the aspiration of the *ma* in *μηθέρ* &c. is due to such collocations as *αἶθ* of C. I. A. II 789<sub>31</sub> (373 A.C.). After 330 A.C. *αἶθις*, *μηθίς* are the regular forms in Attic. The old forms reappear under the empire. Schmidt K. Z. XXXII 372 regards *αἶθμας* in Epidauros, C. D. I. 3340<sub>12</sub>, *μηθμας* in Korkyra 3206<sub>102</sub>, *μηθμώδης* in Aitolia 1410, as evidencing the original asper, which has been lost in Ionic *μηθαμοί* &c. 302 7 f b.: *γέγραπτος* Priene, *Inscript. of the Brit. Mus.* III 1, no. 412, 7. Such expansions of the aspirates are frequent on Hellenistic documents, e.g. *συνδιαπεφύλακτον*, Mylasa, B. C. H. V 102. 306 9 f. b.: Wackernagel K. M. XLVIII 299 shows that in Kyzikos 108 B 4 *ναῖσσαν* is to be read and that *σσ* is expressed by *σσπι*. *ναῖσσαν* occurs in Kos, *Mitt.* XVI 407<sub>1</sub>. If a Karian word it is important for § 21. The T of *θαλατῆς* is probably not *σσπι*; at least *σσπι* is certain only in non-Hellenic words. 309 2 f. b.: whether *ζέπεδον* is from *ζε-πεδον* may be doubted. At all events, Hom. *δέπεδον*, which occurs in a fragment wrongly attributed to Anakreon (124), is not the equivalent of the intensive *ζε-* in *ζεφυρός*, *δέσκιος*, as is suggested by Curtius Et. 621. *δέπεδον* is *δῆπεδον*, i.e. the level floor of the house, the first part being connected with *δέμα*, *δεσπότης*, *δέμαρ*. From the above mentioned meaning was evolved the use as *plain, ground*. *δέπεδον* in *Prometh.* 829 is clearly impossible, whatever be thought of Choeph. 798. 312 13 f. b.: *κέρων* Demokr. 87, *κευρα* Theog. 698, Sim. Keos 120, Pindar *Pyth.* X 21, *τέρεται* Hippokr. VIII 42 from *\*τέρε-σ-ηται*. 319 19: that for antevocalic *f*, *v* may be used in the Ionic alphabet after it had lost the *f* follows from *ΤΕΡΓΩΝ* in *Knossos, Museo Ital.* II 678, col. 2, l. 5, 8. 322 21: read 352; 25. read *ισσαί* and of 4 716. 332 6: in view of the occurrence of *κατέπερ* 64 times in Hdt., it is better to read *κατά* than *κατά τδ*. The latter appears in all MSS. IV 162, V 89, VI 54, in all except *d* (and *s*), II 99, in all except *d* VI 89. *κατά* - *κατά* appears in I 208, II 6, 116, III 86, VII 199 (here only - *κατέ*). Furthermore in all MSS. in IV 201, in all except *Pov* IV 76, in all except *Pv* V 12, 112. *κατ' δ* is *α τ δ*. IV 76, 201. Cf. p. 454, 3; 13 f. b. read *Lenia*. 333 13 f. b.: see Loebck on *Αἶας* 805 for *ἡλῖος*, *ἱππός* &c. in compounds in literature; 8 f b.: *ἐφ' ἱστί* and *δμοῖη* Ephesos, *Inscript. of the Brit. Mus.* III 2. 334 15: Herodas has *ἐγδοῦσα* 6<sub>01</sub>, *ἐγλυῖσαι* 6<sub>01</sub>, *ἐγβλέπει* 6<sub>01</sub>, *ἐγπολέων* 6<sub>01</sub>. In 5<sub>25</sub> Mosler writes *σέ γ[ε] φέγγε*; last line: *τοῖς μαζοῖς* VII 514 (several MSS. the plural), *ἀμφαίς* VII 486. 335 16: *δοτρυγῆλαι* occurs also in the Anthol. VI 309, cf. Didymos schol. on Ψ 88, Eust. ad loc., and schol. on Σ 551. *ἡ λίθος* is called Ionic by Porphyrios *Quaest. Hom.* 8, p. 229. It occurs in Hrd. 4π, a work in marble, but in 4π *δ λίθος* = the stone. 337 10 f. b.: *ἔρμη* Hippon. 55 B. 340 7 f. b.: the following examples of nouns in -η occur in Herodas, to which there are in Attic and other dialects parallel forms in -α; *μάμαρ* 3<sub>01</sub>, 11, *πέρρη* 7<sub>11</sub> (Hippokr. V 236), *σμίλη* 7<sub>11</sub>. 341 15: *μυ(ας)* should be read. *μυῖς* in Hippon. and Hrd. is the Attic form, for which *μυῖας* should be substituted. On the inflection of γῆ, see Schmidt K. Z. XXXII 349. 346 4: *Ἀπολλωνίδης* Th. 78 B 10 (III Century), *δωδύχης* also in Kyzikos, *Mitt.* XVI 141 l. 1 under Caligula), *Ἰωνίδης* in the letter of Dareios which is otherwise a late Atticized reproduction of the original B. C. H. XIII 529, l. 3). 350 f. n. 1: this law of hyphaeresis obtains in Homer only Schmidt. 352 15: *γαστήρ* Hrd. 2<sub>1</sub>, 4<sub>0</sub>; 19: *γαστήρ* Hdt. III 32, 122; last line: for *Zelena*

read *Abdera* ('Ερμῆ). 353 12: τεῖ βουλῆι and τεῖ βουλαῖ Eretria 'Εφημ. ἀρχ. 1890, 196 (411 B. C.), 200. 354 7: 'Ερμῆ Anakr. 111, epigr., γενῆ Hrd. 270. 357 2: δουρεῖν Hrd. 218, νέην *Class. Rev.* V 481, frag 51. 358 5: inart Hdt. before IV. Meister *Herodas* p. 830 conjectures that the nom. was γαλαί. In Hdt. IV 192 d has γαλαί. γενεαί occurs in Hdt. II 142, νέαι in Hrd. 100; § 445: ἀλ(λ)ΗΟΝ represents -ων, not -ων (§ 140, 1 n) or -ον; see § 389, 2. 380 12 f. b.: dele βροντέων; 10 f. b.: for 3<sub>no</sub> read 5<sub>no</sub>, and add πορρέων 2<sub>no</sub>, αἰρέων 6<sub>no</sub>. 381 6: Hrd. 222 μέγαν 'Αττικῶν speaks in favour of the inflection of the feminine adjective like the masculine (cf. p. 363). χαλκῶν 7<sub>no</sub> should however be χαλκέων; 8: Anakr. 124 has Μουσάων?; 4 f. b.: γεῶν Hdt. IV 198. 385 (§ 451): to this section add Solon in Aristotle's 'Αθ. πολ.: πολλὰισιν 124, ἀρπαγαῖσιν 127. Herodas τῆς ἐμῆσι 5<sub>no</sub> not ἐμῆσι with the papyrus and § 450, 3: ταῖσι μηλάνθαισι III 2; μετρηταῖς 174 is corrupt γρηταῖσι *Blasael*. In 6<sub>100</sub> αὐτῇ[σι] is certain, in 6<sub>14</sub> ταῖς. Hrd. uses -ης only when it stands in conjunction with -ησι, a rule that will not hold in the early Ionic poets. 376 (§ 466): νόον *Mimn.* 51, ποῦν *Mandrokles* of Samos in Hdt. IV 88, Hrd. 473, πλοῦν Hrd. 118, ἀργυρεῖν 4<sub>no</sub> 45. 380 (§ 474): add Solon in Aristotle's 'Αθ. πολ.: μετρίοισι 51, ἀνθρώποισιν ὅσοις μὲν 124, κακοῖσιν 125, ὀφθαλμοῖσιν 125, τοῖσιν 124, τοῖσ' ἐναντίοισιν 124; Herodas τοῖσδ' 42, μετέποιε *i. Class. Rev.* V 481, frag. 21. 383 1: the Koan forms τέλειω *Paton* and *Hicks* 37<sub>no</sub>, τέλειω 38<sub>14</sub>, 19, 42 B 6, τέλειω 40 A 5, may be regarded as Ionisms. The native dialect had however the non-Ionic dual (τέλειω 397; Hrd. 7<sub>no</sub> has τέλειω neuter; 10: 'Αρτυσίλειω *Thasos* 78 B 11. 384 4: Hrd. has Κωί 231, Κῶν 41; 9 f. b.: read ἴλειω; Hrd. has the accus. pl. ἐβκερω in *Class. Rev.* V 480, frag. 114. To this declension Meister would refer 'Ακείσσω Hrd. 301 (cf. § 428, 1 A) because the accent is on the papyrus and words in -εω are paroxytona, while clip-names in -ης are generally perispomena. Exceptions are however very frequent, and there seems to have been no certain tradition in respect of many hypocoristic names. See addenda to p. 419 and *Chandler* §§ 59, 60. The difficulties on the score of vocalization have been ignored by *Immisch*, who (*R. M.* XLVIII 290 ff.), in attempting to show that the proper form of the name of the author of the 'Ιαίων πέροις was *Λεσχεω*, explains the name as derived from an hyper-Ionic \**Λεσχήος* < *Λεσχαῖος*, and in like manner 'Ακείστω from \**Ακεσθήος* < *Ακεσαῖος*. But it is only when *f*, not *z*, intervened between vowels, that *metathesis quantitatis* occurs, and all of *Immisch's* examples of εω < ηω are vicious. 'Ακεσεύς and 'Ακεσαῖος are not connected as regards the endings, the latter being a development of 'Ακεσαῖς, which was formed directly from 'Ακείσανδρος (§ 165, note). If by the side of *Λεσχαῖος* we have *Λείσχης*, by the side of 'Ακεσαῖος we may have 'Ακεση. Though not prepared to pronounce against the incorrectness of *Λεσχεω*, there does not seem to me to be any great difficulty in supposing that *Λείσχω* in *Proklos* is the genitive of *Λείσχης*. Hdt. often retains the native vocalism (§ 158), so too *Thukydides*, *Xenophon*, and *Plato* (§§ 73, 429, 484; and inscriptions (cf. p. 346) show that even in Roman times the εω of the genitive was retained; footnote 2 read cf. *Wackernagel Philol. Anzeiger* LVI 73 and place this after p. IV. 387 11 f. b.: after πόλιος), add κα: ἱπποκρέντης φθίσιοι IV 536). 389 18: 'Ακείσιος *Paros*, *Mith.* XVIII 17. 391 § 486: Hrd. has πόλιος 226, 31; in 2, πόλειω has been corrected to πόλιος, thus introducing a certain anapaest in the fifth foot, which at best is very rare. In 231 πόλιος brings an anapaest into the fourth foot, which appears beyond doubt in only one other passage (633, cf. 635. To avoid the metrical difficul-

ties and because he makes much of -eas as an Ionic form, Meister recommends the adoption of the form *εἰλεας* in all three passages. His correction of Joh. Gr. 240, Meerm. 650, where -eas is called Ionic, is wide of the mark, though it cannot be denied that the statements of the grammarians (§ 481) are elsewhere obscure in reference to the form of the genitive. *εἰλεας* was one of the first words to show the *Κουή* inflection in the various dialects, e.g. in Kretan (Cauer 122<sub>4</sub>, 8, 26, 127<sub>7</sub>, 11, 132<sub>22</sub>, 46, C. I. G. 2567), Lakonian (Cauer 276), Phokian (Ross 81), to cite merely occurrences of the genitive. I find no mention in Meisterhans of [δ]ιᾶδέρεις in an Attic inscription from 341-40 B.C. (B. C. H. V 364), which, if correct, should be added to the examples of Attic -eas. It is the only example of -eas in Attic outside of literature. The document in question has *OT* and *Ω*. By 320 B.C. *o* was written for *ω* in *Acervir*, but there is no early instance of -eas for -eas in an *ev* stem. 392 9: in Theog. 1043 *εἰλεας* is the vulgate reading, and *A* has *εἰλεας*. Ziegler adopts *εἰλεας*. 394 6: *δ* is not *δ* < *oll*, but *δ* < *o.l.f*; cf. *olér* (ω) in Mnesimachos III 570 (v. 47) and § 227; 19: we must read *Γυλλί[ς]* in Hrd. 1<sub>7</sub>, 21, i.e. the nominative is used for the vocative (cf. 1<sub>7</sub>, 21<sub>11</sub>); vocative forms are *Κορρί* 6<sub>16</sub>, *Κορρί* 4<sub>11</sub>; 17 f. b.: Lykophron *Alex.* 292 has *εἰλεας*. 395 18 f. b.: *εἰλεας* Hrd. 1<sub>11</sub>, 5<sub>11</sub>, 7<sub>11</sub> is probably itacistic, though *εἰλεας* occurs only once (1<sub>11</sub>). Cf. § 571. 398 18: *εἰλεας* Hippokr. III 398 must yield to -*εας* or -*εας*. 399 6: *εἰλεας* Hrd. 6<sub>11</sub> will avoid the anapaest in the fourth foot; note: after *unouched for*, add to any extent except in *Hdt.*; 2 f. b.: add § 419 to § 219. 402 6: Hrd. has *εἰλεας* 4<sub>11</sub>. [*Od* *εἰλεας* *Class. Rev.* V 481, frag. 3<sub>11</sub> (ω -- possible)]; in Lykophron's *Alex.* we find -*εας*, e.g. in *εἰλεας* 1394, *Κυχεας* 451; 12 f. b.: *εἰλεας* Hrd. 6<sub>11</sub>. 403 23: *εἰλεας* as [*εἰλεας*] Hrd. 7<sub>11</sub>. 405 8: read 2<sub>1</sub>; 14 f. b.: Kallim. has *εἰλεας* epigr. 41, 51 and epigr. incert. 6. 408 1: *εἰλεας* Oropos, *εἰλεας*. *δρχ.* 1892, 54; 7: read *εἰλεας*; 16 f. b.: add *εἰλεας* Simon. *Κορ* 74. 414: *εἰλεας* Th 78 B 8. 416 1: *εἰλεας* Th 78 B 9. 422 6: cf. *εἰλεας* C. I. G. 5172 and such forms as *εἰλεας* in Hecychion. *εἰλεας* may be either a contraction of the trisyllabic nom. form *εἰλεας* (whereas the dissyllabic *εἰλεας* resists contraction), or built from *εἰλεας* < *εἰλεας* by hyphaeresis; 9: *εἰλεας*, *εἰλεας* Iason, *Μιθ.* XV 154; 12 f. b.: *ATEAES*, Kyzikos 108 B 7, is a copy of the original spelling = *εἰλεας*, as Dittenberger *Syll.* 312 correctly reads. 428 16 f. b.: Hrd. has *εἰλεας* 5<sub>11</sub>, *εἰλεας* 5<sub>11</sub>, 7<sub>11</sub>; *εἰλεας* 5<sub>11</sub>, *εἰλεας* 7<sub>11</sub>, *εἰλεας* 7<sub>11</sub>, *εἰλεας* *Class. Rev.* V 481, frag. 6, *εἰλεας* frag. 7<sub>11</sub>. Rutherford's [*εἰλεας*] (ωωω) 7<sub>11</sub> is therefore not to be defended, and *εἰλεας* 4<sub>11</sub> is to be corrected; 8: *εἰλεας* Hippokr. III 398 is Attic. 434 7: *εἰλεας* Hrd. 7<sub>11</sub>, *εἰλεας* 3<sub>11</sub>. *εἰλεας* 7<sub>11</sub> would be the only case of open *ev* from an -*ev* stem in all post-Homeric Ionic poetry except *Πραξιλόων* p. 348). Meister suggests that *εἰλεας* is meant. 439 6 f. b.: clip-names in -*as* in Herodas are *εἰλεας* 2<sub>11</sub>, *εἰλεας* 6<sub>11</sub>, 11. The latter name has the genitive *εἰλεας* in Choirob. 42<sub>11</sub>, *εἰλεας* in Joh. *Alex.* 8<sub>11</sub> as in *Hdn.* see footnote 2). A like variation exists in *εἰλεας*, *εἰλεας* from -*ev*, *εἰλεας*. *Παθῆτες* from -*as*, but it is only in Egyptian inscriptions that the genitive of -*as* in proper names is -*as*. Schulze *R. M.* XLVIII 252 suggests that the grammarians derived their knowledge of the genitive *εἰλεας* from Herodas, in whose text *εἰλεας* originally stood. In 6<sub>11</sub> we may read *εἰλεας* or]. *Hdn* II 683, cf. Choirob. 44<sub>11</sub>, 46<sub>11</sub>, 136<sub>11</sub>, schol. *Von.* A on O 302, accepts two inflections of the name *Thales*: *εἰλεας*, -*as*, -*as*, -*as* and *εἰλεας*, -*as*, -*as*, -*as*. In Kallim. frag. 95 the MSS. have *εἰλεας*, but in 94 *εἰλεας* and in 96



Θάλητα. This difference in accent finds a defender in Crusius who reads Θαλῆς in Hrd. 255, but Θάλητος in 261. If the nominative is Θαλῆς we must accent -ῆτος. Other words varying in accent and declension according to the ancients are Μεγῆς, Φαλῆς, Φανῆς, Κυῆς. 430 24: Ἀρτεμῖς or -εῖς, is or -εῖς) Hrd. 68, 89, Ἀρτεμῖν 69, a woman's name found in Knidos, Kreta, Pisidia and Kos. Where the name occurs, indications point to its not being native to Greece; so even in Thessaly (*Myth.* XII 361, no. 151, Athens (*B. C. H.* XIII 78). Genitives occur in Μητρεῖδος C I G. 3141, 30 Smyrna, Μοναρχεῖδος Paton-Hicks 185 (Kos), Φιλεῖδος B C H. VIII 378 Lydia, &c. Names of women may end either in -ῖς, -ῖδος or in -ῖς, ῖδος. Stems in -ῖδ- in Hrd. are Δορκαλῖδες 35, πυργῖδα 75. 434 last line: Hrd. has also μέζονα 48; ἡδῖονα 17, μέζονα 7, are sing. In Phoenix we find πλείονα 1, in the MSS. where πλέονα as in 2, is correct. 436 13: ΣΟΟΞ *Smyr.* 19, 20, 21 is to be read Σῶας as ΣΟΟΝ C. I. A. I 36, σῶον. Boeckh's Σωφ ΣΩΩ in C I G. 39 cannot stand. The contracted form σῶς is probably non-Homeric, at least all cases of its occurrence (except X 332) readily yield to the substitution σῶος or σῶος. The latter is possibly a contamination of σωφ- and σῶφ-. σῶας in Hrd. is either a case of the retention of the early form, or, as seems to me more likely, derived from σῶος as δρέσκοος from -κω : ος. The forms with a subscript are neither Ionic nor known to Attic inscriptions. In Babrios 94, A has σῶην, Suid. σῶαν. In 7, σῶς is written with no other spelling noted in Eberhard. 440 13: ἔ τεκνον μοι Μητρίχη Hrd. 1, may serve as an example of the old possessive use of the pronoun: cf. *Oracles* 114 ἔ τεκνον μοι, Hdt. I 207 τὰ μοι παθήματα, and the use of οἱ in Hdt. I 1, III 3, *Trachin.* 630. See Wilamowitz *Herakles* v. 626, Wackernagel *J. F.* I 362; 7 f. b.: read 730; 6: in 1, there is authority for ἀνθρώποι instead of ἡμῖν, but it is a correction by a later hand. 441 7: in citing the forms of the pronoun I have almost always followed the MSS., which do not as a rule differentiate between the emphatic and unemphatic forms. In Anakt. 431, 62, ἡμῖν is no doubt unemphatic, as it is in 631, and in all three passages the MSS. have ἡμῖν; but in 431, 63, the metre requires ἡμῖν. Whether we should write ἡμῖν, ἡμῖν or ἡμῖν cannot be determined, since we have no MS. authority for either accent in the monuments of early post Homeric Ionic poetry. That the difference between the emphatic and unemphatic forms found expression in a different accentuation in the poetry of Alexandrian times may be inferred from ἡμεας Hrd. 1, and δμεας 200, where the papyrus has the proparoxytone. In 1, ἡμῖν is emphatic and has the perispomenon in the MS. I have written ἡμῖν, ἡμῖν in Hrd. in all cases except where the ultima is certainly short. In Babrios 90, 98, 113, where Bergk, Eberhard, and Rutherford edit ἡμῖν at the verse end, the Athoan MS. has ἡμῖν, so in 261, 27, 33, &c. A has ἡμῖς. 443 1: for often read 7. 445 13: μῖν is not more frequent than μῖν, which occurs, in addition to the passages stated in 10, in 34, 570, 713. That μῖν occurs after : or : is pure chance. Meister thinks μῖν was smuggled into the text of Hrd. from tragedy. 448 6 f. b.: Hrd. has κεῖνος also in 20, 40, after ἡμέρη so that 'κεῖνη would be possible; cf. δούλη ἔστι 431, ἐκεῖνος in 200. In 4, one case of ἐκεῖνος is uncertain, ὅς δὲ κεῖνον ἢ ἔργα τὰ ἐκεῖνον. 450 last line: for *elision* read *crasis*, δούτης in Hrd. 6, would be an example of Apollonios' *ων*, were *δ* *ων* not a probable correction. On the origin of the reflexive forms, see now Wackernagel *K. Z.* XXXIII 2 ff., Meister *Herodas* 849; footnote 1: (*Alcibiades*) after *elision* belongs after *φαίνω*. Apoll. has δαύτω. 452 17: σοὶ αὐτῷ



I 108 should give way to *σεντῶ*. *εἰς τ' αὐτοῦ* occurs in I 124 (cf. *Oid. Kol.* 1417), but when *αὐτός* is prefixed we have *αὐτῶ μοι* as in IV 134, VII 28 (cf. E 459), *αὐτῶ* cf. III 72, *αὐτόν σε* III 145, as *αὐτοῖσι ἡμῖν* V 49, 91. I now see that Dryoff *Pronomen Reflexivum* emends *αὐτόν* in I 24 to *αὐτοῦ*. 464 3: see p. 332, and appendix: 7 f. b. in note: read *ἔχει*. 465 11: *τέ* Hrd. 8, the only case of *so* in a pronoun in that poet, should be corrected, cf. *τεῦ* 200, *δρεθνεα* 520. 466 footnote 1: Wackernagel *R. M.* XLVIII 301 proposes to avoid the *f* in Lokrian *ῥέρι* by reading *ῥέρι*; to § 570 add: *μετεξέτερος* = *ἕτερος*, *τερέ*, Hdt. I 63, 95, 199, II 125, &c., Hippokr. III 454, IV 220, 230 (where Galen says that the word is = *ῥερος* in the language of his time), Aretaia 5. In Nikander's *Theo.* 588, Schneider reads *μετ' ἑτερέην*; cf. *ἑτέροι* 412, 744. To *δρῆμος* in § 716 add that Hdn. I 512, (Theognos. An. Ox. II 164) mentions *δρῆμος* and Arat. 568 has *δρῆμος*. *ρῆμος* is mentioned by Hesychios and Hdn. II 925. *ρῆμος* is relative in Hippokr. IX 14 (*ῥ' ἡμος* in one very old MS.). 468 10 f. b.: it is better to read *χρῆν* in Hdt. In Hrd. 2, the papyrus has *εχρησαντες*, where the *ε* belongs with the pronoun. 472 (*ἐργάζεμαι*): Hrd. 6, has *ἐργάζετ'*. This author always adopts the Attic rules for augment; (*ῥέρι*): *ῥέρι* in Solon (*Ag. wol.* 12); note: dele the ). 473 2 f. b. to end of §, and p. 472 2 v. *οἰστρομι*: the original inflection of *οἰστρομι* was as follows: (1) *strong forms*: *ὀφείλω*, found in the Aiolic infinitive *ὀφείλῃ* C. D. I. 214, *ὀφείλῃ*, *ὀφείλῃ*. The imperfect *ὀφείλῃ* may be substituted for *ὀφείλῃ* Π 121, Ω 228, *ὀφείλῃ* for *ὀφείλῃ* Ω 455. For *ὀφείλῃ* Z 198, Ω 446 &c. we may read *ὀφείλῃ* (cf. Attic *ὀφείλῃ* for the incorrect *ὀφείλῃ*). (2) *weak forms*: *ὀφείλω* from the stem *φεί-*; cf. *τέλω*, *τίτρωμαι*. *φείρωμαι* had been the counterpart of *δελύρωμαι*, *φείρωμαι* with the retention of the irregular diphthong in a form properly weak. The initial prothetic *ο* has been carried from *δελύρωμαι* into *φείλω* where it is strictly not in place. The stem *φεί-* appears in *φείρωμαι* B 809, Θ 58, and perhaps in Hrd. 4, whose *φείρωμαι* may, however, be an itacistic spelling for *φείρωμαι* (cf. *φείρωμαι*, Theokr. XIV 47 has *φείρωμαι*). Later on *φείρωμαι* was contracted to *φείρωμαι* (cf. *οἰς*, *οἰστρομι* from *φεί-*), and the stem *φεί-* transferred to the active in *φείρωμαι* Z 168 (for which Nauck substituted *φείρωμαι*, Pick *φείρωμαι*, φεί Ω 457 (*οἰς*?), οἰστρο Z 89, Epidaurian *φείρωμαι* C. D. I. 3339, Theokr. *φείρωμαι* XIV 15, Attic *φείρωμαι*, *φείρωμαι* (*φείρωμαι*, *φείρωμαι* may be corrupt) and *φείρωμαι* in Hippokr. V 436 (*φείρωμαι* Ermerins). *φείρωμαι*, which is glossed as Hippocratic by *φείρωμαι* in Erotian, can be defended only on the view that *φεί-* and not *φεί-* was transferred from the weak to the strong form, or on the assumption that it was 'distracted' from φείρωμαι. While the latter is not an impossibility, the former suggestion would seem to deserve more consideration because of Aiolic *φείρωμαι* (Hdn. II 777, = II 313, = I 250, 1) and *φείρωμαι* Zonaras 224. But *φείρωμαι* is impossible in Homer, and it may be doubted whether we should not read *φείρωμαι*, *φείρωμαι* in Aiolic, *φείρωμαι* in Hippocrates. The explanation of *φείρωμαι* and *φείρωμαι* here put forward, rejects the possibility of a stem *φεί-*, which Kühner-Blau § 198, 6 hold to have originated from *φεί-* by the transference of the spirant from the middle to the beginning. Though the existence of a stem *φεί-* would be welcome, such a shifting of *f* must however be pronounced impossible. Since no form in *φεί-* had an initial *f*, the explanation of Wackernagel must fall to the ground, though in itself well adapted to clear up the mysterious *φ* in *φείρωμαι*, *φείρωμαι*, *φείρωμαι* (cf. from *\*φείρωμαι* &c.). We believe that *φείρωμαι* from *φείρωμαι* became *φείρωμαι* under the influence of the perfect (originally *φείρωμαι*), and that the perfect became *φείρωμαι* under the

influence of the imperfect (cf. *ἴδρα, ἴδρακα ἴδρακα*). After the imperfect had adopted the extraneous *i*, the aorist *ῥῆα* became *ἴρῆα*. Meister *Hierogl.* p. 823 would refer to *οἶγνον* the Hesychian *δοῖγα φαρετρα* with substantive ablaut of *ei* to *oi*. The quiver is the *οἰστοδέγμονα θησαυρὸν βελέεσσι περὶ* 1020. 476 18 f. b.: read *Herodotos*. 482 14: Hrd. has *θέλω* eight times, *ἐθέλω* once, and that in an augmented form *ἤθειλον* 537. This is the usage of the Κοινή. 485. Hrd. has only contracted forms in the future. *ἔρσω* 301, *βαλέω* 343, *ἔρει* 422 and in seven other passages, *διαβαλεῖς* 622, *ἀποκτενεῖς* 521, *προσμενεῖς* 83, *ἔρει* 321, *θανεῖν* Class. Rev. V 481, frag. 83, *ἀρεῖτ'* 301, *ἐμβαλεῖσι* 421, *τιλεῖσιν* Class. Rev. V 481, frag. 83. 493 14: Babrios has *γεγηράκει* 461, 1032, *γηράσας* 7413; Anakr. *ἔσσει* 56, *ἔασον* 57 (Fick 4, Hdt. I 90 *ἔσας*; note 2, 4 f. b.: read *Ἀντίφων*). In Hrd 322 we have *γνώωναι* read for which the regular *ἀναγνώωναι* is used in 322. In Hdt II 91 *ἀνέγνω* is = *ἄγνοι*. 494 16: the verb *φοφλέω* is now attested in Arkadian. On an inscription from Mantinea (B. C. H. XVI 568, perhaps older than 450 B. C.), we find *φοφλίσαι* l. 1, [*φοφλ*]οῖ l. 14, *φοφληκόσαι* l. 18. 497 last line: the second person of the optative in Hrd. ends in *-αις* (321, 511, 63), never in *-εαι*. In the third person we find *-ειε* in 311, 33, *-αι* in 621, 72. 498 19: Hrd. has *εἶπε* also in 531, *εἶπατε* 72, *εἶπον* 622, *εἶπέ* 63, 12, *ἀνείπε* 211, *εἶπεῖν* 622; read *ἔμπεται* for opt. 502 9: *βούλει* in Hrd. is wrong. Apart from this form there are five cases (in the future of *-ει*, but there are four of *-η* in the indicative. *δίζει* is called Ionic for *δίζηαι* in the Lexicon Messan, R. M. XLVII 408 (cf. § 590). 503 14: Theog. 455 *ἐφαίνο*. *ἤραο* p. 504 end, and 559, belongs here. 505 11: Solmsen K. Z. XXXII 546 defends Wackernagel's derivation of *ἔσσειται*; 23 f. b.: *πίεται* in Ion cannot stand *πιέτω* Cobet; 22 f. b.: for *Μ* *ἔλινυ* read *Nietzsche*. In connection with the above may be mentioned the fact that in Hippokr. V 386 we find *πιέουσα*, which is more probably a blunder for *πιούσα* V 382) than the participle to *πεί* C. I. G. 8046, 8096-8110, Bergk P. L. G. III 568 &c.), whose *ει* is a genuine diphthong according to the Attic vase inscriptions. Cf. Roscher in Curtius' Studien IV 194, Bergk in Jahrb. CXVII 195, Kretschmer in K. Z. XXIX 482; 11 f. b.: Hippokr. has *δάζομαι* VIII 338 so *θ* probably, but *δίζομαι* VII 336 cf. § 619. 506 15: [*εἶσα* *vel* *καρτες*, Erythrai, in Dittenberger's *Syl.* 15920 (shortly after 278 B. C.), but *ἔσση[ε]γκεν* 1607. 509 10: *εἰρύεται* Hippokr. V 596, *ἐντεμεσται* IV 298; 14' *λελέχεται* Aret. 160, 284. 511 22: in Couda 1203 *νενημενοι* is preferable; 8 f. b.: read *καίω*. 512 7: in Hippokr. II 26 we even find *καταλελεπτύσθαι τῷγο-ῆσθαι*, where *-ύσθαι* should be read with Cobet. The participle occurs in VI 192 bis. Hippokr. has the *σμαι* form also in the case of *θερμαίνω* VI 190, 192, *ὕγραίνω* 192, *σκληρύνω* 132, *μαίνω* 96. Almost all of the *-σμαι* forms occur in the pseudo-Hippocratic tracts. 518 9 f. b.: of the poets, Theognis has *-εο* in 30, 32, 47, 100, 145, 331, 353, 547, 557, 1095, 1297, 1351, Archil. 66, *ἀγάλλεο*, 66, *δδύρεο*; Hrd. has also *αἰσχύνει* 221, *γίγει* I 2, *ἔπει* 439, *καταψεύδων* in 11, is corrected to *-εο* or *εὐ* on the papyrus; *ἐπεύχεο* 338 should be changed to *-εὐ*. 518 21. see appendix to p. 255. 520 18: *δοθήσεται* Samos 22121, *νομισθήσεται* Euseb. Mynd 52; 13 f. b.: *βλαβήσεται* Aret. 39. 530 footnote 2: add *ἔσβλεν* Hrd., Class. Rev. V 481, frag. 3, *προσιεῖσαν* Hippokr. IX 340 many MSS. *-ου*). 537 17 f. b.: *ἄμαρτε* Hrd. 439<sup>2</sup> (cf. *φάρμαρτε* 541 is the first occurrence in literature of this equivalent of *δμαρτέω*. It is attested in Hesychios and East 5922. 543 22 with the variation between *καλέοι* and *ποιοῖ*, compare that in Eleian: *δοκεοῖ* 11561, *ἐνποιοῖ* 11563, *ἀποφῆλοῖ* 11547, *ποιοῖτο* 1. 544 4. *Hermes* not R. M. 583 19:

or read  $\lambda\epsilon\omicron\iota$  and derive the form from  $\lambda\eta\acute{\phi}\epsilon\iota$ . If this is correct, we must assume two verbs  $^*\lambda\eta\mu$  and  $^*\lambda\eta\acute{\phi}\epsilon\sigma\mu$ .  $\lambda\eta\acute{\phi}\epsilon\iota$  could become  $\lambda\epsilon\acute{\phi}\epsilon\iota$  after the loss of  $\eta$ , and then  $\lambda\epsilon\omicron\iota$ . Solmsen *K. Z.* XXXII 515, 517 regards as Kretan both  $\lambda\eta\mu$  <  $\lambda\eta\acute{\phi}\epsilon\iota$ , and  $\lambda\epsilon\omicron\iota$  <  $\lambda\eta\acute{\phi}\epsilon\iota$ . 568. 12: in *Hrd.* 4<sub>ss</sub> the papyrus accente  $\zeta\acute{\eta}\nu$ , which may be regarded as an adjective. The adjective was thus accented by *Hdn.* (I 111<sub>ss</sub>, II 778<sub>ss</sub>, 947<sub>ss</sub>, where *Epicharmos* 120 is cited). In the passage in *Archil.* 63, the vulgate has  $\zeta\epsilon\omicron\iota$ , and in *Theokr.* II 5 we find  $\zeta\epsilon\omicron\iota$ . The substantive  $\zeta\acute{\eta}$  had the oxytone accent according to *Hdn.* II 901<sub>ss</sub>. 568 ff.: to the list add  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}\iota\sigma\iota\varsigma$  *Herakl.* in *Hermes* XV 605 (but probably an error for  $-\mu\iota\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ ),  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\sigma\lambda\alpha\phi\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\iota\varsigma$  *Hippokr.* IX 356 *epist.*,  $\mu\alpha\mu\epsilon\sigma\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega\varsigma$  *Demokr.* 123. As regards  $\sigma\tau\alpha\theta\mu\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  it should be noted that *Kallim.* 94 (choliambic) has  $\sigma\tau\alpha\theta\mu\acute{\eta}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ . 596: to § 715 add  $\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\kappa\tau\epsilon\varsigma$  *Hippokr.* IV 220,  $\delta\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\tau\epsilon\varsigma$  III 514;  $\delta\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  *Syr. dec.* 27, 28, 34; *Arot.*  $\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\kappa\tau\epsilon\varsigma$  52,  $\epsilon\delta\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\tau\epsilon\varsigma$  66,  $\tau\epsilon\delta\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\tau\epsilon\varsigma$  45.

## APPENDIX II

### THE IONISMS OF THE LATE WRITERS OF IAMBICS AND CHOLIAMBICS.

WE present below a survey of the chief Ionisms of Kallimachos K<sup>1</sup>, Aischrion of Samos A<sup>1</sup>, Phoenix of Kolophon Ph<sup>1</sup>, Parmenon of Byzantion P<sup>1</sup>, Kritias of Chios, Babrios (B.), and Lykiphron's *Alexandra* L<sup>1</sup>. K is cited from the text of Schneider, A., Ph., P., and Kritias from Schneidewin's *Delectus* and Crusius, in the case of Ph. 1; see Crusius' *Herondas* p. 701, B. from Rutherford, and L. from Kinkel. Some of the Homerisms of L., and most of the Homerisms of B., have been included. In the case of the writers who aim at reproducing the dialect in all except a few details, i.e. in the above writers with the exception of B and L, we have included such matters as crasis &c. The Ionisms of B. and L. are practically confined to the Ionic η and a few cases of Ionic ει, ευ and ου. In L. the occurrences of η are sporadic merely, in B. they are so frequent as to lead to the belief that he intended to adopt it in the first declension throughout. There are some open forms that I have ventured to include, though uncertain whether they might not more properly be regarded as examples of the licence permitted Attic poetry. But attention should be called to the fact that no instance of an uncontracted αω, εω, or οω verb occurs in any of these writers.

**I. Vowels.** η for α. ελαιη K. 93. νεήκων 78, Καστινήτιν 82 b. χωρην A. 2; θύρην Ph. 1, Κασπίης 2; μακρήν P. 1. In Babrios there occur about 150 cases of nouns of the first declension and adverbs where the Ionic η was possible. In about 70 of these the Athoan MS. has α, which Rutherford changes to η. Sometimes where this MS. has α, Suidas has η (18<sub>1</sub>, 26<sub>1</sub>, 81<sub>2</sub>, 92<sub>1</sub>), and sometimes the reverse is the case (10<sub>1</sub>, 30<sub>1</sub>, 82<sub>1</sub>, 7, 86<sub>1</sub>, 94<sub>1</sub>, 108<sub>25</sub>). In the spurious fragments Rutherford leaves α, ε γ in σάυρα 41<sub>1</sub>, but changes to η in 106<sub>26</sub>, 116<sub>4</sub>. Hyper-Ionic η appears when ει became ε: δέξη 77<sub>1</sub>, δέξην [73<sub>1</sub>, 133<sub>1</sub>]. Βαθέην in the Athoan 25<sub>7</sub> where Suidas has -ειαν. μίην has been incorrectly read in 47, μίαν A), 131<sub>2</sub> μίαν F. In the middle of a word, η is comparatively rare. I have noticed ὥχρησας 92, in Suidas (κριθίδας 62<sub>9</sub>, ἡθρίασε 45<sub>0</sub>, ἡση 120<sub>7</sub> (λαρός, λαρευν), γενειήτην 124<sub>11</sub>, πηόνας proem. B 13) πρῆσι 102<sub>1</sub>, [11<sub>10</sub>], πρῆσις [18<sub>15</sub>]), νεηνίσκοις 107<sub>10</sub>, νῆν πρηνι. B 6 (νέα 22<sub>11</sub>, νέας 22<sub>2</sub>, νεάνις 22<sub>6</sub>), κνηκίαν 122<sub>12</sub> sic in Suidas (κνακίαν A,

κρακόν 113<sub>2</sub>), ἀπειρήτες 95<sub>m</sub> (πειράσας 95<sub>re</sub>, ἀπειράθην 87<sub>19</sub>, 134<sub>10</sub>), ἀλοιήσας 122<sub>m</sub>, ἡλόηεν 26<sub>1</sub>, 129<sub>10</sub>, Παιήων 120<sub>2</sub> (παιάνων 24<sub>1</sub>). The following always have α: Θρήκη (L. always Θρήκη), πράσσω or πράττω, κέκραγε, γηράσαι, γηγηράκει, βεδίην, βέων, βεδυμείω, γραιῖς. Lykophron very rarely adopts the Ionic form: Λειβεθρίην 275, καλύπτρης 337, λυγρήν 910, ἐτρηρῆς 997, ἀρούρης 1060, ἐκρης in Bachmann's edition 714, Τιτῆνας 709, Τυμφορητόν (F) 420, κερηβαρεῦνται 384, χαλκείρσω (so in F) 1077. Scheer adopts η only in 384, 420. Of about 60 occurrences of the long form of the dative plural, Bachmann reads -ρσι in 18, 59, 106, 107, 193, 266, 442, 454, 470, 728, 729, 802, 817, 1055, 1358. η is also used in 461 16. 2. Diphthongs. EI: B. has ξείνος (106<sub>1</sub>), elsewhere ξεν-, στειρής 108<sub>m</sub>, εἰρύσας 122<sub>1</sub>, εἶλεος 131<sub>1</sub>, ἐκυνέων 129<sub>m</sub> conj. (ἐκυνέων 60<sub>1</sub>; L. ξυνεβάκχης 175, κακόξεινος 1286, ἀπειράσας 1322, εἰσαφάσσονα 101. EY: προυμετής L. 536, 1055. OY: μῶνοι B. 25<sub>1</sub>, 126<sub>1</sub>, 131<sub>1</sub> [106<sub>11</sub>, 11] elsewhere μόνος (10 times), L. 179 (μω Sch.), μόνος K. 76, 82 b, ὄνομα L. 339, 370 but Ph. 1<sub>1</sub>, κῶνομαστόν, γοῖνα Ph. 1<sub>11</sub>, γυνασμέτων L. 1243, ὀλαμφοροῖς L. 32, ὀλαμυντόμου L. 183, κοῦρος and κοῦρη A. 1<sub>1</sub>, Ph. 1<sub>10</sub>, 11<sub>1</sub>, 11<sub>11</sub>, L. 58, 182, 712, 1131 κορ Sch.), Κορῆτις L. 671, Κορῆτες 1297. Elsewhere L. has κορ as Babrios always, βουρατογλάφου L. 361, εὐρήσσω B. 129<sub>m</sub>. L. 557 has οἶδας, 49, 698 οὐδαῖος. None of these later writers have any other form than ελας and ἐροι. HI: θήϊαι Ph. 2<sub>m</sub>, βοηθῆν 3<sub>1</sub>, ὀρήϊστοι 3<sub>1</sub>, λήϊον B. 11<sub>4</sub>, 88<sub>1</sub>, L. 252, Ἡϊών L. 417; elsewhere η as in χρῆζω Ph. 1, &c. BI: πρῶτων B. 124<sub>11</sub> but πρήην 6<sub>1</sub> &c. Loss of ι from the diphthongs: B. 59<sub>1</sub> has Ἀθηῶα but -αῖη 72<sub>10</sub>, Ἐρῆης 30, and often, but -εῖης 30<sub>1</sub>, 48<sub>1</sub>, 119<sub>1</sub>, 127<sub>1</sub>; ὀξίη B. 77<sub>1</sub>, ὀξίην [73<sub>1</sub>, 133<sub>1</sub>], βαθίην 25<sub>1</sub> (Aethian, -εῖαν Suidas), πλέρεα Ph. 2, and probably 1<sub>17</sub>; πόη B. 46, but ποῖη 95<sub>11</sub>, 128<sub>12</sub>, [142<sub>1</sub>]. Cf. also χρόη 13<sub>1</sub>, [65<sub>1</sub>], χλόη 46<sub>1</sub>, 88<sub>1</sub>, προή 36<sub>10</sub>, 114<sub>1</sub>. B. has ἡλόησε 26<sub>1</sub>, 129<sub>10</sub>. 3. Contracted and Open Vowels. ε + ι: Ἀιδης Ph. 2<sub>m</sub>, B. 95<sub>m</sub>, 132<sub>1</sub>, L. 197, 1188 (both first foot), 51, 404, 457, 497, 564, 655, 809, 813 all second foot). ε + ε: δειδωτα K. 90, δειδω Babrios proem. B. 16, 48 elsewhere in B. and in Ph. 1<sub>10</sub>, 2<sub>12</sub>. ε + ε: ἄλδεις K. 86, ἀηλεῖς B. 71<sub>1</sub>, ε + ε = ε: always in the verb. ε + η: γενεή B. proem. A. 1, (γενήν A. 1<sub>1</sub>), θαλῆς K. 95, Ph. 3<sub>1</sub>, ἀργυρῆν Ph. 2<sub>m</sub>, χρυσῆν 3<sub>1</sub>, γηγενῶσι B. 108<sub>14</sub>. a noteworthy form for γεω-, occurs in Aristotle according to L. & S. ε + η always becomes η in the verb. ε + εἰ always contracts in the verb. ε + εἰ: φωλεόν B. [106<sub>1</sub>]; = εἰ in μεδῶντι K. 95, τείχευσι 86, ποιεῖ A. 1<sub>1</sub>, ἐπιλεῖται B. 128<sub>11</sub>, 129<sub>m</sub>, κερηβαρεῦνται L. 384. ε + ω: κοιμήτα Kritias, λαμλορεῖν Ph. 2<sub>10</sub>. In L. λαός is Attic. η + ε: ὀλέετα B. 95<sub>1</sub>. η + εἰ: ἥϊστα Ph. 2<sub>10</sub>. η + ω: πρηῖος L. 769, 1069 (Hesiodic), πρῶν 1237. ι + ε (not genuine contraction): ἰρόν K. 86, ἰρηξ B. [72<sub>11</sub>]. ε + ε: πλέος K. (Meineke choliamb frag. 1). ε + η: ἑβρωτος A. 1<sub>1</sub>. ο + ι: εἶς B. 132<sub>1</sub>, εἷν 132<sub>1</sub>, but οἷς 128<sub>1</sub>. ω + α: ζωγρίων B. 50<sub>1</sub>, but ζωγρεῖν 53<sub>1</sub>, ζωγρήσω 53<sub>1</sub>. See also under 6 below. 4. Crasis &c. Ph. has τὰπόλλωτος 1<sub>1</sub>, ἀσῆρ 2<sub>11</sub>, χέκασα 2<sub>12</sub>, τῆτέρρ 3<sub>1</sub>, κῆρῶν 2<sub>12</sub>, K. 9<sub>1</sub> τάσιότοι, A. 1<sub>1</sub> ἡ'πῖβωτος. 5. Consonants. α forms of the pronoun occur in K. 83, 93, Ph. 2<sub>12</sub>, 3<sub>10</sub>, 10 (α in 1<sub>11</sub>, 2<sub>10</sub>). Neither Babrios nor Lykophron uses the Ionic α. αἶτις B. 88<sub>1</sub>, elsewhere αἰτίς in B. L. has αἰτίς in B. 546. σσ occurs in B. τάσσοις 36<sub>1</sub> (L. 1461), μέσσοις 129<sub>12</sub> (μέσος 129<sub>10</sub>, 11 &c.), πέσσοις 121<sub>11</sub>, ποσσίς 19<sub>1</sub>, σφρήσσειν 129<sub>m</sub>, εἰρύσας 122<sub>1</sub> (ἀπειράσας L. 1322), χαρίσσει 12<sub>11</sub>; μεσσαβοῖν L. 817. Babrios varies between σσ and ετ: the former in πράσσω in 26<sub>12</sub>, 119<sub>1</sub>, 127<sub>10</sub>, but πράττω always in the spurious parts 51<sub>1</sub>, 40<sub>1</sub>, 33<sub>m</sub>, πλέσσω 36<sub>1</sub>, but ετ always in ἔττα, ἔτταόμας, ἔττων. L. uses only σσ. ἀμειβεσθαι occurs in Ph. 2<sub>1</sub>. 6. Declension (Nouns). (1, ἀμείβε Ph. 1, and Kritias, but ἀμυν Ph. 2<sub>11</sub>. -αις (and -αις) Ph. 1<sub>10</sub> where there is MS. authority



for Μούσῃσι πρὸς θύρῃσ' ἔδων. Babrios has -ais except in 59<sub>15</sub>, 129<sub>1</sub>, 134<sub>1</sub>, while Lykophron uses the longer form about 60 times see under 1. (2) Homeric -οισ occurs in B. 72<sub>1</sub>, over ten times in L. who even adopts -αι (848). -οισι is found in Ph. 2<sub>5</sub>, 11, 35<sub>1</sub> in Kritias, -οις in Ph. 1<sub>14</sub> τοῖς κασιγνήτοις at the end, and A. 1<sub>1</sub>. -οισι occurs in B. about 16, in L. about 40 times. This enumeration takes no account of -οις before a vowel. δούτων appears in B. 95<sub>10</sub>. χρυσέφ proem B. 7, χρυσέαις L. 708. Whether such open forms are to be regarded as Ionic is doubtful. λαγῶς is often read in B where it may be merely a late form, and not Homeric. 3) Open forms in the -es declension are: μέρε' (?) B. 134<sub>1</sub>, δρέων 92<sub>2</sub>, τειχέων L. 1418, μεζέων 762; βάμφεσσι 598. Ἄρεος is found in B 68<sub>4</sub>. B. has οἶατα 95<sub>1</sub> ὠτάς 95<sub>10</sub>, ἰχθύας 9<sub>1</sub>, νῆα 71, νηός L. 618, να- Sch.), νομῆα 128<sub>1</sub> (conj.), οὐρήσσειν conj. 129<sub>2</sub>. δα (above 3 πόρτιος L. 320, ἐπάλξιες 292. γούνα appears in Ph. 1<sub>11</sub>, Ζεῖν in A. 1<sub>1</sub>. Of app p 402 7. Pronouns. κείνοι K. 87, Ph. 2<sub>7</sub>, B. 37<sub>7</sub>, 95<sub>1</sub>, L. 12<sup>4</sup>. 304, 1139, ἐκεῖνος K. 89, B. over 20 times, L. 258, 259, 1081, κείθι 6<sup>46</sup>, ἡμέων Ph. 2<sub>2</sub>. ἡμέων (ω-) is noteworthy B. 90<sub>2</sub>. The relative τῶν appears in Ph. 1<sub>1</sub>. 8. Verb. An uncontracted 'pure' verb is unknown. εἶν is found in B. 36<sub>7</sub>, where some read τις εἶν for τ' εἶν. εἶν occurs in B. elsewhere at least 13 times. ἀναπλάσας B. 74<sub>2</sub>, ἐκπεκλωπότες L. 1084, and οἶδας B. 95<sub>11</sub> may be noted. We have the Homeric εἰσσί in B. 77<sub>7</sub>, 119<sub>7</sub>. MSS εἶ, εἰρύσας 122<sub>7</sub>, χαρίσσης 12<sub>21</sub>, σάσσει L. 758. θέλω, not ἐθέλω, is used by B. The pluperfect, which is used with remarkable fondness by B., is sometimes devoid of the augment (46<sub>10</sub>, 103<sub>2</sub>). Absence of the syllabic augment occurs in imperfect (95<sub>1</sub>) and aorist (33<sub>1</sub> ?), 68<sub>1</sub>, 111<sub>1</sub>), but this is not in imitation of the umbo-graphic style. 9. Prepositions, Conjunctions. εἰς is used by K. 94 (MSS., Ph. 1<sub>11</sub>, 11, εἰ in K. 86, 96, 98a, Ph. 2<sub>22</sub>, A. 1<sub>1</sub>, a consonant following in all cases except Ph. 2<sub>22</sub> and A. 1<sub>1</sub>. Since Babrios used εἰ only when compelled to do so by the metre Rutherford corrects to εἰς in 1<sub>1</sub>, 11<sub>1</sub>, 108<sub>22</sub>. So in L. who has before vowels εἰς in 497, 603. εἰς about 20 times, before consonants εἰ about 35 times. Bachmann had εἰ in 14, 158, 326, 338, 463, 501, 512, 1472; Scheer in 139, 747 also, but not in 326, 512. ἀνθήσει L. 1259. ἦν appears in B. 21<sub>1</sub>, 47<sub>13</sub>, 64<sub>7</sub>, 95<sub>11</sub>, 127<sub>10</sub>, 128<sub>1</sub>, L. 2, 623. ἄν is found over ten, εἰν three times in the MSS. of B. ἐπῆν occurs in 6<sub>10</sub>.

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